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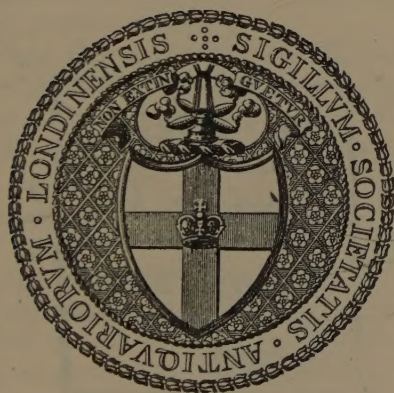
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2010

A History of
THE SOCIETY OF
ANTIQUARIES

BY

JOAN EVANS

Director



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1956

Although . . . I come to the Performance of this Work, with much less *Deliberation*, and *Ability*, than the *Weightiness* of it requires; yet, I trust, that the *Greatness* of the *Design* itself, on which I am to speak, and the *Zeal* which I have for the honour of our [Society], which have been the chief Reasons that have mov'd me to this Confidence of writing, will serve to make something for my *Excuse*. For what greater matter can any Man desire, about which to employ his Thoughts, than the Beginnings of an *Illustrious Company* . . . ?

SPRAT, *History of the Royal Society*, 1667

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INTRODUCTION

by SIR JAMES MANN

THIS book was planned as part of the celebration of the Bicentenary of the Royal Charter granted to the Society of Antiquaries of London by King George II in 1751. That not very intellectual monarch also has the distinction of having founded two universities, that of Göttingen in his native Hanover, and King's College (now called Columbia University) in New York. Let us therefore gratefully salute the victor of Dettingen.

The Society had come into organized existence nearly half a century before, but Dr. Evans finds no thread connecting it with Spelman's society or the other antiquarian groups of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as some have tried to do. None the less, the Society of Antiquaries of London is the oldest of its kind in the world, and is only second in seniority to the Royal Society among the learned societies in this country.

Dr. Joan Evans was the obvious choice to undertake the work. Her family has been intimately connected with the Society for more than a century. She is the daughter of one President and sister of another, and herself holds the office of Director. This book is no paean of praise, as the histories of institutions written from inside so often are. In her not too tender hands the Society of Antiquaries turns its researches upon itself and critically examines its own antiquity. The first impression may be that of a tissue of disputed policies, personal quarrels, crises, and lost opportunities. These are what one must expect to find when Minute Books are searched and old correspondence re-read. The Society has certainly had among its Fellows its full share of eccentrics, but it could never have lasted so long or attained its present influence were it not that beneath the troubled surface the main stream of endeavour has flowed strongly onward. It owes its continuance and present prosperity to a succession of devoted and talented men, Humfrey Wanley, George Vertue, Dean Milles, Richard Gough, Francis Douce, Lord Stanhope, John Evans, Augustus Franks, William St. John Hope, and Arthur Evans.

Dr. Evans's narrative carries the Society from a small coterie of friends meeting in the Young Devil Tavern in Fleet Street to the august courtyard of Burlington House. Its publications began early, and it is noteworthy that its first should deal with the Middle Ages at a time when most cultivated men were turning their thoughts to Rome.

It is a commonplace to decry the vandalism of our forebears, as though they all thought alike, but one can read here how strongly the Society protested against the drastic restoration of ancient buildings, and blackballed the culprits when they offered themselves for election. The Society's initiative in getting the Ancient Monuments Act drafted and passed by Parliament, and its share in promoting and starting other and more recent bodies, are only part of its positive record. The blame which Dr. Evans places on the shoulders of Lord Aberdeen for paying more regard to his duties as Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister than to the claims of the Society of which he was President, emphasizes the fact that its honorary officers have no sinecures. They must be unremitting in their care of and attention to its interests.

The scope of the Society is governed neither by time nor by space. It pushes its researches into the earliest ages of man and shows equal interest in the crafts and arts of the recent past. Its field extends to the uttermost corners of the earth. It has developed from the casual observation of the 'curious' as a hobby to the disciplines of scholarship and science.

Were it not for continual change, there would be no need for antiquaries, and at the present moment changes are occurring at a faster rate, and of a more wholesale nature, than ever before. The use of new machines and new materials are daily changing the face of the globe and not least that of our small and vulnerable island. The last ten years have shown that peace puts the monuments of the past in even greater danger than war.

This Society must exert itself more energetically than ever before, if it is to record what is fast disappearing. This book therefore may be not so much a case of looking backwards as a prelude to greater demands upon the Society's energy, experience, and resources.

JAMES MANN
President 1949-54

April 1955

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS is far from being the first history of the Society of Antiquaries to be published, though it is the first to appear in book form. Our Fellow, William Stukeley, was first in the field. He read a paper on the early history of the Society on St. George's Day, 1752,¹ which was repeated with additions on the Anniversary and on 12 June 1760.² In 1770 Richard Gough, our Director, published a history of the Society as the preface to the first volume of the *Archaeologia*, which was reprinted with some changes in the reissue of 1779. George Scharf, in 1865, prefaced his Catalogue of the Society's pictures with a brief but competent account of its history, based on Gough's work. At the Anniversary of 1875 J. Winter Jones read a paper on the history of the Society in lieu of an address by the President, who was ill. It was hurriedly prepared and entirely based on Gough's account. Sir Arthur Evans, for his Presidential Address in 1917, gave an account of the foundation of the Society by Wanley and his friends. Soon after 1914 our Fellow, Arthur W. Gould, began to collect material for a history of the Society, mostly from printed sources, but his work was never finished.³

In more recent times the early history of the Society has been discussed in various articles by Dr. Linda van Norden; she treated the matter more fully in a thesis for a doctor's degree in the University of California, which has been available to me in a microfilm in the Society's Library.⁴ Separate articles have also appeared from time to time, such as that by Sir Edward Brabrook on the Directors of the Society of Antiquaries and that by Dr. C. E. Wright on Sir Edward Dering. Our Fellow, Professor Stuart Piggott, has published a full-length biography of Stukeley, and various other Antiquaries have had biographies devoted to them. All this material, to which I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness, is listed in the bibliography at the end of the volume.

The most important manuscript material remains in the possession of the Society. All the minute-books since 1717, the audit books since 1761, and a surprising quantity of unpublished letters are kept at Burlington House. I would like to thank their guardians, Dr. Philip Corder and Dr. C. V. Deane, for their kindness in making them readily and easily accessible. The Society's Library Clerk, Mr. John Hopkins, has given me invaluable help by disinterring

¹ Ants. MS. 11.

² MS. presented by the late Alexander Keiller, Esq., F.S.A., to the Bodleian Library.

³ His papers were purchased by the Society and are now MS. 678.

⁴ A further study of the subject is promised by our Fellow, Professor May McKisack.

quantities of letters from the Society's storerooms and by producing a set of its circulars and other ephemeral publications. Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig has helped me in many ways, notably over the Society's portraits and drawings.

Further manuscripts relating to the Society (likewise listed in the Bibliography) are to be found in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. In London I am particularly indebted to our Fellow Dr. C. E. Wright, and at Oxford to our Fellow Mr. J. N. L. Myres, Bodley's Librarian, and his assistant Mr. B. J. Enwright, who is himself engaged in work on Rawlinson, and to Mr. H. M. Colvin of St. John's. A few relevant manuscripts are preserved at Cambridge where I have been kindly permitted to consult them by the University Librarian and the Librarian of Corpus Christi College; for information concerning them I have to thank Mr. H. L. Pink and our Fellow Mr. J. W. Goodison. I am indebted to Mr. Grantham, Librarian at Freemasons' Hall, for allowing me to consult the Stukeley MSS. preserved there, and to make inquiries of him on points in the history of Freemasonry. Mrs. Alston-Roberts-West has kindly allowed me to consult the notebooks of James West in her possession. Our Fellow, the late Mr. Alexander Keiller, was so kind as to deposit one of his Stukeley MSS. in the Society's Library so that I could consult it at leisure. The Librarian of the Royal Society has allowed me to use the Society's microfilm-reader and to consult several of its records.

Sir James Mann, President of the Society from 1949 to 1954, has not only given me encouragement when I was engaged upon this book, but has also been so kind as to read and correct it in manuscript. His successor as President, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, has kindly read the manuscript and has provided valuable criticisms of the later chapters. Our former Secretary, Mr. R. L. S. Bruce Mitford, has done the same, and has given me information on various points in connexion with the Elizabethan Society on which he has himself made researches. His predecessor, Sir Thomas Kendrick, and his successor, Mr. A. R. Dufty, have also been so kind as to read my manuscript. Our Treasurer, Mr. Bradfer-Lawrence, has given me information about the Cocked Hat Club.

Among our Fellows I am indebted for help on points of detail to Mr. C. K. Adams, the Hon. W. R. S. Bathurst, Mr. C. F. Bell, the Rev. Noel Boston, Mr. John Charlton, Mr. Charles Clay, Mrs. E. M. Clifford, Mr. W. G. Constable, Mr. E. Croft Murray, Mr. Leslie Dow, Mr. Lewis Edwards, Mr. R. H. Ellis, Mrs. Dorothy Gardiner, Brigadier O. F. G. Hogg, Mr. R. W. Ketton-Cremer, the late Mr. G. E. Rendall, Miss Scott Thomson, Mr. Geoffrey Webb, and Lord Ilchester, who kindly drew my attention to references to the Society in a notebook of George Vertue's which he is editing.

I am also grateful for much help received outside the Society. Professor David Douglas lent me his transcript of Wanley's day-book, and I was helped on points of detail by Sir Henry Dale, Professor Bruce Dickins, Miss Katharine Jennings, Mr. W. Branch Johnson, Mr. C. H. Josten, Sir Walter Lamb, Mr. Richard O'Sullivan, Q.C., Mrs. Geoffrey Webb, Mr. John Woodward, and Professor C. L. Wrenn. Lady Anne Fummi has kindly allowed me to reproduce James Gunn's sketch of her father, Lord Crawford, as Mr. Maurice Hope has that of his father Sir William St. John Hope. The Committee of the Athenæum have permitted me to illustrate their portrait of Sir Hercules Read by Augustus John. Sir William Dugdale has kindly given me a photograph of Borsse-laer's portrait of his illustrious ancestor, and the College of Arms, the Bodleian Library, the Royal Society, and the Ashmolean Museum have allowed me to reproduce portraits in their possession.

The project of this book formed part of the celebrations of the Bicentenary of the Society's Charter held in 1951, and its chronicle ends in that year.

J. E.

Wotton under Edge

April 1954



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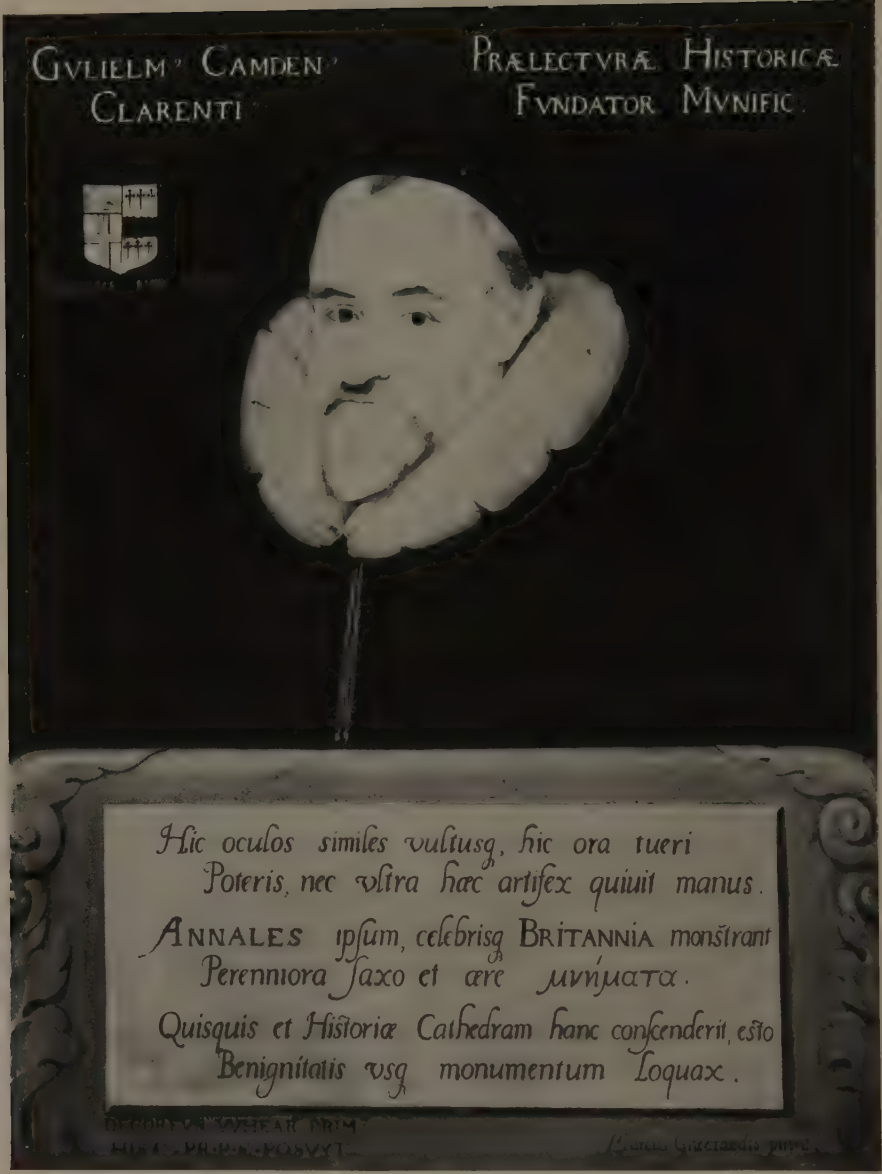
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William Camden, c. 1623

Bodleian Library, Oxford

I

ANTIQUARIANISM IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

ARCHAEOLOGY, like fire-weed, grows best on ravaged land. So long as the fabric of medieval England remained united men were hardly conscious of nostalgia for the past. New churches might be built in place of old, new castles crown immemorial mounds, new manor-houses provide finer homes for the owners of the soil; but the process of historic growth in material civilization was continuous and uninterrupted. Poets (always backward-gazing) might sing of the matter of Britain; historians might enjoy quoting Geoffrey of Monmouth; but men whose chief pleasures lay in looking were perfectly content with the fashions of visible creation of their own day.

The Renaissance added the dimension of historic time to man's view of his world. Time had always formed a part of it, but it had been envisaged either as a part of personal experience or as a part of legend. No one in the Middle Ages had tried to set a date to King Arthur and his knights; no one had demanded proofs of their existence. The classical scholars of the Renaissance looked back to a distant yet exactly dated Greek and Roman past, when men, whose existence could be proven, were greater than the men of their own time, as thinkers and writers and builders and sculptors. To recover their books and buildings and statues was no mere work of piety, since by their study and imitation alone could men hope to equal and to excel their makers.

This view was essentially Italian, for in Italy any man might hope by luck and hard work actually to recover the Roman past from the soil. Because of this widespread interest and hope it was in Italy that such researches first became corporate in the discussions of Marsilio Ficino's circle of friends, which in the 1470's grew under the patronage of Lorenzo *il Magnifico* into the Accademia Platonica of Florence. Their field included all the aspects of humanism; they cannot have ignored the visible remains of antiquity, but there is no evidence that they gave them any special consideration. The first Academy of Archaeology in Italy seems to have been the Accademia della Virtù that was founded in Rome about 1538 for the study of Vitruvius and the pursuit of pleasure.¹

¹ Pevsner, *Academies*, p. 10, n. 2. The Roman Academy founded by Leto in the fifteenth century is said to have been concerned with 'ancient monuments'.

On England the scholarship of the Renaissance struck a more glancing blow. The Middle Ages were still not unfamiliar, even to the eye; John Rous, in his Warwick Roll, was even in 1477 able to represent the armour of the members of that house correctly from the eleventh century to his own time.¹ In the same way the 'matter of Britain' was still part of the national heritage. A small circle of courtly humanists might doubt the very existence of King Arthur, but they had little influence on the Tudor world, which for political reasons was inclined to glorify Celtic legend. Even the introduction of printing served to perpetuate the Middle Ages rather than to encourage new genres; Caxton printed the *Brut* and the *Polychronicon*; Chaucer was six times reprinted before 1550. It was, indeed, the *Historiae Anglicae libri XXVI* published by the Italian Polydore Vergil in 1534 that was the first book printed in England which refused to accept the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the 'matter of Britain'.

The first framework for English antiquarian study² was provided by the publication of Ptolemy's *Geographia* at Vicenza in 1475 and in many subsequent editions, and by that of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, first published in Italy in 1512. They might provide no more than lists of names, but those lists were the only basis on which historians could build. In 1547 Robert Talbot, a Wykehamist, edited and commented on the *Itinerary*; unhappily he did not find a publisher.³

The Renaissance added a time element to the national heritage of legend. To establish and elucidate this became the chief task of the English scholar (who was often a herald) in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁴ Yet the binding force of continuity and familiarity made an historic view of things habitually seen extremely difficult. The study of antiquity in England could not be a romantic vision of ancient things newly dug up from the reluctant earth; it lay in the slow distinction and slower understanding of buildings and monuments that had been familiar for generations; and for some time it was the work of solitary scholars, not of men working in the congenial climate of an academy.

Continuity was broken and familiarity destroyed by the English Reformation. The dissolution of the monasteries between 1535 and 1539 arrested the stream of English life by an unparalleled catastrophe. The 'bare ruined fanes' became at a blow

¹ See J. G. Mann, 'Instances of Antiquarian Feeling in Medieval and Renaissance Art', in *Arch. Journ.* lxxxix, 1933, p. 254.

² The point is admirably made by Professor Haverfield in the first of his Ford Lectures in 1907, published under the editorship of George Macdonald in 1924.

³ The book was not printed until 1711. Servetus identified many Roman towns in Britain in 1535, mostly wrongly, and Ortelius to some extent followed him.

⁴ T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, 1950, p. 34. I should like to express my indebtedness, both general and particular, to this book and its author.

historical monuments, because they no longer fulfilled their functions. Simultaneously with the destruction of the abbeys a man was found to study their remains; and by one of the ironies of history it was the king who had ruined them who was prepared to be the patron of his studies. John Leland, a man with the seeds of genius and of madness in him, was in 1546 able to sign his *New Year's Gift to King Henry the VIII* as 'Joannes Lelandus Antiquarius'.

Leland¹ was a scholar of the New Learning. He was born about 1506, in time to be a pupil of William Lilly at St. Paul's. After graduating at Cambridge he migrated to Paris and was admitted to the circle of Guillaume Budé. This included the Italian Paolo Emilio, who was already engaged on the long researches which resulted in the publication of his *De rebus gestis Francorum* about 1520. There, too, Leland probably became acquainted with the contemporary topographical surveys of Italy, made to elucidate its history in Roman times.

Leland returned to England towards the end of 1528, with some reputation as a Greek scholar. By 1530 he was installed as Keeper of the King's Libraries, which were already swollen with the royal loot from the lesser monasteries. He took minor orders and was listed as a Royal Chaplain. In 1533 Henry VIII gave him authority to search the libraries of the surviving monasteries and colleges for the manuscripts of ancient authors. He was priested, and received papal authority to hold as many as four benefices.

His travels seem to have begun early in 1534. Their aim was to collect monastic books for the King's Library; but Leland seems also to have collected manuscripts of old chronicles in hopes of having them printed. His main interests, indeed, were entirely and narrowly documentary; and when his travels led him towards further and wider aims, these were chiefly topographical. Yet sometimes some fragment of visible antiquity thrust itself into his apprehension: the '3 crossis . . . antiquissimi operis' in the east end of the chapel garth at Ripon; the towers rising above the courtyard at Grey's Court in Oxfordshire; the 'costly and fair' west front of Lichfield Cathedral; and ancient standing crosses wherever he found them.

He was Catholic enough, and cultivated enough, to resent the fact that 'one Stumpe . . . an exceding riche Clothiar' had filled the conventual buildings of Malmesbury Abbey with his looms; he took no pleasure in finding the Grey Friars at Gloucester a brew-house and the Blackfriars a draper's store. He was a Pausanias of Tudor England, permitting himself neither aesthetic emotions nor artistic criticisms. He was, indeed, rather geographer than antiquary, viewing the panorama of a late medieval country and setting down the bare bones of its topography, its economics, and its local history.

¹ See Kendrick, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

He set out to glorify the antiquity and prosperity of England: its beauty was of less account.

His travels seem to have ended in 1543; he settled down in London to deal with the material he had accumulated and to write a book on King Arthur that was printed in 1544. Each member of the Royal Household gave the King a present at the New Year; in 1546 Leland fulfilled his duty as the royal librarian by offering the manuscript *New Yeaer's Gyfte to King Henry the VIII in the XXXVI Yeaer of his Rayne*.¹ In this he briefly describes his travels and their purpose, and declares:² 'I have matier at plenty already prepared for this purpose, that is to say, to write an history to the which I entende to adscribe this title, *De Antiquitate Britannica*.' It was to be arranged by counties, and to be accompanied by three volumes '*De Nobilitate Britannica*'.

These projects were brought to nothing in the spring of 1550, when, in the words of his friend John Bale, he 'by a most pitifull occasion fell beside his wits'. He never recovered. The manuscripts of his *Itinerary* eventually found their way to the Bodleian, and were not published until they were edited by Thomas Hearne, Bodley's Librarian, in 1710-12.

Leland's madness delayed the development of antiquarianism in England for a generation. Yet already the climate of public opinion was growing more favourable to such studies. The revival of the old religion under Queen Mary caused the State to regard the remains of medieval churches with other eyes. In January 1556 John Dee (admittedly a man with a charlatan's adventurousness) could supplicate Queen Mary to take action 'for the recovery and preservation of Ancient Writers and Monuments' by having the monuments surveyed by a commissioner and by preserving the documents in a library with himself as librarian.³

Even in the time of Mary's successor a new clemency towards the Catholic past made itself evident. In 1560⁴ a proclamation of Elizabeth was issued against 'defacing monuments of antiquity set up in the Churches for memory not for superstition'. It bade ordinaries inquire into such losses since the first year of her reign, 'and to cause the offenders to set up again what they had broken'. Little was done to implement the proclamation,⁵ yet its mere issue is significant, especially as its clauses against breaking images in windows suggest that it was dictated by the interests of antiquarianism as well as those of legal descent.

¹ Printed by his friend John Bale in 1546 and reprinted by Toulmin Smith, i, p. xxxvii.

² p. xlii.

³ The original Supplication (Cotton Library Vitellius CVII) was burnt in the fire of 1731; a copy survives in Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2 (Gough), fol. 260v.

⁴ A. R. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*, p. 417.

⁵ The second proclamation of 1570 seems to have had more effect: see J. G. Mann in *Walpole Society Trans.* xxi, 1932-3, p. 12, n. 2.

It was not long before an interest in antiquity became almost synonymous with recusancy: and indeed there was in Elizabethan England a good deal of nostalgic Catholic archaeology of the kind represented by the *Rites of Durham*.¹ John Stow, who began his researches into the history of London about 1560 under the patronage of Archbishop Parker,² was soon in difficulties as 'being an Admirer of Antiquity in Religion as well as in History'. In 1568 all his books were searched and modern 'papistical' books found as well as great historical collections. He was again accused in 1570; but he continued his work and his reclamations against 'the bad and greedy men of spoil' who defaced tombs and monuments and bought churches to pull them down for 'private Benefit, the only Devourer of Antiquity'. His *Survey of London*³ is a piece of first-hand antiquarian investigation remarkable for its power of suggesting the *chose vue*. Yet its view is essentially documentary; gravestones are transcribed as documents, but there is no place found for architectural description.

William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, published in 1570, is written from a similar standpoint. He declares that he has dug up his material, like a miner, from 'old books borden up in corners', and indeed his book seems derived from written documents rather than directly from the places it describes.⁴ There is hardly any mention of medieval architecture. Lambarde had sensibility enough to mourn the effects of the Dissolution on Canterbury, and astuteness enough (under an excommunicated queen) to moralize in a politic spirit about them.

'I cannot on the one side, but in respect of the places themselves, pittie and lament this generall decay, not only in this Shire, but in all other places of the Realm also; So on the other side, considering the main Seas of Sinne and Iniquity, wherein the world (at those daies) was almost wholly drenched, I must needs take cause, highly to praise God that hath thus mercifully in our Age delivered us, disclosed Satan, unmasked these Idols, dissolved their Synagogs, and raced to the ground all Monuments of building erected to Superstition and ungodliness. . . . By the just judgement of God therefore, *Canterbury* came suddenly from great wealth, multitude of Inhabitants, and beautifull buildings, to

¹ Written in 1593. Some time before his death in 1615 (aet. 89) Roger Martyn wrote an account of the pre-Reformation ceremonial followed at Long Melford (W. Parker, *The History of Long Melford*, 1873, p. 70). Another Catholic antiquary was Thomas Habington, whose brother was hanged for his participation in Babington's plot. He died in 1647, but his collections for the history of Worcestershire were not published until 1717 and 1723.

² Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. John Strype, 1720, preface, p. iii. A recent account of Stow will be found in Rowse, *op. cit.*, p. 193. It may be recalled that Ralph Agas's plan of London and Westminster was made about 1560.

³ It was not published until 1598, but there is little doubt but that it was effectively finished some time earlier.

⁴ It is noteworthy that the standing stones at Aylesford known as Kit's Coty House are not mentioned in the first edition but are included in the 3rd edition of 1640.

extreme poverty, nakedness and decay . . . : in which plight, for pitty I will leave it. . . .'¹

Lambarde begins his *Perambulation* with a short dissertation on the Heptarchy, followed by a key to the Anglo-Saxon runes. Another 'Perambulation', this time of England, by another man who could read Anglo-Saxon appeared in Latin in 1580: Camden's *Britannia*.²

Camden, born in 1551, was fifteen years younger than Lambarde. His father was a painter; but in spite of family poverty he enjoyed a humanistic education at Christ's Hospital, St. Paul's, and, as a servitor, at Oxford. In 1574 he was appointed usher of Westminster School, of which he became headmaster in 1593. It was in his vacations that he made his journeys. A study of his text seems to show that (apart from many short excursions near London) he made a journey to Portsmouth and back by the coast to Kent, and a greater expedition up to the Roman Wall, along it and back again by another route. There is no evidence that he personally visited England west of Portsmouth; and it is doubtful if he himself went to Cheshire, Durham, and two or three of the midland counties. His preface³ ascribes the impulsion to write the book to Abraham Ortelius the geographer, who 'dealt earnestly with me that I would . . . restore antiquitie to Britaine, and Britaine to his antiquitie'.

Camden himself describes his *Britannia* as 'a perambulation', but it has a far clearer form and purpose than Leland's *Itinerary*. He declares that 'some there are which wholly contemne and avile this study of Antiquitie as a back looking curiosity', but he feels that 'in the studie of Antiquity, (which is alwaies accompanied with dignity, and hath a certaine resemblance with eternity) there is a sweet food of the mind well befitting such as are of honest and noble disposition'.

His *apologia* sets a noble standard which became a part of the tradition of English antiquarianism.

'To accomplish this worke the whole maine of my Industrie hath been imployed for many yeares with a firme setled study of the truth, and sincere antique faithfulnessse to the glory of God and my country. I have done dishonour to no nation, have descanted upon no mans name, I have impaired no mans reputation, I have impeached no mans credit, no not Geffrey of Monmouth whose historie (which I would gladly support) is held suspected among the judicious. Neither have I assumed upon my self any perswasion of knowledge, but only

¹ p. 236.

² On the *Britannia* see Kendrick, op. cit., chap. viii; S. Piggott in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1951, p. 199.

³ I use Philemon Holland's translation of 1637. A similar inspiration is claimed for Humphrey Lhuyd: Kendrick, op. cit., p. 136. Indeed Ortelius's visit to England in 1577 seems to have done much for its topographical study.

that I have been desirous to know much. And so I right willingly acknowledge that I may erre much, neither will I sooth and smoth my errors. Who shooting all day long doth alwaies hit the mark?’

His book shows a great advance on Leland’s, which he evidently consulted in manuscript. Cartography did not interest him; his aim was history pure and simple. He went behind any modern division of England into counties and shires to the *pagi* of the tribes recorded by its Roman historians¹ and looked at the country with no tourist’s eye. Knowledge, indeed, had increased; for example Leland, though he looked out for them, knew of no Ancient British coins; but in 1586 Camden was able to give named engravings of coins of Verulam and of Cunobeline, and to add in the 1600 edition further examples from the collection of his friend Sir Robert Cotton.² Camden professed ‘to walke in a mirke and mistie night of ignorance’ in the matter, but some of his attributions still stand. Similarly his 1607 edition is enriched by transcriptions of nearly eighty Romano-British inscriptions³ from the northern counties. He listed, too, a greater number of visible antiquities than Leland: they range from the Bewcastle Cross to King John’s Cup at Lynn. His medieval interests are further reflected in his description of the tombs in Westminster Abbey.⁴

By the time he published the *Britannia* Camden had become the centre of a circle of men of like interests with his own.⁵ For he was not, like Leland, a solitary eccentric, but a man who enjoyed exchanging ideas with like-minded friends⁶, chief among them Robert Cotton himself, who had been his pupil at Westminster. In 1597, through the patronage of Lord Burghley, Camden was named Clarenceux King of Arms, and enjoyed greater leisure.

Cotton seems to have begun the acquisition of his library about 1588, when he was a boy of seventeen or eighteen. Shortly before Elizabeth’s death in 1603 he, James Lee, and John Doderidge were associated in a petition⁷ (Plate II) to the Queen that, if she had granted

¹ Gough considered (*Topographical Antiquities*, p. xii) that Camden owed his Roman topography to Robert Talbot: see above, p. 2.

² These plates were not supplanted until Gough’s edition of 1789. See John Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864, p. 1. Speed in 1614 followed Camden in the main, but added a considerable number of coins from the Cotton Collection.

³ On these see Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁴ *Reges, Reginae, Nobiles . . . in ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii Sepulti*, 1603.

⁵ Other books in the same category as his own should not be forgotten, notably John Rastell’s *Historie of England*, 1602, and *Historie of Great Britaine*, 1606; see Kendrick, p. 109.

⁶ The publication in 1599 of Ralph Brooke’s *Discovery of Certain Errors* in Camden’s work should, however, be noted as one of the first printed instances of archaeological jealousy. Brooke was York Herald, and Camden had been appointed Clarenceux over his head. See Rowse, p. 58.

⁷ Two copies are among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum: Faustina E. v. 12, fols. 89 to 90 b, and Titus B. v. 67, fol. 210. The MS. is quoted by Stukeley in 1752 (*Ants. MS.* 11). Part of the text was published by Gough in his preface to *Arch.* i and the whole by Ayloffe

it,¹ would have established English scholarship on a basis of royal patronage. It petitioned her to have a library built 'in some convenient place of the hospitall of the Savoy, St. John's or els whear' in which 'divers old books concerning Matter of History of this Realme, originall Charters and Monuments' might be preserved, and to incorporate an Academy for the Study of Antiquity and History, out of which officers to supervise the library should be chosen. 'Their ar divers gentlemen', it declares, 'studious of this knowledge & wch have of a long tym assembled & exercised themselves theirin of wch company & others that ar desirous the body of the said Corporation may be drawne.'

It seems, indeed, as if the publication of the *Britannia* in 1586, and the foundation of the Cotton Library soon afterwards, had so focused the interest of a little coterie of friends that they had fallen into the habit of regular meetings for discussion. Out of these meetings arose the first Society² of Antiquaries in England.³

The only definite source for the date of the foundation is John Spelman, who in his preface⁴ on the occasion of writing his *Discourse on the Law Terms* in 1614 states:

'About forty two Years since, divers Gentlemen in London, studious of Antiquities, fram'd themselves into a College or Society of Antiquaries, appointing to meet every Friday weekly in the Term, at a Place agreed of, and for Learning sake to confer upon some Questions in that Faculty, and to sup together. The Place, after a Meeting or two, became certain at Darby-house, where the

in his edition of the *Curious Discourses*, 1771, p. 324. They have been collated by E. Flügel in *Anglia Zeitschrift*, Halle, 1909. See also R. Flower, 'Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times', in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxi. 5.

¹ It is probable that her death prevented its consideration.

² Camden in his *Britannia* of 1586 (p. 56) refers to 'Antiquitatis Senatus': Gough (*Arch.* i, p. xiv) translated this as 'Society of Antiquaries', but Gibson (1695 edition, p. 6) as 'the whole body of Learned Antiquaries'. Dr. Van Norden suggests (Spelman, p. 43) that it means rather 'Senate of Antiquity'—the Latin and medieval chroniclers. In his 1600 edition, however, Camden appeals to the 'Collegium Antiquariorum' which must indicate the contemporary society. It is noteworthy that the reference is omitted in the 1616 edition published after the Society had ceased to meet.

³ Their history has recently been studied by an American, Dr. Linda Van Norden, who has succeeded in clearing up some of the uncertainties and contradictions of previous accounts. I wish most gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness to her work. The Society of Antiquaries possesses a microfilm of her thesis, *University of California at Los Angeles. The Elizabethan College of Antiquaries. A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in English*, by Linda Van Norden, June 1946. Early accounts of the Society by R. Gough, J. Winter Jones, and Arthur Evans will be found listed in the Bibliography. To them may be added H. K. Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Library Scholarship*, Columbia, 1913.

⁴ The MS. is Bodleian MS. e Museo 167; it is in Spelman's hand. In this the *Occasion* and the *Discourse* appear to have been written, or rewritten, at the same time. A second copy, from Spelman's library, is in the Rylands Library, Manchester (Van Norden, Thesis, p. 12.) It was printed in the life of Camden prefixed to E. Gibson's edition of the *Britannia* in 1695; in his *Reliquiae Spemannianae* of 1669, p. 69, and in Spelman's *English Works* in 1723. See L. Van Norden, 'Sir Henry Spelman on the Chronology of the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries', in *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, xiii, No. 2, Feb. 1950.

Herald's Office is kept:¹ and two Questions were propounded at every Meeting, to be handled at the next that followed; so that every Man had a Sennight's respite to advise upon them, and then to deliver his Opinion. That which seem'd most material, was by one of the Company (chosen for the purpose) to be enter'd in a Book; that so it might remain unto Posterity. The Society increased daily; many Persons of great Worth, as well noble as other learned, joining themselves unto it.'

Stukeley, when he wrote a manuscript history of the Society of Antiquaries in London soon after it had received its Charter in 1751,² declared: 'About 1585 toward the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a number of persons in and about London, eminent for learning, had regular meetings or conferences, for the improvement and illustration of the history and antiquitys of England.' He adduces Cotton's *Life* and the life of Richard Carew prefixed to his *Survey of Cornwall*³ as his sources, and gives other facts that seem to be derived from Spelman. It is noteworthy that he gives the date 1585: Richard Gough, when he wrote on the subject in his introduction to the first volume of the *Archaeologia*, assumed that Spelman wrote the *Occasion* at the same time as the *Discourse*, that is in 1614, and that 'about forty two years since' implied the foundation in the years around 1572. Only one sixteenth-century document⁴ suggests the possibility of so early a date. It speaks of an antiquarian society, 'the President and Patron of which Society, is the most Hon. and Rev. Pastor John [Whitgift] by the grace of God now Archbishop of Canterbury, successor unto M[atthew] Parker, D.D., late his predecessor, who was the first founder of the same'.⁵ A book in Lambeth Palace Library⁶ in a manuscript note on the title-page describes the author, John Josselyn, as 'being entertained at the said Archbishop's house as one of his Antiquaries', and it may well be that Parker's employment of such men was the cause of the confusion.

¹ Meetings were also occasionally held in Sir William Dethicke's house in Garter Place. See B.M. MS. Cotton Faustina E. v, fol. 64 (meeting of 29 Jan. 1604).

² Antiquaries Library, MS. 11.

³ The Society is mentioned in the 1602 edition, p. 61b, where it is said that Carew was elected to it in 1589.

⁴ MS. Ashmole 1157, No. 15, fols. 87, 89-102, quoted by R. Masters, *History of the College of Corpus Christi and the B. Virgin Mary*, Cambridge, 1753, Appendix No. XXIX, and by R. Gough in *Arch.* i, p. v. A copy made in 1748 is among the Gough MSS. Bodleian MS. Misc. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 143. Other copies are in the Gregson Institute, Liverpool; and Trinity College, Dublin, MS. G. III. 15. The treatise was written (according to Gough) by Sir William Fleetwood in 1590. On the genealogy of the Fleetwoods see *Notes & Queries*, Jan. 1953, p. 7. Another copy of the treatise is B.M. Harleian MS. 2077, fol. 138; this gives the author as William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, and the date as 32 Eliz. This is in another hand from that of another copy in B.M. Add. MS. 26741, fol. 4.

⁵ The words occur in an Epistle introductory to a treatise on the word 'Lancaster' addressed to Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty, dated from Serjeant's Inn in Fleet Street, 16 May 1596.

⁶ MS. 959, No. 6. On Parker's antiquarian work see Kendrick, op. cit., p. 115.

Dr. Van Norden has pointed out¹ that the *Occasion* must in fact be considerably later than the paper it prefaces. It alludes to events occurring between 1616 and 1624, and since it describes Sir James Ley both as Earl of Marlborough and as Lord Treasurer, a description only valid between 1626 and 1628, it must have been written in those years.

If the *Occasion* were written in 1628, the College of Antiquaries was, according to Spelman, founded about 1586, at the time of the publication of Camden's *Britannia*. At this time Camden himself was still at Westminster School, and most of those who are known to have been early members of the college were living or working in London² and of a reasonable age.

Some such date is amply confirmed by the surviving documents relating to the Society, which have been minutely studied by Dr. Van Norden. A number of manuscript discourses exist that seem to have been prepared for reading before the Society: their dates range from 27 November 1590 to 21 June 1607, and cover thirty-eight meetings of the Society.³ There is no evidence of meetings having been held between 1594 and 1598, but these were years of plague in London and the members may well have retired from it.

Two summonses for the meetings⁴ for 1598 and 1599 are specifically for All Souls' Day; can it be that this solemn feast, when all men think of the past, was a fixed day for an Antiquaries' Meeting? There seems to have been otherwise no regular day determined for their assemblies.

Of the thirty-eight recorded meetings, only six fell out of the Law Term: of these one was a postponement, one is doubtfully dated, and one a probable mistake.⁵ The members⁶ of the Society were many of them knights and all of them gentlemen, except their honoured colleague John Stow; many of them owned manorial

¹ Spelman, pp. 150 et seqq.; Van Norden, Thesis, chap. ii. Oldys (p. 317) and Gough (p. xiv) had been conscious of certain difficulties in the date, but had not resolved them.

² Dr. Van Norden points out (Thesis, p. 113) that Spelman himself left London in 1588 or 1589 and lived in Norfolk until 1604. He had, however, to come up at intervals for the sessions of the House of Commons of which he was a member.

³ Van Norden, Thesis, p. 94, gives a table of subjects and dates. On the views the papers express see Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, p. 100.

⁴ Bodleian MS. Ashmole 763, fols. 196 and 195.

⁵ Van Norden, Thesis, p. 115. On the legal bias of the Society, see R. J. Shoeck in *Notes & Queries*, new series I, Oct. 1954 (CXCIX), p. 417.

⁶ See Van Norden, Thesis, chap. iii. Two manuscript rolls of fellows survive: one in the Norwich City Library, in Spelman's hand and from his papers, containing twenty-two names, and one in Bodley MS. Ashmole 763, IV, fol. 197a, giving the names of those to be summoned on All Souls' Day 1598. A few other names are found jotted in other MSS.: see Gough, pp. v and vi. I have discovered a further list of 'The Assembly of the Antiquaries' in B.M. Harleian MS. 5177, fol. 141. Dr. Van Norden is not inclined to accept Bolton's statement that Sir Walter Raleigh was of their number for which the Antiquaries' MS., 103 *Academ Royal*, seems to be the only authority. See below, p. 17.

rights and were interested in the conditions of the tenure of land in England. Twenty-one of them were graduates of Oxford, and sixteen of Cambridge; two belonged to both universities. Yet except for Lancelot Andrewes and Hugh Broughton, neither of whom were certainly members, there were no clerics among them. They were all scholars, but few of them had any claim to be accounted men of letters, though some of the surviving discourses¹ are not wanting in style and grace. Historical fact, not literature, was their intention: and historical fact seen from the standpoint of the lawyer and the herald. 'Antiquity' figures in most of the discourses, but it was never visible antiquity. They were bound by an agreement to consult only English sources; Tate, in a discourse of 30 April 1600, declares that 'nothing be spoken but of this realme', and Francis Leigh on 28 November of the same year pleads ignorance on a point of heraldry, 'more especially as it is confined to the limits of our country, in experience of which, we are most commonly ignorant, as having therein less help from reading and history, then we have in regard to other countries'.²

This limitation (not unreasonable since they were ultimately discussing only English history and law) inevitably resulted in insularity and even parochialism. Their true aim was to establish a 'cultural longevity' for their country:³ Parliament had to date from the Roman era; the bearing of arms to go back to Caesar, and Christianity to have been brought to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea. It seems possible to detect⁴ that the discourses were to some extent in series, according to a programme. Between 1590 and 1594 there were papers on the nobility and gentry, from dukes down to esquires and gentlemen; in the spring sessions from 1591 to 1594 a series on real property; in 1599 a series on castles, cities, parishes, towns, and shires; in the autumn of 1599 a shorter set on the dimensions of land and the knight's fee; early in 1600 a course on funerals and funeral customs; in 1601 some on the Officers of the Court; and in 1604 discourses on the antiquity of the Christian religion.

Such a programme must have been easy to impose, since nearly all the surviving discourses are clearly answers to a question put, and we have Spelman's word,⁵ that two questions were propounded at every meeting to be considered at the next. As many as fifteen answers survive on the question on sterling money, all apparently

¹ See Van Norden, Thesis, chap. v. Forty-seven of these were printed in *A Collection of Curious Discourses* by Thomas Hearne in 1720, and 107 were added in Ayloffe's edition of 1771. Those printed elsewhere are listed by Van Norden, Thesis, p. 32.

² Van Norden, Thesis, p. 113. See also L. Van Norden, 'Peiresc', p. 370. Similarly Spelman in the final chapter of his 'Four Terms of the Year' (*English Works*, ii. 98) apologizes for having used so much canon and foreign law in his argument.

³ See L. Van Norden, 'Celtic Antiquarianism', p. 65.

⁴ Van Norden, Thesis, chap. iv.

⁵ *Reliquiae*, p. 69. See above, p. 9.

prepared for 27 November 1590, when it was discussed; six on the antiquity of arms remain, for the meeting for 2 November 1598.

The Society, indeed, came near to being a debating society or a moot. Arthur Agard, discussing the 'Dignity and Antiquity of Dukes of England' on 25 November 1598,¹ declared:

'That it seemeth to me in that there was not in anye of our former propositions any iudyciall or fynall conclusion sett downe, wherby wee might say this is the iudgement or right opynyon that is to be gathered out of everye man's speache. So as levinge each question undecyded, our assemblye might be rather demed a Courte of Morespeach . . . than a learned conference. Therefore I wish this abuse . . . might in our nowe meetings be reformed. And that uppon every poynt, men being heard, the soundest iudgements might be thereuppon concluded.'

We have no knowledge whether his advice was followed; the evidence of argument and counter-argument,² however, continues to suggest a moot without a judgement.

A Harleian manuscript,³ which appears to be in Agard's hand, gives a list of 'The Assembly of the Antiquaries' that seems to date from 1591.⁴ It was evidently a rough copy of the convener's. It continues with what is equally clearly a rough copy of the summons for his use.

'Si aliquis super summonicionem ter defecerit exeat aula.

To M[agistr]o A.B

The place appoynted for or meeting ys at Mr. Garter's house the [blank] day of [blank] next being [blank] at [blank] of ye clocke in the afternoone where yor opinion in writing or otherwise ys expected.

The Question ys

Of the Antiquity of ye priviledge of places for Students and Professors of the Common lawe.

Yt ys desired that you give noe notice hereof unto any but such as have the like Summons.'

The point of the last sentence is stressed in a letter from Lancelot

¹ Hearne, Ayloffe's ed., ii, 1773, p. 184.

² e.g. B.M. Harleian MS. 5177, fols. 48 et seqq., which gives argument and counter-argument between Agard and Francis Thynne. Moots, however, at this time usually had three set speakers.

³ B.M. Harleian MS. 5177, fol. 141.

⁴ 'Mr. Garter Dethicke, Mr. Clarenceaux Camden, Mr. Sergeant Fleetewood, Mr. Hughe Broughton, Mr. Jeames Ley, Mr. Robert Cotton, Mr. [Francis] Thynne, Mr. [Francis] Tate, Mr. John Dodderidge, Mr. [Thomas] Talbott, Mr. Thynne Late Clerke of the Signett, Mr. Arthur Agarde, Mr. Spelman, Mr. Doyley, Dr. of the lawe, Mr. [Henry] Bowcher, Mr. Michael Henneage, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Walter Cope, Mr. Strangman, Mr. John Stowe, Mr. Clyffe, Mr. Wiseman, Mr. [Joseph] Holland, Mr. [William] Patten.'

Andrewes to Abraham Hartwell, dated 30 November, 1604.¹ 'I talkt with Mr. Clarentieux [i.e. Camden], and he would not certify me that I was made of your number, and yet he was at your last meeting, wher such things (as he said) used to be agreed on before any came in.'

That attendance was required of members is confirmed by a letter from Sir Richard Carew to Sir Robert Cotton, dated 7 April, 1605, apologizing for his absence from meetings of the 'Sweete and respected Antiquarum Society'.²

The Society continued to flourish³ until about 1608; the latest extant discourse dates from 1607. Spelman tells us:⁴

'Thus it continu'd divers Years; but as all good Uses commonly decline; so many of the chief Supporters hereof either dying or withdrawing themselves from London into the Country; this among the rest grew for twenty Years to be discontinu'd. But it then came again into the mind of divers principal Gentlemen to revive it; . . . in the year 1614. . . .

We held it sufficient for that time to revive the Meeting, and only conceiv'd some Rules of Government and Limitation to be observ'd amongst us; whereof this was one, That for avoiding Offence, we should neither meddle with Matters of State, nor of Religion. And agreeing of two Questions for the next Meeting, we chose Mr. Hackwell to be our Register, and the Convocator of our Assemblies for the present; and supping together, so departed. . . .

But before our next Meeting, we had notice that his Majesty took a little Mislike of our Society;⁵ not being inform'd, that we had resolv'd to decline all Matters of State. Yet hereupon we forebare to meet again, and so all our Labours lost. . . .'

The true descendants of the Elizabethan Society have been not the Antiquarian Societies of England, our own Society at their head, but the discussion societies of the Inns of Court, such as the still-surviving Ancient Society of Cogers.⁶

¹ The MS. is lost, but it is transcribed in Bodleian MS. Smith 83, and is given in Latin in Smith, 'Vita . . . Cottoni', *Catalogus*, p. viii. The English text is quoted by Gough in *Arch.* i, p. xv, n. 1. See Van Norden, 'Spelman', 145.

² B.M. MS. Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 306, printed in Henry Ellis, *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, Camden Society, xxiii, 1843, p. 98; Van Norden 'Spelman', p. 146.

³ Dr. Van Norden points out ('Peiresc', p. 370, n. 7) that the Society's duration roughly coincides with the span of the six Latin editions of Camden's *Britannia*. Sir John Myres has pointed out (*Learned Societies*, p. 12) that the Académie Française started as an essay club about 1635; it was Richelieu who turned its labours into the narrower and politically safer channel of lexicography.

⁴ *The Occasion*; Gibson, *Reliquiae*, p. 70.

⁵ Vertue suggests (B.M. Add. MS. 23096, fol. 30; note dated Nov. 1751) that the King thought their discussion of the origin of Parliaments touched on the royal privilege.

⁶ It is said to take its name from the *Cogito* of Descartes. It used to meet at Cogers' Hall, 15 Bride Lane, and now meets in one or other of the Inns of Court. I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Richard O'Sullivan, Q.C.

II

STUART ANTIQUARIANISM

THE intellectual climate of the Court of James I was far from being as favourable to antiquarian study as had been that of Elizabeth. Such studies were little likely to do anything to glorify the house of Stuart and still less likely to laud James's characteristic view of religion; they could only serve to recall the achievements of Plantagenets and Tudors and the beauties of the Catholic Church.

It will be remembered that nothing came of the petition for incorporation as an Academy in conjunction with a Royal Library which was presented, or was at least prepared for presentation, to Queen Elizabeth;¹ and it was not long before the existing informal Society of Antiquaries suspended its meetings. No document survives to attest their existence later than June 1607, and Spelman's preface to his *Origin of the Law Terms* shows that the attempted revival of its meetings in 1614 was abortive, since they heard that the King 'took a little Mislike' to their Society, 'not being informed that we had resolved to decline all Matters of State'. In 1619 Bolton could say of the College of Antiquaries: 'the thing itself is absolutely vanished'.²

The breath of royal disapproval might not have sufficed to kill a healthy society, but the lapse of meetings between 1607 and 1614 shows that it was in any case in a declining state. It may be that London was not at this time a good centre for a kind of learning that was then chiefly cultivated by country gentlemen and cathedral clergy.

The great historical work of the decade—John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, published in 1614—appeared when the author was a man in his sixties. Dedicated to 'the Learned and Lovers of Great Britaine's Glory', it is copiously illustrated with engravings of coins, by no means ill drawn: Roman, Saxon, and medieval, with a key at the end³ to give the true scale. The Saxon

¹ Gough (*Arch.* i, p. v.) Says: 'There was indeed a tradition among the revivers of the Society in the present century, that a grant had been obtained, which by its discontinuance was forfeited. Mr. Holmes often mentioned it; and had it been among the records in his custody, he would certainly have brought it to light.'

² Vertue, writing in 1751, considered that the Society continued after James I's death. 'Yet still many of the Old Members had their meetings and discuss^{ns}. So on in the next reign, but affairs of State so much took up their thoughts, that little was done by that Society.' B.M. Add. MS. 23096, fol. 33. My attention was kindly drawn to this MS. by Lord Ilchester.

³ p. 921.

monarchs each have an invented coat of arms, but the story of the medieval kings is illustrated by engravings of their seals. The 'Catalogue of the Religious Houses, Colledges, and Hospitals sometimes in England and Wales' is not quite complete, but is none the less remarkable. The maps have interesting *marginalia*: that for Surrey, for example, has engravings of the castles of Richmond and Nonsuch. Speed describes a few monuments but no buildings; in his account of Gloucester Cathedral, for example, he describes the painted wooden tomb of Robert Curthose but says nothing about the church's architecture.¹ Speed's book remains a remarkable proof that Camden's *Britannia* had established a fertile tradition.

Francis Bacon, when he wrote the *New Atlantis* in the years after 1614,² saw nothing strange in his plea for the organized pursuit of learned research. Yet Drayton, in his address to the 'Generall Reader' prefaced to the *Polyolbion* in 1622, writes:

'In publishing this Essay of my Poeme, there is this great disadvantage against me: that it commeth out at this time, when Verses are wholly deduced to Chambers, and nothing esteem'd in this lunatique Age, but what is kept in Cabinets, and must only passe by Transcription; In such a season, when the Idle Humerous world must heare of nothing, that either sauors of Antiquity, or may awake it to seek after more, then dull and slothful ignorance may easily reach unto . . .'

He further admits that his poem is partly addressed to 'the female sex' who is unlikely to rate it highly. It may indeed be that a certain pettiness in decoration that makes itself felt in Jacobean times is the reflection of a time of second-rate taste—sometimes feminine—at a court from which some of the greatest men in England preferred to absent themselves.

Moreover, as England came more completely under the spell of the Renaissance, men's interests were turning from their own country to the antiquities of Greece and Rome. Prince Henry had begun to collect coins and engraved gems before his death in 1612; Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, began to collect his marbles in Italy in 1613, and received great additions to the collection from Constantinople in 1621 and still more from Greece in 1628.³ Inigo Jones, who as Architect-General surveyed Stonehenge for the King in 1620, was probably well advised to declare it Roman.⁴

¹ He is notably Protestant in his treatment of the Holy Blood of Hales.

² It was not published until 1637. In his *Advancement of Learning* (ii. c. 6) he defines the study of Antiquities: 'When industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observations, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stones, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, deserve and recover somewhat from the deluge of time.'

³ Michaelis, p. 6. In this year his collection was described by John Selden in *Marmora Arundelliana*, p. 130.

⁴ See Kendrick, *Druids*, p. 7. Jones also began to collect material for a map of the Roman roads of Britain, but it was all lost in the Civil Wars. See Gough, *Topographical Antiquities*, p. xii.

By 1628 the antiquary was sufficiently established as a type to figure as one of the characters in Earle's *Microcosmography*.

'He is a man strangely thrifty of time past. . . . He is of our religion, because we say it is most antient, and yet a broken statue would almost make him an idolater. A great admirer he is of the rust of old monuments, and reads only those letters where Time hath eaten out the letters. He will go forty miles to see a saint's well, or a ruined Abbey; and there be but a Cross or stone footstool in the way, he'll be considering it so long till he forget his journey. His estate consists much in shekels and Roman coins. . . . Beggars cozen him with rusting things they have raked out of dunghills. . . . Printed books he contemns as a novelty of this latter age; but a manuscript he pores on everlastingly, especially if the Cover be all moth-eaten, and the dust make a parenthesis between every syllable. . . . His grave does not fright him; for he has been used to sepulchres, and he likes Death the better because it gathers him to his fathers.'

A few years later the antiquary was established as a comic character. The play of *The Antiquary* by Shackerley Marmion, which was acted at the Cock-pit in 1641,¹ could mock collectors who sit

'All day in contemplation of a statue
With ne'er a nose—'

but its author wrote better than he knew when he made his antiquary declare: 'Antiquities . . . are the registers, the chronicles of the age they were made in, and speak the truth of history better than a hundred of your printed commentaries.'

Such antiquities, however, were by now envisaged as being essentially classical. It is significant that the project for a chartered society next put forward comes closer to the academies of Italy than did the College of Antiquaries. The word 'academy', indeed, continued as in Elizabethan days to be associated rather with a finishing school than with a learned society;² but the name chosen by Edmund Bolton for the institution he fought for in the eleven years between

¹ *Dramatic Works*, 1875, p. 199. The author, a gentleman with a decent fortune which he lost, was born at Aynho in 1602 and was at Wadham from 1617 to 1624.

² At some time between Burghley's appointment to the Court of Wards in 1561 and his own death in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert planned an Academy in London for the Queen's wards and other young gentlemen, to teach them Greek and Latin grammar, Hebrew, Logic, Rhetoric (in English), Moral Philosophy, Mathematics, horsemanship, the military arts, navigation, medicine, the Elements of Law, French, Spanish, High Dutch, fencing and dancing, and heraldry. See B.M. Lansdowne MS. 98, fol. 1, and F. J. Furnivall's edition (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, viii, 1809). The plan was followed with some modifications in the Academy planned by Prince Henry before his death in 1612 (John Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, 1781, p. 213) and other school academies, of the seventeenth century: Kynaston's 'Musaeum Minervae', which received a charter for seven years in 1635; Balthasar Gerbier's 'Academy' of 1636 (see Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, 1762, ii. 627); and Cowley's proposed institution 'for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy' which was to have twenty professors and sixteen student-servitors. (See Van Norden, Thesis, chap. vii; Weld, *History of the Royal Society*, i. 42.)

of power, being a statute to be established under
 great seal of the Bishop of Exeter & the Bishop
 of Exeter & the Bishop of Exeter

- 1 The first of this petition is to give the same to the
 remembrance of the future of the said Bishop of Exeter
 original of the same monument in a Librarian to be created
 in some convenient place of the said Bishop of Exeter
 of Exeter or else where.
- 2 Secondly for the better improvement of all Involvement &
 gentleness of the said antiquity in regard to the
 be enabled to do unto the said & the said Bishop of Exeter
 for as the said Bishop of Exeter for the said place
- 3 Thirdly Librarian to be instituted the Librarian of the Queen
 Elizabeth and for same will be well provided in
 the said monument of the said antiquity and
 the said Bishop of Exeter and the said Bishop of Exeter
 of the said Bishop of Exeter will be willing to provide.

2 That ye may please the Queen's most
 to convey the said Bishop of Exeter
 of the said antiquity for the better preservation
 of the said Librarian & the said Bishop of Exeter
 in the said place

The name of this Corporation to be The Academy
 for the study of Antiquity and History founded by Queen
 Elizabeth or otherwise as ye shall please for more

The said of the said of the said Corporation shall
 consist of 1. A Governor or President. Two wardens
 of the library & one to be chosen of the said of the
 for the said academy out of the said of the Governor

Draft for a Royal Charter for the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries



Sir William Dugdale, by Peter Borsselaer, c. 1675

Sir William Dugdale, Bart.

1617 and 1628 was none the less 'the Academ Roial'. Twelve manuscripts¹ survive to represent his project, which show that (though he had not enjoyed any connexion with it) the former Society of Antiquaries was in his mind when drafting them.

'There was also a time, most Excellent King', he declared,² 'when, as well under Queen Elizabeth, as under your Majestie, certain choice Gentlemen, Fathers of Families, or otherwise free Maisters, Men of prooffe, were knit together, *statu temporibus*, by the love of only one part of these Studies', upon contribution among themselves, which company consisted of an Elective President, of Clarissimi, of other Antiquaries, and a Secretary. 'But this their Meeting, whose profession reached only to the matter of our Antiquities, without pretending to other the higher poincts, deserved to have had an incorporative connexion, by way of Authoritie Royal. But as it had not, so being consequently deprived of the benefit of suffection and substitution, a few of the friends and persons dying, whose names nevertheless do live with honour . . . the thing itself is absolutely vanished: succession performing that in Civil bodies, which generation does in natural. This has not happened without the just grief of all those worthie patriots, who know your realms afford living persons fit to keep up and celebrate that Round Table. . . .'

Bolton's Academy³ was to be incorporated under the Great Seal, to have a mortmain of £200 a year, and a common seal with the figure of King James on one side and that of Solomon on the other. It was to hold quarterly meetings at Windsor Castle and an annual meeting on St. George's Day. Its members were to be divided into three classes. The first, that of Titularies, was restricted to Knights of the Garter, the Lord Chancellor, and the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge. The second, of Auxiliaries, was to be chosen from the peerage and to include some from 'the new Plantations'. The third class, of Essentials, was to consist of able and famous laymen, thirty years old at least, 'and in no way interested by profession in any set form of studie, but free to fair life, and books of honor'. The members were to be distinguished by a ribbon and a badge, to be granted in augmentation for their arms, and to enjoy a suitable precedence.

Edmund Bolton envisaged three duties for them. First, they were to supervise any translations for publication of secular books; second, they were 'To celebrate the memory of the secularly noble of Great Britain that the history of our country may rescue itself

¹ The most recent account of these will be found in Dr. Van Norden's Thesis, p. 34. See also Gough in *Arch.* i, p. xv; Portal in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1915-16, p. 206; N. Pevsner, *Academies*, p. 15, and B.M. Add. MS. 24623, fol. 55 (Papers of Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., c. 1830.) I have consulted B.M. Harleian MS. 6103 and 6143; Add. MS. 39177; and Ants. MS. 103; and *Arch.* xxxii.

² I quote Gough, though he combines two MSS.: he states that the words not in inverted commas come from a second copy.

³ The practical proposals vary little in the various petitions. I follow that of 1626.

from the shears and stealths of Tailors,¹ and obtain at last a grave and free authentic Text, not only in our mother tongue, but in the Latin also, thereby to correct the errors and repress the ignorance and insolencies of Italian Polydores, Hollandish Meterans,² rhapsodical Gallo-Belgici and the like wherein Mr. Camden hath gone before us, to his everlasting praise,' and thirdly they were 'To keep a constant register of public facts, to be with them of the academy as in old Rome among the Pontifices'.

Bolton's proposals included a list of eighty-four men suitable for election to his Academy.³ Of them only Robert Cotton, John Selden, and John Spelman had been associated with the earlier Society of Antiquaries. The proportion of antiquaries, even including heralds, is small; it is, indeed, not a very distinguished list, and is chiefly remarkable as comprising as many Roman Catholics as possible.

Edmund Bolton was himself a Catholic. He was a Cambridge graduate, a poet and a lawyer, a herald⁴ and a historian living under the protection of the Duke of Buckingham. His first petition, dated 1617, was addressed to the Duke; the second, in 1619,⁵ to the King himself; the third, in 1620⁶ to the King with a preface to Buckingham. The Duke moved the acceptance of the scheme in the House of Lords on 5 March 1621; the project was fairly well received, if without enthusiasm. Bolton then issued a statement to the general public⁷ giving further details, and in 1624 published his *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie Depraved*, with a dedication to Buckingham and an allusion to the College of Honour. Meanwhile the King seems to have been well disposed to the Academy; a letter from him to Prince Charles dated 25 June 1622⁸ speaks favourably of it, and suggests that the funds for its maintenance should be handed over to him to carry the project out.⁹

Two years later he granted Bolton an audience to report his progress.¹⁰ A Charter was promised, but on 27 March 1625, King James died, and Bolton's subsequent petitions¹¹ to Charles I bore no result.

The last of them, the *Cabanet Royal*,¹² accepts the fact that Charles I was more interested in collecting antiquities than in

¹ Presumably a hit at John Stow.

² Emanuel Meteren, Consul of the Dutch merchants in London, and cousin of Ortelius.

³ Portal, p. 197.

⁴ His *Elements of Armories* published in 1610 is remarkable for its description of the tomb of the Black Prince.

⁵ Ants. MS. 103.

⁶ B.M. Harleian MS. 6103.

⁷ B.M. Harleian MS. 6143.

⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1619-23*, p. 411.

⁹ Ancient History was being admitted to the universities; Camden founded his Professorship at Oxford in 1622, the year before he died.

¹⁰ See Bodleian, Tanner MS. 94.

¹¹ e.g. B.M. Stowe MS. 39177, 1626.

¹² B.M. Royal MS. 18 A 71.

fostering literary scholarship. Bolton tries to persuade the King that his love of medals and statues of dead heroes should be extended to include encouragement for the living. There are matters, he declares, which 'marble and metal cannot give, but writing only'.

Edmund Bolton spent the last years of his life as a prisoner for debt in the Fleet and the Marshalsea, and might have been thought to have sown his seed on stony ground. Yet he had helped to crystallize the idea of an English academy; and his project, though it had come to nothing, was given new authority when the Académie Française was founded under Richelieu in 1635. This was, it is true, devoted to literature and philology; yet already in France antiquarianism had been established on a more visual basis than it had as yet been in England. Some time before his death in 1637 Claude Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc (who on his visit to England in 1606 had met Camden and his friends)¹ had hired artists to make coloured drawings for him of such varied objects as Iron Age fibulae and the early medieval objects of the treasury of Saint-Denis.² Peiresc was the friend of Camden and his circle,³ yet we have no such records of the regalia of England.

Exceptionally a minor poet of 1627 catches the romantic note.⁴

'In Verolamium, a Forgotten Citie, sometimes neere Saint Albones

Stay thy foot that passest by,
Here is wonder to descry,
Churches that interr'd the dead,
Here themselves are sepulchred.
Houses, where men slept and wak't,
Here in ashes under-rak't,
In a word to allude;
Here is corne where once Troy stood;
Or more fully home to have,
Here's a Citie in a grave.
Reader wonder thinke it then,
Cities thus would die like men:
And yet wonder thinke it none,
Many Cities thus are gone.'

In England, however, antiquarianism continued to be centred in county histories, Anglo-Saxon studies, and epitaphs. The first,

¹ His drawings are in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale; they seem to have been made about 1630. He paid a short visit to England in 1606. See J. Guibert, *Les Des-sins du Cabinet Peiresc*, 1910.

² See Van Norden, 'Peiresc', p. 372.

³ Spelman sent him a copy of his *Glossarium* and Selden of his *Arundel Marbles*; the marbles indeed had been originally secured for Peiresc. I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. A. R. Dufty.

⁴ *A Helpe to Discourse, or a Misselany of Seriousnesse with Merriment*: London, 1627, and J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 1631, p. 4.

continuing an Elizabethan tradition, are represented by such work as William Burton's *Description of Leicestershire*, published in 1622,¹ with more about the Middle Ages than about Roman times; the second, by William L'Isle's *Saxon Treatise concerning the Old and New Testament*, published in 1623, and Spelman's *Archaeologus, in modum Glossarii* of 1626;² and the third by Weever's more famous *Funerall Monuments*, published in 1631. In the preface he declares that it has in part been inspired by books on epitaphs published in Italy, France, Germany, and elsewhere, and in part by the destructions of his own and former times.³ 'And also knowing withall how barbarously within these His Maiesties Dominions, they are (to the shame of our time) broken downe, and utterly almost all ruined, their brasen Inscriptions erased, torne away, and pilfered, by which inhumane, deformidable act, the honourable memory of many vertuous and noble persons deceased, is extinguished, and the true understanding of diuers Families in these Realmes . . . is so darkened, as the true course of their inheritance is thereby partly interrupted.' He fears that it may displease some people that he lauds the Catholic piety of the past; he shelters himself under Camden's plea that we are all Christians. *Cujus anime propitiatur Deus* may often have been scraped out of the brass, but he is glad to include it in his transcription.

Weever writes, indeed, as a High Anglican might today, with a strong sympathy for the Middle Ages and a natural dislike of the destructions of the Reformers of any generation, but an acceptance of the standpoint of the national Church. His book is not only an important work of reference—even though in its printed form it includes only the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and Norwich—but also a monument of Laudian antiquarianism. He earned, as much as Anthony Munday⁴ for whom it was written, the epitaph:

'He that hath many a Tombstone read,
I' th' Labour seeming more among the Dead
To live, than with the Living; that survey'd
Abstruse Antiquities, and o're them laid
Such vive and beauteous Colours with his Pen
That sight of Time those Old are New again. . . .'

Such studies as Weever's were in great measure genealogical and

¹ A still smaller unit is represented by William Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, first published in 1640. He was a protégé of Laud's, and wrote just before the Puritans devastated the churches of the city. His book sold badly under the Commonwealth, but was successfully issued with a new title-page in 1662 and achieved a second edition in 1703.

² The volume published goes down to L only; it sold badly and was not completed.

³ Not only in the preface but elsewhere, e.g. pp. 50 and 54.

⁴ Stow's literary executor, d. 1633. The epitaph, in Coleman Street Church, is given in Strype's preface to Stow's *Survey*, p. viii.

heraldic.¹ In his 'Epistle to the Reader' he tells us that he was growing discouraged, until Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald, persuaded him to go forward and made him free of the documents of the Heralds' Office.² The same bent is to be seen in Roger Dodsworth's notes on churches in Yorkshire; they³ contain little but epitaphs and descriptions of the coats of arms in the stained glass windows. How far such studies dominated antiquarian thought is shown by Robert Vaughan's publication in 1662 of an entirely genealogical book under the title *British Antiquities Revived*.

The architectural styles of the Middle Ages, indeed, were not yet differentiated in England. The travelled John Evelyn might use the word 'Gothic' in his diary in 1641,⁴ but Dugdale never employs it in his history of St. Paul's Cathedral, published in 1658. Men were slowly learning to observe details in medieval buildings, but had not yet progressed to the apprehension of the whole.

Not even the horrors of Civil War could change men's tastes and interests. Soldiers on the King's side of the warring armies used their enforced travels to take antiquarian notes. Richard Symonds's *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War*⁵ includes many notes on churches, chiefly heraldic; his comrade Gervase Holles seems to have made his own heraldic compilations⁶ in more peaceful days.

In spite of the stormy state of English politics, by the late sixteen-thirties men were ready not only to work at unravelling the past of their own country, but also to work at it in company. Sir Edward Dering, who in 1627 had secured a letter from the Council authorizing him to take notes or transcribe any records earlier than the time of Edward VI, was by 1638 organizing a Society of Antiquaries under the title *Antiquitas Rediviva*.⁷ At a chapter of the Society held on 1 May in that year Sir Edward Dering, William Dugdale, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Thomas Shirley signed an agreement to work together. They were all gentlemen in the prime

¹ They carried on the tradition of the earlier heralds Robert Glover, Robert Cooke, Francis Thynne, and Nicholas Charles. See Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, p. 156.

² It is noteworthy that he expresses his indebtedness to Cotton, Spelman, and Selden, the three members of the old College of Antiquaries whom Burton wished to include in his Academy.

³ York Archaeological Society, *Record Series*, xxxiv, 1904, ed. J. W. Clay.

⁴ See E. de Beer, 'Gothic; Origin and Diffusion of the Term', in *Journ. Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*, xi, 1948, p. 155.

⁵ Ed. C. E. Long, Camden Society, 1859.

⁶ B.M. MS. Harl. 6829.

⁷ See R. B. Larking, 'On the Surrenden Charters', in *Arch. Cant.* i. 50 and in *Notes & Queries*, 1st series, 1855, 6 Jan., p. 5; A. J. Evans, Presidential Address for 1917, in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd series, xxix, 1917, p. 166; and C. E. Wright, 'Sir Edward Dering, a Seventeenth Century Antiquary and his "Saxon" Charters', in *The Early Cultures of North West Europe* (Chadwick Memorial Volume), Cambridge, 1950, p. 369. The present whereabouts of the original MS. (said to have been in Dering's hand) is not known.

of life, living on their estates, and experienced in antiquarian research of the kind then current. Dugdale, at all events, had only made Dering's acquaintance in February 1637;¹ they were not old or close friends. Christopher Hatton, however, seems already to have been Dugdale's patron, financially and otherwise. Yet they met together to form a team, as scientific workers might meet nowadays. They agreed:

- '1° *Imprimis*, That every one do helpe and further each others studyes and endeavours, by imparting and communicating (as time and circumstances may permitt) all such bookes, notes, deedes, rolles etc, as he hath; for the expediting whereof, and that each may knowe what to borrow of other for his best use and behoofe, itt is first concluded and promised eache to send unto other a p^rfect inventory and catalogue of all such notes, bookes, collections, etc. as they now have.
- 2° Item, That no p^rson of this Society do shewe or otherwise make knownen this or any the like future agreement, nor call in, nor promise to call in, any other person of this Society w^hout a particular consent first had of all this present Society.
- 3° Item, that every one do severally gather all observable collections w^h he can, concerning the foundation of any religious house, or castle, or publicke worke and all memorable notes for historicall illustration of the Kingdome or the geneologicall honour of any family therein: especially concerning the countyes of Kent, Huntingdon, Northampton and Warwick and the same to communicate unto each of this Society who is most interested therein . . .
- 5° Item, That everyone do endeavour to borrowe of other strangers, with whom he hath interest, all such books, notes, rolles, deedes, etc., as he can obteyne, as well for any of his partners as for himself. . . .
- 8° Item, That care be providently had, not to lend, much lesse part with, any other peece, treatise, booke, roll, deed, etc, unto any stranger, but to such p^rsons, from whom some reasonable exchange probably be had or borrowed.
- 9° Item, That every of the rest doe send unto S^r Christopher Hatton a p^rfect transcript of all such heires femall of note as he can find, with the probates of every of them to be methodized by him.
- 10° Item, For the better expediting of these studyes by dividing the greate burden which through such infinite variety of particulars would arise, to the discouragement, and oppressing of any one man's industry, itt is concluded and agreed to part and divide these labours, as followeth viz that S^r Christopher Hatton shall take care to collect and register all old rolles of armes, and old parchment bookes of armes, being of equall valew, antiquity, and forme with the rolles.
- 11° Item, For the same reasons, that S^r Thomas Shirley shall collect together and enter (att large or in breife according to such coppys as can be had) all patentes and coppys of new grants or confirmacions of armes and creastes.

¹ Hamper, *Dugdale*, p. 9.

- 12° Item, For the same reasons, that Sr Edward Dering do gather and compare a full, compleate booke of armes by way of ordinary.
- 13° Item, For the same reasons, that Mr. Dugdale do collect and copy all armoriall seales, with a breviat of the deedes and the true dimensions of the seales.
- 14° Item, For the same reasons, that Sr Edward Dering do sometime this somer, beginne a new system or body of Armory, with such brevity, p^rspicuity, and proper examples as may best be chosen; to which purpose the other associates have promised to send unto him such helpe, by way of originalls or coppinges of all extraordinary formes of sheildes, charges, supporters, augmentations, diminutions, differences, etc, as they can furnish forth; the same to be reviewed att the next chapter.
- 15° Item, For the same reasons, that Sr Thomas Shirley do gather the names and armes of all (or as many as can be had) mayors, sheriffes, and aldermen of London and Yorke, and of all other cityes and townes, throughout all ages.
- 16° Item, For the same reasons, that Sr Christopher Hatton do collect together all names and armes of Knights to which purpose all the rest of the Society are to send unto him such supply as they have: except itt be for the Knights of King James and King Charles, which are, by the paynes of Mr. Anthony Dering already put into good order for which Sr Edward Dering undertaketh . . .'

It is evident from these regulations that three out of the four were interested in their own particular counties, and each also in his own particular subject: Sir Christopher Hatton in heiresses, Sir Thomas Shirley in mayors and civic officials, Sir Edward Dering in a systematic book on heraldry. Only Sir William Dugdale had no special subject assigned to him, beyond his share of the heraldic work. Yet though Hatton seems never to have published a work on heiresses, nor Shirley one on civic officials, nor Dering an Armorial, Dugdale did in 1655 publish the *Monasticon* in which some of the companions' notes from the 'observable collections . . . concerning the foundation of any religious house' are doubtless incorporated.

Dugdale, who lived near Coleshill in Warwickshire, was probably less tied by his duties as a landowner than were his friends; at all events he was free to come to London in 1638¹ with another of his patrons, Sir Symon Archer. Archer introduced him to the octogenarian Spelman, who in his turn recommended him to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, the collector of ancient marbles, who held the office of Earl Marshal. After due inquiry into Dugdale's heraldic knowledge, he made him Rouge Croix poursuivant,² and Dugdale thus secured an assured career.

When Spelman introduced Dugdale to Dodsworth, a fellow enthusiast twenty years older than himself, the introduction must

¹ Hamper, *Dugdale*, p. 9. See also Douglas, op. cit., p. 32 et seqq.

² His *Antient usage in bearing of . . . Arms*, 1682, is remarkable as propounding a simplified system of heraldic nomenclature.

have seemed without much significance; but to it we owe three of the great antiquarian volumes of the seventeenth century. Roger Dodsworth came from the same sort of minor country family as did Dugdale himself,¹ and was, like him, dependent on the financial patronage of such men as Lord Fairfax of Denton and John Rushworth. He was not an antiquary of the seeing kind, but a student of muniments, contented to spend fourteen hours a day among the records in the Tower of London; a man whose notebooks inspired even Hearne with respect and religious awe.

The subject of monastic history was in the air. Dom Martin Marrier, with his colleague André Duchesne, had published his great *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* in 1614, and Dom Luc d'Achery was already beginning to institute a general revival of historical studies within the Benedictine Order. Dugdale had begun to work at the subject probably as early as 1636, and was certainly engaged on it by 1638, as appears in his letters of that year. Dodsworth had begun to work a good deal earlier, probably in 1605, and was well advanced in the subject by the time they met, especially as regards the monasteries of his own county of Yorkshire.

A state of civil war made travel in England exceedingly difficult. Dugdale, however, as a member of the College of Heralds enjoyed a privileged position. His journeys round England with warrants from Charles I demanding the submission of garrisons must have provided admirable occasions for antiquarian observation; he had both the gifts and the opportunity of original work. He was probably a less good scholar than Dodsworth, but he had neatness, method, and the drive that gets things done.

Dodsworth was less evidently born to success than Dugdale. He has been described² as 'a plain-spoken, forthright Yorkshireman, in a broad-brimmed hat, attending very closely to business and expecting others to do the same'. He was a formidable worker; even at sixty-five he sometimes spent thirteen hours at a stretch in the Tower, transcribing records. A hundred and sixty of his manuscript notebooks are in the Bodleian;³ they are filled with pedigrees, genealogies, copies of inquisitions, Exchequer records, and charters and other monastic documents. He planned to write three great books: a Baronage of England, a history of Yorkshire, and a *Monasticon Anglicanum*. He collected material for them concurrently; before he died in 1654 the *Monasticon* for the northern half of England was so far advanced that by his will⁴ he asked his friend John Rushworth to see it through the press.

¹ See J. Hunter, *Three Catalogues*, 1838; N. Denholm Young and H. H. E. Craster in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xxxii, 1936, p. 5.

² Denholm Young and Craster, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³ First seriously catalogued by Joseph Hunter in 1838.

⁴ Hunter, p. 247.

Dugdale offered to take over this responsibility; and instead of acting merely as a proof-corrector, so edited the whole that he felt justified in accepting Rushworth's invitation to add his own name to the title-page of the first volume in 1655¹ and to the second in 1661. He published the third under his own name only. He had copied the manuscript history of Staffordshire² by Sampson Erdeswicke, who had died in 1603; he was already in relation with Burton, the author of the *Description of Leicestershire*, and with Sir Symon Archer of Tamworth and other local antiquaries. All their work he used. The *Monasticon Anglicanum* must be judged as a compilation by many hands;³ yet it remains a magnificent piece of work, not only for its astounding documentation but also for its admirable engravings of medieval architecture.

The *Monasticon* had but a small success in Puritan England; even the country gentlemen who were its destined readers may not have been particularly anxious to have the previous history of their once-monastic estates too closely examined. The second volume did not appear until 1661 and the third twelve years later. Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, published in 1668, only came into its own after the church whose history he recounted had been destroyed.

The Surrenden Company had no great future before it; yet meetings of learned men, less strictly regulated, were already being held in England. The 'incunabile' of the Royal Society began to meet soon after 1640,⁴ either in the rooms of one of the members or at a tavern near Gresham College, where they often attended lectures. Dr. Wallis's account of the Society's activities about 1645⁵ gives a list of the subjects discussed; none of these are in any degree antiquarian, nor was antiquity included in their proposals for a Philosophical College.

Men of science, indeed, felt with the physician Thomas Browne, who wrote in his *Urn Burial*: 'We are coldly drawne unto discourses of Antiquities, who have scarce time before us to comprehend new things, or make out learned novelties.' Yet the engravings that illustrate Browne's book are the first to be published of Anglo-Saxon pots (though he thought them Roman), and his little treatise on *Sepulchrall Urnes lately found in Norfolk*⁶ may stand as the first

¹ Its preface or *Propylaion* is by John Marsham, the writer on Chronology, who according to Wotton was the first man to make Egyptian chronology intelligible.

² It was never printed until 1717, and then with many faults.

³ See Douglas, p. 47. It seems certain that Dodsworth is rarely given enough credit for his share in it; Dugdale himself claimed no more than a third part of it. Letter to John Reppes, 10 Dec. 1654; Hamper, p. 283. It is perhaps significant that Dodsworth planned a Baronage of England and that Dugdale produced one in 1675-6.

⁴ Lyons, p. 7.

⁵ Weld, *History of the Royal Society*, i. 30; see also R. H. Syfret, 'The Origins of the Royal Society', in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, ii, 1948, p. 75.

⁶ Followed in 1667 by a short note on urns found in Brampton Field in Norfolk, which were Roman.

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English excavation report. Browne, we may remember, was one of the great band of Dugdale's learned and useful acquaintances.

Hydriotaphia or Urn-Buriall was published in the year of Oliver Cromwell's death. Once the oppression of his rule was removed,¹ historical students could breathe more freely. Already Anthony à Wood, reading Dugdale in the Arts End in Bodley, was finding that 'Heraldry, Musick and Painting did so much crowd upon him, that he could not avoid them'. He drew the 'ichnography' of Dorchester Abbey, was 'wonderfully stricken with a Veneration of the stately, yet much lamented, ruins of the Abbey' at Eynsham, and was conscious that the old house at Bayworth was 'situated in a romancy place'. The foundations of many kinds of British Archaeology were being laid. William Dugdale, in his *History of Warwickshire* published in 1650, had already described stone celts as weapons used by the inhabitants of this island before the art of making brass or iron was known.²

After Cromwell's death the nascent Royal Society shifted its meetings from Oxford to Gresham College in London. The avowed intent of its members³ was to make faithful records of both Nature and Art. At first, however, their papers contained nothing of an antiquarian nature: and indeed up to 1662 Elias Ashmole, elected in 1660, Christopher Hatton, elected in 1661, and John Aubrey, elected in 1662, were the only Fellows of known antiquarian interests.

It is possible—though far from certain—that the revival of the Royal Society was paralleled by a revival of an antiquarian gathering. Elias Ashmole entered in his diary⁴ '1659 . . . July 2nd was the Antiquaries' Feast'.⁵ That is now the only record of any such meeting; yet others may once have existed. In January 1754 Dr. Ducarel, a French-born lawyer antiquary, wrote to Maurice Johnson:⁶ 'I know it is a general tradition among the old, or rather let us say, the Original Members of our present Society that there have allways been revivals of the Society even from Q. Eliz. reign, while 3 at least of the former members have been living, and thereby a legal succession continued; and I remember to have heard the E. of

¹ Let it be recorded, however, that the last nine volumes of Thomas Fuller's *Church-History of Britain, from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year M.DC.XLVIII*, published in 1655, were written under the Commonwealth.

² p. 778.

³ Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*, p. 61.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Life of Elias Ashmole*, 1717, p. 35. The catalogue of the *Museum Tradescantianum* in South Lambeth had appeared in 1656. Tradescant left it to Ashmole in 1662 and Ashmole to the University of Oxford in 1682.

⁵ There can be no confusion with the Royal Society to which he was elected in 1660; and the Astrologers held their feast in 1659 on 2 Nov. A MS. list of men of antiquarian learning in Ashmole's hand (Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 784, fol. 83) seems intended as a list of men to call on in the course of a journey, and to have nothing to do with a Society of Antiquaries.

⁶ Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 147.

Winchelsea and Mr. Le Neve particularly mentioned as members of a former Society. Could this fact be duly confirm'd and illustrated, it would make an history properly connected; but 'tis I fear, more to be wish'd for, than expected.' North, again, wrote in 1769 that he had burnt papers with 'a number of uncommon anecdotes, concerning all who appeared to be Antiquaries, down to Dugdale's death, which I had been induced to collect by Ashmole's mention of the Antiquaries, and their annual dinner'.¹ North's letter does not make it clear whether these notes were merely biographical, or whether they contained any evidence of a revived antiquarian society in the second half of the seventeenth century. The total absence of any corroborative evidence makes the existence of such a society unlikely.² Elias Ashmole knew Dugdale well; he married his granddaughter in 1668. He was friendly with Twisden and Dering³ and with le Neve's family.⁴ The 'feast' may well have been an informal meeting of men of like tastes.

There were, at all events, antiquaries enough in England⁵ and academies enough in Europe to make such a foundation far from impossible. The Royal Society received its Charter from Charles II in 1662, and in the following year Colbert founded the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Its avowed intent was to study inscriptions, medals, and devices for the King's use, but there were archaeologists among the members, and by 1701 its first printed rules define its purpose as research into the 'médailles, médaillons, pierres et autres raretés antiques et modernes du Cabinet de sa Majesté', and the 'antiquités et monuments de la France'.⁶ In England, too, there were proposals to found a British Academy in 1664 and 1673, though this, like the Académie Française, was to devote itself to the improvement of the language.⁷

The restoration of the Monarchy brought about a real revival of the historical interests of Tudor England, and squires, lawyers, doctors, and parsons, as well as professed historians, turned to work on the problems and the glories of England's past. The destructions of the Fire of London inspired painters and poets,⁸ and served to remind historians that even familiar monuments were not

¹ J. Nichols, *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, iii, p. li note.

² Gough, in *Arch.* i, p. xxii, is clearly not convinced. I have consulted Dr. C. H. Josten of Oxford, who kindly tells me that his researches on Ashmole have yielded nothing further. He points out that it was in May 1658 that Ashmole first went to work at the Records in the Tower and on 12 June that he made the acquaintance of Sir Roger Twisden.

³ Sir Edward Dering attended the Astrologers' Feast, and on 29 Oct. 1682 acted as one of the stewards.

⁴ On 8 Feb. 1664 he records: 'My picture was drawn by Mr. Le Neve in my Herald's coat.'

⁵ Gough prints a noble list in *Arch.* i, p. xxii.

⁶ Pevsner, *Academies*, p. 17.

⁷ See Emerson in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* x. 46. See also Weld, *History of the Royal Society*, i. 42.

⁸ See Aubin, p. 147.

indestructible. Symon Gunton, in his *History of the Church of Peterborough*,¹ could be frankly nostalgic over the past, and include 'A Short and True Narrative of the Rifling and Defacing the Cathedral Church of Peterborough in the year 1643'.² By 1696 there was need of a bibliography to such studies, and William Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, produced his *English Historical Library* in three volumes, to serve as a guide to the county histories and other collections of records. Professor Douglas has declared:³

'Between 1660 and 1730 English scholars brought to its proper culmination the longest and most prolific movement of mediaeval research which this country has ever seen. Thus, Anglo-Saxon studies have never, perhaps, advanced with greater rapidity than during these years, and at the same period Anglo-Norman history was being profitably investigated by a large group of devoted students. Few epochs have been more fruitful of editions of mediaeval texts, and English ecclesiastical antiquities have seldom been more successfully cultivated than by the clerical scholars of the age.'

Stonehenge became once more an object of interest and controversy.⁴ Dr. Charleton, in his *Chorea Gigantum* published in 1663, declared it to be Danish; John Webb replied with a counterblast for Inigo Jones's Roman theory, in his *Vindication of Ston Heng Restored* two years later. Sammes, in his *Britannia Antiqua Restaurata* of 1676, called it Phoenician; John Aubrey a little later was the first to claim it for the Druids, but never published his disquisition upon it.

Abraham Cowley, when he wrote an *Ode* to the Royal Society in 1667⁵ declared:

'From Words, which are but Pictures of the Thought,
(Though we our thoughts from them perversely draw)
To Things, the Minds right object, be it brought.'

The first antiquarian contribution to the Royal Society illustrates this scientific spirit at work in the archaeological field. When in July 1663⁶ Dr. Charleton presented the Society with the plan of the stone antiquity at Avebury, near Marlborough, in Wiltshire, he suggested that it was worth the while to dig there under a certain triangular stone, where he conceived would be found the monument of some Danish king. Colonel Long and Mr. Aubrey were desired to make further inquiry into it; but their report does not seem to have survived.

After Charleton's paper other contributions to the Royal Society

¹ He died in 1676; his book was published by Dean Symon Patrick ten years later.

² p. 33.

³ *English Scholars*, p. 16. On the publication of English Chronicles see his chap. viii, p. 197.

⁴ See Kendrick, *Druids*, p. 8.

⁵ Printed at the beginning of Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

⁶ Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, i. 272.

continued to have an antiquarian flavour. In 1668¹ Sir Theodore de Vaux produced a plan and description 'of some old ruins lately discovered under ground, in old Areconium or Kenchester in Herefordshire', and at the same meeting 'Sir Robert Moray presented the Society with an old very curious almanack, wherein Thomas à Becket was the youngest saint'. Later in the year a letter from M. Lannoy at Aleppo was read which gave a description of 'the pictures and bass relieves at Persepolis and Chimilnar', and Mr. Aubrey² 'presented to the Society a piece of Roman antiquity, which was a pot found at Weekfield in the parish of Hedington in Wiltshire in 1656, then half full of Roman coin, silver and copper, about Constantine. In this field . . . had been a Roman colony, there having been digged out many foundations of houses and much coin'.

Such exhibits are far closer to modern field-work than are the essays of the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries, for they are concerned with objects, not documents, and attempt their interpretation in the modern spirit. Sprat, the historian of the Royal Society, was conscious of the change of stress when he wrote in 1667: 'Many things that have been hitherto hidden will arise and expose themselves to their view . . . nay, even many of the lost *Rarities* of *Antiquity* will be hereby restor'd. Of these a great quantity has been overwhelm'd in the ruins of *Time*; and they will sooner be retriev'd by our labouring anew in the material Subjects whence they first arose, than by our plodding everlastingly on the antient *Writings*.'³

Yet there was no break with the school of the past. When in June 1667 Anthony Wood, the Oxford antiquary, paid his first visit to the records in the Tower of London he found old William Dugdale, now a Knight and Garter King at Arms, working among them. They made friends, and for the rest of Wood's stay they used to dine together at a cook-house within the Tower precincts where sometimes they had 'a boon blade' for company.⁴ Such a county history as Robert Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, published in 1677, carries on the Elizabethan tradition with little change; and Southouse's *Monasticon Fevershamense* of 1671 is chiefly remarkable because it is an account of only a single religious house. There was nothing strange in Edmund Gibson's devoting himself, with the aid of many provincial correspondents, to the preparation of a new edition of Camden's *Britannia*, which appeared in 1695.⁵

¹ Ibid. ii. 305, 325.

² Birch, op. cit. ii. 462. Another antiquarian exhibit of 1670/1 will be found on the same page. For others of 1675/6 see iii. 312 (printed in *Phil. Trans.* xi. 575); 1678 (Sir Christopher Wren), ibid., p. 430; 1681/2, iv. 116; 1683, p. 214; 1684, p. 303; 1685, pp. 414 and 448.

³ *History of the Royal Society*, p. 436.

⁴ Wood, *Life and Times*, ii. 111; Douglas, *English Scholars*, p. 31.

⁵ See Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, p. 16. A second edition (2 vols. folio) was published in 1722. See also Hunter, *Letters . . . to Ralph Thoresby*, i. 124.

The impetus towards writing county histories had not diminished: indeed, Fuller found a county classification the most reasonable for his *Worthies*.¹

It was with Dugdale's *Warwickshire* as their exemplar that John Aubrey gathered together a few country gentlemen of Wiltshire to collect material for a like history of their own county. Some did nothing, and some died and Aubrey failed to lay hands on their notes: 'T'is pitie', he writes in the preface he composed to his own notebooks in 1670, 'that those papers should fall into the mercilesse hands of women, and be put under pies.' His own collections were not printed for nearly two hundred years.²

Aubrey's preface shows him regarding the past not with the angry nostalgia of the antiquaries of the mid-seventeenth century but with something of romantic sentiment.³

'In former daies the Churches and great houses hereabout did so abound with monuments and things remarqueable that it would have deterred an Antiquarie from undertaking it. But as Pythagoras did guesse at the vastnesse of Hercules' stature by the length of his foote, so among these Ruines are Remaynes enough left for a man to give a guesse what noble buildings etc. were made by the Piety, Charity and Magnanimity of our Forefathers.

And as in prospects wee are pleased most
Where something keeps the eie from being lost,
And leaves us roome to guesse;

So here, the eie and mind is no less affected with these stately ruines than they would have been when standing and entire. They breed in generous mindes a kind of pittie; and sett the thoughts a-worke to make out their magnificence as they were when in perfection.'

He starts his survey of north Wiltshire in a very modern manner with a consideration of the soil; but when he comes to a church he follows the limitations of his time in considering its monuments rather than its architecture, unless it be a building of unusual magnificence. His notes on such a building as Malmesbury Abbey⁴ are calculated to evoke feelings of friendship in any antiquary's heart.

'Insert the Draught of the Abbey from the Monasticon: but t'is ill done. . . Where the Choir was, now grass grows, where anciently were buried Kings and great men . . .

Quaere Bartholomew the Glazier for the old Scutcheons in the church windows.'

He ploughed a solitary furrow, but ploughed it to the end. 'This searching for Antiquities', he wrote⁵, 'is a wearisome taske. I wish

¹ Published in 1662 just after his death.

² Ed. Rev. J. E. Jackson, 1862. Aubrey had visited Avebury out hunting, and had decided it was not a camp but probably a druidical temple, as early as 1648.

³ Preface, p. 4.

⁴ Ibid., p. 255.

⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

I had gone through all the Church Monuments. The records in London I can search gratis. Though of all studies I take the least delight in this, yet methinks I am carried on with a kind of divine Oistrum; for nobody els hereabout hardly cares for it, but rather makes a scorn of it. But methinkes it shewes a kind of gratitude and good nature to revise the memories and memorialls of the pious and charitable Benefactors since dead and gone.’

The immense effort of recovery in England after the Restoration was not entirely favourable to learning. The present was so absorbing that men had less time for the past; and the problem of re-establishing both tradition and prosperity left little time for antiquarian nostalgia.¹ Even the Royal Society endured its most difficult years between 1670 and 1700;² the King’s interest waned, their studies seemed remote and unprofitable, and by 1693 only 113 Fellows remained, many of them in arrears of subscription.

At this time, however, archaeology continued to be included among their sciences. In 1681/2 Martin Lister (better known as a zoologist) read a paper³ on Roman urns found in Yorkshire, classifying them into three categories, one with basso-relievos and other marks, notably signatures. At the next meeting⁴ Mr. Waller compared these with some found at Nijmegen which had been published in 1678: the comparative study of Samian ware had begun.

By 1694 William Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, was roused by Gibson’s new edition of Camden’s *Britannia* to write to Ralph Thoresby:⁵ ‘All the great improvements in learning are now carried on in France and Italy, by societies of persons proper for the several undertakings. I know no reason why history and antiquities should not be this way cultivated, as well as any other Belles Lettres whatever. At Upsal, in Sweden, they have such a college of antiquaries. And why should we not have the like in England? We have the best stock of true remains of antiquity of any nation, perhaps, in Europe; and yet our histories hitherto have been most lazily written.’⁶ Two years later he was reiterating his idea in public.⁷

¹ Lyons, p. 72. Thomas Gale, Dean of York, was Secretary of the Royal Society from 1683 to 1694 but only attended three of the Society’s Councils in those years; yet he edited Gildas and other fundamental historical texts. See Douglas, p. 69.

² Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, iv. 116.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Thomas Dingley, who compiled his *History from Marble* at this time, worked for the most part out of England. It was edited for the Camden Society by Sir Thomas Winnington in 1867.

⁵ It was Thoresby’s collection of coins which had provided the material for Gibson’s extra plate, *Nummi Britannici*. See Gibson’s diary, 10 June 1694: ‘Visit from Bright Dixon (Chaplain to the Duke of Leeds) who brought my coins from the editors of Camden’s *Brit.*, the examining of which, and concern for the loss and exchange of several, took up forenoon.’ See John Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 3. Unfortunately the good plate was spoiled by bad descriptions by Obadiah Walker.

⁶ 7 May 1694; Hunter, *Thoresby*, i. 158.

⁷ Douglas, p. 131.

The time, indeed, was growing ripe for such an institution. Thomas Tanner, in the preface to his *Notitia Monastica* issued from the Oxford Press in 1695, could say: 'The Advances that all parts of Learning have within these few years made in England are very obvious; but the progress is visible in nothing more than in the illustrations of our own History and Antiquities.' He alludes to the great output of historical books between Camden and his own time, and continues: 'The great prices those Books bear in our publick Auctions are a sufficient demonstration of their Credit and Esteem with men of Learning. . . .' It may be significant that Dr. Thomas Smith, in his life of Sir Robert Cotton prefaced to the *Catalogue of the Cotton Manuscripts* published in 1696,¹ thought fit to give a reasonably full account² of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries. Yet the time for a revival had not yet come. The men who knew most were not of a temperament that could work with others: Thomas Hearne, who—in the words of the epitaph he wrote for himself—'studied and preserved antiquities', was of too solitary and too malicious a humour to be a member of a coterie. George Hickes, who has been described as 'the most important single figure among the historical scholars in England in the latter half of the 17th century',³ was a historian and an Anglo-Saxon scholar rather than an antiquary.⁴ Professor Douglas has pointed out⁵ that it was the problems of contemporary political life that led men to study their country's past under the later Stuarts: there was a similar biased intensity in the study of medieval France in the years before the Revolution. Such impulses encourage individual work rather than corporate discussion; for that a more genial climate is required. It was found when Blenheim and Ramillies had been won, and the Union of England and Scotland had been achieved.

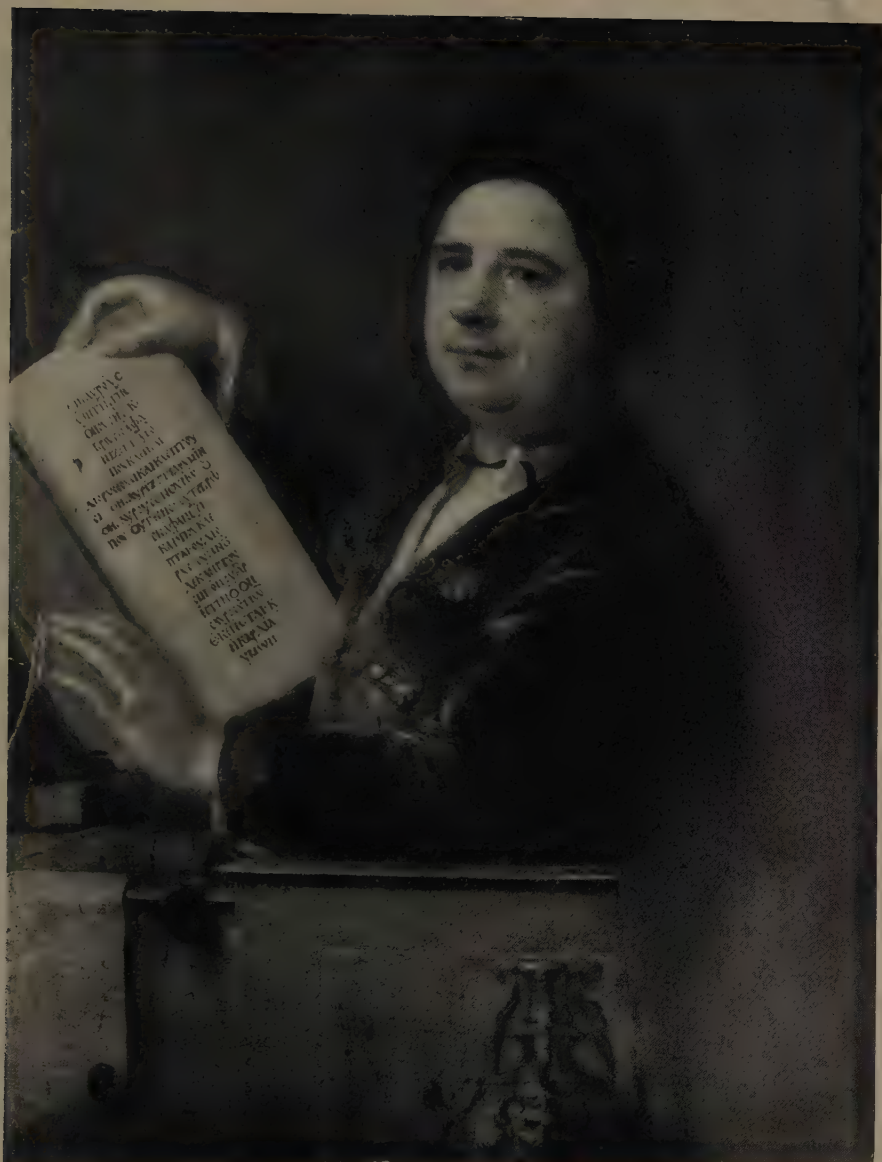
¹ *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottoniensis*, p. vii. The Library was thrown open to the public in 1700.

² Dr. Van Norden (Thesis, p. 37) describes it as the best account available to her before she had made her own researches.

³ Douglas, p. 93.

⁴ He entrusted the *Numismatica Saxonica* which completed his historical work to a 'polite' antiquary, Sir Andrew Fountaine, who duly produced an illustrated catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.



Humfrey Wanley, by I. Hill, 1711, given to the Society by George Vertue, 1755. He holds a book with Anglo-Saxon runes

Society of Antiquaries

[1]

Friday, 5. December. 1707.

W^m Tabnan, M^r Bagford, & M^r Wanley met together, and Agreed
 1. To meet together each Friday ^{in the evening by five of the clock} ~~night~~, upon pain of forfeiture of
 six pence.

Agreed that we will meet each Friday night at ~~the young~~
~~and old Tavern~~ the Bear Tavern in the Strand ^{at 8} ~~at 9~~ we
 shall Order otherwise.

~~Agreed that the hour of Meeting shall be at five of the~~
~~clock in the evening~~

Friday 12. December, 1707.

Agreed that the Business of ~~such a Society~~ ^{this} shall be limited to the
 subject of Antiquities; and more particularly, to such things as may Illustrate
 or Relate to the History of Great-Britain.

Agreed that by the Subject of Antiquities, ~~and History of~~ ^{and History of} Great Britain, we
 understand such things only as shall precede the Reign of ~~being~~ James the first
 King of England. Provided, that upon any ^{new} Discovery of Antient Coins, books, Sepul-
 chres, or other Remains of Antient Workmanship, which may be communicated
 to us, we reserve to our selves the Liberty of Conferring upon them.

Agreed that the Forfeiture of six pence upon failure ^{and Members} of Meeting each Friday in
 the Evening by ~~five~~ ^{five} of the Clock, shall hold no longer than till our Number be
 Advanced to more than Ten; unless the Society shall then think fit to Continue that
 Order.

Agreed that the Business of this Society shall be Adjourned, or Broken off
 by Ten of the Clock ~~at~~ ^{at} the furthest.

Agreed that whilst we meet at a Tavern, no person shall be oblig'd to pay for
 more than he shall Call for.

Wanley proposed & there is none sign'd for a Member of this Society.

The earliest surviving Minutes of the Society, 1707, in the hand of
 Humfrey Wanley

B.M. MS. Harley 7055

III

THE TAVERN SOCIETY

1707-8

HUMFREY WANLEY¹ was that not unfamiliar figure, a man who has followed an unconventional course of study and finds himself in consequence an outsider in Oxford. He was the son of Nathaniel Wanley, a poor and eccentric scholar who wrote mystical poetry in the manner of Vaughan.² Nathaniel Wanley held a Coventry living, but died in 1680 when Humfrey was a child of eight. The boy (whose grandfather had been a mercer) was apprenticed to a Coventry linen-draper, and stayed with him until he was twenty-two, spending all his leisure in the study of old books and manuscripts. The Bishop of Lichfield, hearing of these studies, took him under his patronage and had him admitted to St. Edmund Hall at Oxford in 1695. He soon transferred to University College to be under its Master, Dr. Charlett, who showed him much kindness. By the standards of the time he was old to be an undergraduate, and indeed he made no attempt to follow an academic course. He preferred to set up as a rebel against the curriculum; formal logic in particular he could not stomach.

A year after his arrival in Oxford Bodley's Librarian, Thomas Hyde, permitted him, in spite of his want of qualifications, to act as his assistant. Through this work he became known to many scholars. Thoresby wrote to Edmund Gibson: 'A young gentleman in Oxford, Mr. Wanley, is laying the foundation of a *Res Diplomatica* for England particularly. He designs and draws admirably well; having besides an unaccountable skill in imitating any hand whatsoever. His great curiosity in books printed and manuscript has recommended him to the University to be one of their under Library Keepers, and the command he has of everything there gives him the best opportunity he could wish of carrying on this honourable design.'³

Wanley was more remarkable for ability than modesty, especially

¹ A life of him is in preparation by our Fellow Dr. C. E. Wright. I should like to thank Professor Douglas for his kindness in lending me his transcripts of Wanley's diary. For general accounts of him see Douglas, *English Scholars*, pp. 120 et seqq., and Turberville, *Welbeck*, p. 364.

² See L. C. Martin, 'A Forgotten Poet of the Seventeenth Century', in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, xi, Oxford, 1925, p. 5.

³ *Correspondence*, i. 305.

(and excusably) in his projects. In 1697, when he was twenty-five, he wrote to Thomas Smith: 'My intent is to trace the Greek and Latin letters from the oldest monuments of antiquity now extant as the marbles and medals to the MSS. and so down to the present age. When any other language derives in character from these as the Coptic or Russian from Greek; the Francic Irish Saxon etc from the Latin; I shall consider them in their several times, but the Saxon I would especially bring down from the oldest Charters to the present English hands.'¹

His correspondent felt that his friend was growing pretentious, and replied:² 'And as I allow you to have a good opinion of yourself, so the friendship which I profess to have with you, prompts mee to advise you, not to graspe at too much, and to think as well of other men's industry and understanding as your owne.'

Wanley was already developing proprietary feelings towards the Bodleian. On 7 June 1697³ he was writing that the library should be granted by Act of Parliament a perfect copy of every book printed in London, and remarking with justice that the coins there were kept 'so huddled and confused that they are almost utterly useless'.⁴ He applied to succeed Hyde as Librarian in 1698, but failed: the University could not forget that he was not a graduate. His letters⁵ show him profoundly disappointed, and wishing for a post in London, but hoping to recoup his fortunes by marrying a Coventry cousin for her money. In 1699 he was a candidate for a deputy librarianship in the King's Library; again he failed. A little later he tried for a similar post in the Cottonian Library, again without success.

Wanley finally succeeded in getting to London towards the end of 1700;⁶ he took a rather improbable post as assistant to the Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge at £40 a year. He soon acquired other jobs of the same kind. On 7 November 1701 Dr. Hans Sloane, the Secretary of the Royal Society, informed his Council that he had 'imployed Mr. Humphrey Wanley in doing the business of a clerk'.⁷ In 1702 he became Secretary to the S.P.C.K. at £70 a year, and with this and the assistant secretaryship at the Royal Society may well have felt a measure of security.

He soon began to make a place for himself as adviser to Robert Harley in the purchase of books and manuscripts for his library.⁸

¹ *Bodleian Letters*, i. 80; quoted Douglas, p. 136.

² Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, p. 248.

³ B.M. Harl. MS. 7055, fol. 53.

⁴ They were not transferred to the Ashmolean Museum until 1922.

⁵ Bodleian MS. Eng. Hist. c. 6.

⁶ See Bodleian, Ballard MS. 13, fol. 54.

⁸ See Douglas, p. 127.

⁷ Lyons, p. 143.

By 1706 he was in a strong enough position to resign his assistant secretaryship of the Royal Society, the Fellows of which expressed their appreciation of his services by electing him to their number. He had his reward in his appointment by Harley in 1708 to catalogue his manuscripts,¹ an appointment which ultimately led to his becoming the librarian of the Harleian Library.

The Harleian Library was beginning to be an anxiety to its owner. Robert Harley, a man of Wanley's age, had in 1707 resigned the Speakership and had carried through the Act of Union; but he was deeply involved in the intrigues of the Court and had neither leisure nor peace of mind to devote much attention to his library himself. One of the Lansdowne manuscripts,² in Wanley's hand, records that on Midsummer Day 1707 Harley had Henry St. John, his political colleague, George Hickes, the great Saxon scholar, and Robert Nelson, the non-juring theologian, to dinner, to propose the formation of a body of men responsible for advising him in the maintenance of the library. "Twas then agreed that when Mr. Secretary³ would please to send them a summons they would accordingly attend, in order to the proposing of divers worthy persons for member of the future Society, and also for Framing some necessary Rules which might guide them in their deliberations, and show every member upon what condition he enters into the Society.'

Wanley, as the amanuensis who drafted the plan, must have taken a strong interest in a foundation that was to be a Governing Body for the library in which he worked; it came to nothing, yet it may have given him the idea of founding a society of another kind.

In 1703 Sir Isaac Newton had been elected President of the Royal Society. He was something of a dictator, and under his Presidency the Society became more and more scientific in the modern sense.⁴ The study of antiquity found itself in great measure excluded from the Society's programme.

Already there were coteries of men interested in genealogical and historical work who met at the same tavern to talk shop.⁵ In 1710 Addison said of the English that they 'take all occasions and pretences of forming themselves into those little nocturnal assemblies which are commonly known by the name of clubs.

¹ The Harleian Catalogue was to be no mere list but to include a critical description of each manuscript. Wanley's catalogue was never printed but was the basis of that issued by the British Museum between 1749 and 1763. See Douglas, p. 139. When Rymer died in 1713 Wanley hoped to be appointed Historiographer Royal but was disappointed in his hopes.

² B.M. Lansdowne MS. 825, fol. 77.

³ St. John.

⁴ Lyons, pp. 117 et seqq.

⁵ As early as 1701/2 Thomas Tanner, later Bishop of St. Asaph, was writing from Norwich to Peter le Neve: 'My humble service to Mr. Petit, Mr. Hare and all friends at the Bull Head, I hope to send you something acceptable ere long, out of our Will Book and Institutions.' J. G. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 412.

When a set of men find themselves to agree in any particular, though never so trivial, they establish themselves into a kind of fraternity and meet once or twice a week on account of such a fantastic resemblance.'

The nucleus of such clubs was normally a coterie of men who fell into the habit of meeting in a coffee-house or tavern. It has been said of Wanley that he ate too little and drank too much. His portraits¹ show a man portly and sanguine, not at all of the build one would have guessed from his minute and scholarly handwriting. He was born to enjoy the tavern society of his time; and out of that enjoyment grew the Society of Antiquaries. By 1707 he and two of his friends who were in the habit of meeting at the 'Bear' in the Strand had reached the point of organizing themselves into a club. The friends were John Talman and John Bagford.

The earliest history of our Society cannot be better told than in its earliest minutes, which survive² in the hand of Wanley. (Plate V).

'Friday, 5 December. 1707

Mr. Talman, Mr. Bagford and Mr. Wanley met together, and Agreed to meet together each Friday in the evening by six of the clock upon pain of forfeiture of sixpence.

Agreed that we will meet each Friday night at [the Young Devill Taverne, *crossed out*] the Bear Tavern in the Strand till we shall Order otherwise.

[Agreed that the Hour of Meeting shall be at five of the clock in the Evening, *crossed out*.]

Friday 12 December, 1707

Agreed that the Business of this Society shall be limited to the subject of Antiquities; and more particularly, to such things as may Illustrate and Relate to the History of Great Britain.

Agreed that by the subject of Antiquities and History of Great Britain, we understand only such things as shall precede the Reign of James the first King of England. Provided, that upon any new Discovery of Antient Coins, books, sepulchres or other Remains of Antient Workmanship, which may be communicated to us, we reserve to ourselves the Liberty of Conferring upon them.

Agreed that the Forfeiture of sixpence upon failure of any Member's meeting each Friday in the Evening by six of the Clock, shall hold no longer than till our number be Advanced to more than Ten; unless the Society shall then think fit to continue that Order.

Agreed that the Business of this Society shall be Adjourned, or Broken off, by Ten of the Clock at the furthest.

Agreed that while we meet at a Tavern, no person shall be oblig'd to pay for more than he shall call for.

¹ One is at Welbeck, one in the British Museum and one, painted by Thomas Hill in 1711, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. A drawing of him by his friend Stukeley is in the British Museum Print Room.

² B.M. Harl. MS. 7055, fol. 1. Much of the volume is taken up with notes and drafts of Wanley on the business of the Harleian Library. The MS. was used by Gough (p. xxv) when he wrote the history of the Society in the first volume of the *Archaeologia*.

Wanley proposed Peter le Neve Esq. for a member of the Society.

January 2, 1707/8

Mr. Le Neve came and brought Mr. Holms, as a Member of this Society.

Agreed that for the future we will Meet at the Young Divil Tavern in Fleetstreet.¹

Mr. Holms proposed Mr. Madox for a member of this Society.

Mr. Le Neve propos'd Mr. Battsley for a Member of this Society.

Wanley propos'd Mr. Elstob for a Member of this Society.

9 January 1707/8 at the Young Divil Tavern

Mr. Holms Related that he had spoken to Mr. Madox, who would willingly come hither if his health would permit.

Mr. Le Neve Related that he had spoken to Mr. Batteley, who said that he had laid down all public Business, but that he would come to our Meetings as occasions should serve him.

Wanley related from Mr. Elstob that he has great business to be done this evening, but that he will take another time to meet us.

Mr. Le Neve proposed Mr. Stebbing and Mr. Hare for Members of this Society.

Mr. Hare came, being Proposed by Mr. Le Neve.

Agreed that Mr. le Neve be desired to be Chairman 'till our Number shall exceed ten, but in Case he cannot Attend, he shall be at Liberty to appoint a Deputy out of the other Members of this Society.

Agreed that no person shall be admitted to this Society, without being proposed at one or more precedent Meetings.

16 January 1707/8, The Young D. Tavern

Present Mr. le Neve, Mr. Talman, Mr. Hare, Mr. Holms, Mr. Bagford, Wanley.

Mr. le Neve propos'd Mr. Sanderson for a Member of this Society.

23 January 1707/8. The Y.D. Tavern

Present the same as at the last Meeting.

'Twas Propos'd that any Member of this Society might be free to make known any Doubts that may arise in his Reading of old Books, Charters etc. in Order to receive Satisfaction, if any other Member should have mett with further Light in such Case. This was Agreed to.

'Twas farther Proposed, that if any Member should happen to make any Observation in his Reading or Researches of Antiquities, which he should think might be of use, he might be free to Communicate the same; This was also Agreed.

Mr. Le Neve communicated a Charter of Waleran Earl of Warwick, wherein *duo Bizantii* are explained by the following words *vel quatuor Solidos*. A Charter of Richard de Humez Constable to the King of England (i.e. of Normandy) (about the time of K.H. 2) with the names of many Eminent Witnesses. An imperfect Roll wherein were many Historical Drawings relating to the Life of St. Guthlac Abbat of Croyland, and the Endowment of that Monastery,

¹ Noble, *Memorials of Temple Bar*, p. 111, says that the Young Devil Tavern was at 8 Fleet Street, under the shop which in 1870 was occupied by Messrs. Dunn and Duncan.

done about the time of Ric. I. A Bede-Roll, of Prayers, in Latin, wherein a Member Observed that this jugation *P* is (as in other Places) to be read Psalmus. And an instrument dated A.D. 1507 whereby John Bery, his Wife and Mother are made Partakers of all the Spiritual Benefits obtained by the Prayers and other Labors of the Order of ye Friars-Predicants (i.e. Dominicans) in England.

30 January 1707/8

Present the same as at the last Meeting.

6 February 1707/8

Present, Mr. Talman, Mr. Hare, Mr. Bagford.

20 February, 1707/8

Present, Mr. le Neve, Mr. Hare, Mr. Talman, Wanley.

Wanley proposed Mr. A. D. Bowchier for a Member of this Society.

Mr. Le Neve said some Business would not permit him to be present at Next Meeting.'

The manuscript ends there; and in it is all the earliest history of our Society, notably in the progression from the first scratchy notes written with a bad pen on a tavern table to relatively orderly and tidy minutes.

Of the three foundation members only John Talman, son of the architect of Chatsworth and Drayton, was as much interested in architecture and works of art as in books and documents, and his antiquarian interests lay chiefly in Italy, where he acquired drawings and engravings for English collectors. Stukeley later described him¹ as 'a gentleman who travelling into Italy, made himself a master in architecture. He drew well; had a vast collection of drawings, chiefly in ecclesiastic matters. . . .' He was one of the protagonists of the revival of Gothic style; a drawing of his, dated 9 March 1707/8, is a design for a new quadrangle at Worcester College, Oxford, in Milanese Gothic.²

John Bagford³ was an eccentric shoemaker and collector of ballads, who cut out innumerable title-pages from books as material for a history of printing.⁴ He was far from rich, and died as a Brother of the Charterhouse.

The men whom Wanley, Talman, and Bagford invited to join them in their Society were in the main students of documents rather than of what we should call antiquities. Peter le Neve (a member of a Norfolk family that until he 'revived' the article had been Neve

¹ *Antiquarian Annals*, 1760; MS. in the collection of Mr. Alexander Keiller, p. 21.

² In the Clarke Collection, Worcester College. My attention was kindly drawn to it by Mr. H. M. Colvin, who has since published an admirable account of Talman in his *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects*, 1954, p. 589.

³ A letter (Ballard MS. 13, fol. 119) dated 10 Nov. 1708 shows that Bagford was an old friend of Wanley's and had Oxford connexions.

⁴ His 'Proposals' for the book are published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society; his MSS. are in the British Museum.

tout court) was the son of a London draper who had received his education at Merchant Taylors' School but had not proceeded to a university. He combined Unitarianism with joviality. He had taken early to genealogical research, and had been admitted to the Heralds' College as Rouge Croix Poursuivant in 1689, when he was twenty-eight.¹ In 1704 he was promoted, first Richmond Herald and then Norroy King-of-Arms. He published very little, but left many volumes of heraldic and genealogical notes. It is said that his work formed the backbone of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.

George Holmes was a Yorkshireman of Dodsworth's stamp, like le Neve born in 1661. In 1695 he had been appointed Clerk to the Keeper of the Tower Records, and held the post for sixty years; his chief work was upon the *Foedera*. Thomas Maddox, five years younger, was a barrister of the Middle Temple and a legal antiquary. At this time he was working on his *History of the Exchequer*, to be published in 1711. The Revd. John Batteley, D.D., in 1707 a man of sixty, was Archdeacon of Canterbury and was working on his history of the Isle of Thanet;² he died late in 1708 and cannot have played a great part in the Society.

William Elstob—another parson—had come to London from Oxford in 1702 on his nomination to the livings of St. Swithin and St. Mary Bothaw. He was, like Wanley, one of the University College 'Saxonists' and was planning a great edition of the Saxon laws. Henry Stebbing, like him in Orders, was a younger and a Cambridge man, at this time thirty; his interests seem to have lain chiefly in theological polemics.³ Robert Sanderson, a country gentleman from Durham, was an Usher of the Court of Chancery, clerk of the Rolls Chapel, and, like George Holmes, was engaged on the editing of Rymer's *Foedera*. A. D. Bowchier has not been identified.

Henry Hare, grandson and heir to the second Lord Coleraine, was a gentleman of means who had thrice made the tour of Italy and was proud of the friendship of the Marchese Scipio Maffei.⁴ He was a great collector of prints and drawings.⁵

Wanley's Minutes end abruptly on 20 February 1707/8. The last entry is a record of Mr. le Neve's apologies for non-attendance at the next meeting; there was evidently no question at the time of the Society's not continuing. Indeed, the next entries in Wanley's

¹ J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century*, iii (1818), p. 413, and John Chambers in his *Norfolk Tour of 1829* (i. 238) state that Peter le Neve was President of an Antiquary Society in 1689; the statement is repeated in the *D.N.B.* Although John Chambers was the great-great-great-nephew of Peter le Neve his statement must be received with caution as there is no other evidence to support it. Gould, however (*Ants. MS.* 678, p. 72), accepted it without reservation.

² *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, published posthumously in 1711.

³ He did not die until 1763 but did not rejoin in 1717.

⁴ See Gough in *Arch.* i, p. xxxiii.

⁵ See below, p. 54.

book are rough drafts in his hand of proposals for the constitution of a Society of Antiquaries under a charter of incorporation from Queen Anne. The first phrase¹ is 'I have not forgot your Commands as to a Proposal for an Antiquity Society.' Over the page the draft continues in the third person:

'congratulate his having Library so well furnished already, as to afford many noble Rarities fit to be taken into Consideration by such a Society, and handed into the World by them; and therefore his house the properest to meet in.

'Twill be a perpetual honor to him to procure the Meeting of such a Society, and in Due time the Establishment of it by a Charter of Incorporation from Her Majesty.'

All this strongly suggests that the draft is of a letter to be addressed to Lord Harley, Wanley's patron; the Harleian Library was evidently to be as much a focus of the Society's activities as the Cottonian Library was planned to be to its predecessor a century before.

The draft continues with a scheme:

'To meet at Whitehall after its Rebuilt, in a Convenient Apartment, with Room for a Library and Repository.

Her Majesty and the Prince to be humbly desired to be at the Head of it.

A Subscription of the Members of the Society necessary to the Carrying on their Designs.

The most Eminent Persons to be taken in at first.

In Obedience to your Commands I here humbly present to you such Heads, as at present occur to my Thoughts, of what I believe in time may be done by a Society of nobles and Gentlemen meeting in Order to Improve and Cultivate the History and Antiquities of Great Britain; wherein many most excellent Monuments are still to be found, which for want of due Care, go more and more to decay and Ruin.

The last Ages have Employed the Learned and Curious, Cheifly in the Consideration of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, from whence the Voluminous Collections of Gronovius and Graevius have arisen; which tho' large, yet have not taken in all that has been Publish'd, or Written in that Way.

But as the History of a man's own Country is (or should be) dearer to him than that of Foreign Regions; so there have been very many who have been inquisitive after the Laws, Customs and Ways of Living used by their Ancestors and the Remains left by them. And for this Reason most of the Great Cities and Churches of Italy, Spain, France and Germany have been described in Print; whilst the English, tho' they have not been wholly Silent on these Subjects, have yet (as 'tis said) published less to the World than other Nations.

This is not to be attributed to the Inadvertence or Sluggishness of our people (who are known to be as Curious and Industrious as others) nor to a want of fit Matter to entertain the World with; since the Monasticon Anglicanum, and Mr. Rymer's Leagues (books treating of single subjects) seem to shew how many noble Memoirs have been buried in dust and Corners, and what may be

¹ Fol. 3.

recovered relating to the same or other Subjects, when a general search shall be made into the Libraries, Archives, and other Repositories of the Kingdom.

But as this must be a work of great Charge and Constant Application, and far too great for one purse, 'tis to be wish'd that a Society of Antiquaries might be sett up, from whose united endeavours, the world might receive compleat volumes Relating to Our Native Countrey, to Our Kings, Our Church, and Our People, with others of a Miscellaneous nature.'

At this point¹ Wanley's ready pen falters for a time² in the attempt to state in elegant terms that an Antiquity Society has been set up in Germany by the last Emperor, a College established at Uppsala, a Meeting in Edinburgh, and an Academy for Inscriptions in Paris.

Wanley then gets happily into his stride in enumerating the books which the Society is to produce.³

'The Countrey

1. A Compleat History of Great Britain and Ireland, with their Most Celebrated Antiquities, and with exact Maps of all the Counties and Charts of the Sea Coasts.
2. Volumes of such of our old English Historians as have not yet been Printed.
3. The Antiquities and Chorographical Description of the Several Counties of Gt. Britain.
4. To Print Domesday book, The Red Book of the [Exchequer].
5. History of Counties Palatine, Honors and Manors.
6. Historical Account of Castles, especially of the most Antient & [*word illegible*] with their Privileges, Officers etc.
7. Such another Account of Cities and Boroughs and Companies.
8. Historical Account of the Coin of this Realm, its Mixture, and Value with Draughts of all the different Pieces, (as well *Medals as Money*) and the Statutes, Orders etc. concerning the Mints, their Officers etc.
9. Compleat Treatise, concerning the Prices of All Things (Eatable and Movable) or, Digestes according to Order of Inns, through the Several Counties.

The King

1. Treatise of all the Laws, Rights and Prerogative of the Crown; and shewing that tho' we now pay larger Taxes than our Ancestors did, we are nevertheless more free and happy People than they, who were burdened with Escuage, Wardship, Villenage, etc.
2. Historical Account of the Great Officers of the Kingdom, as Lord Chief Justice, Lord High Admiral, Captain General of the Army, Lord High Steward, Lord High Constable, Lord High Chamberlaine, Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper, Lord High Treasurer, Earl Marshall. . .⁴

¹ Fol. 11.

² Another draft to the same effect occurs on fol. 5.

³ It is a rough draft on smaller paper of which the items have been crossed off as the fair copy was made.

⁴ Fol. 7 breaks the argument and is printed later.

The Church

1. Not only a Monasticon which may be Enlarged to 20, 30, or 40 volumes, or More; but The History of each of the greater Abbies, with the Accts. of their Officers Receipts and Disbursements, their Lands, their Way of Living, Customs and Jurisdiction, Temporal and Spiritual.
2. Compleat History of the Dissolution of Abbies, Priories, Hospitals, Gilds and Chantries, With the Surrender of their Estates and Rights to the Crown; with the Grants which have been made from the Crown of the same.
3. List of the names of All Abbots and Priors, and with those of the Sacrists, Cellarers and other Chief Officers in the greater Monasteries, with the time of their Entrance into and leaving those Offices.
4. List of the Parsons and Vicars of the Greater Parishes.
5. Compleat List of all Saints and their Days, and Catalogues of all the Bishops, Deans, Canons, Prebendaries and Arch-Deacons.
6. Account of the several Books used in the Latin Church, like that which Leo Allabias has given of the Service Books of the Greeks; Missals, Rituals, Pontificals, Antiphonals, Grayles, Tropers, Portusses, Breviaries, Primers, Manuals, Books of Hours, Homilies, Legends, etc. and especially of such as were for ye particular us of any Monastery or Church in Great Britain.
7. History of the Knights Templars from their Introduction into England to their Distruction.

The People

1. Lists of the nobility, Great officers, High Sherriffs of Counties, Mayors, Corporations etc. with their respective times of Entrance into and Leaving their Offices.
2. Some Volumes from the Rolls of Parliament, being such as may be the most Antient and Useful.
3. Some volumes from the Records in the Tower and Other Offices, Containing only Matters most Curious and Useful, digested under proper heads.
4. Histories of the Most Antient, Noble and Illustrious Families, with their Genealogies, and notes of Time of their several Births and Deaths.
5. Historical Account of the remarkable Customs and Ceremonies used by our Ancestors, not only appertaining to Lands and their Tenures, but all others, used in the Court, or in the Church, in the Field, and on Board.
6. Compleat Treatise of the Habits of the English, Men and Women, of all states and Degrees, and used upon all Occasions, with their Names and Proper Draughts.
7. Treatise of all Weapons, Instruments and Utensils, used by our Ancestors, with their Names and Figures.
8. Upon the Manufactures and Handycrafts used by the English.
9. Treatise of the Original and Progress of Chivalry and Heraldry among the English, which would be very useful and full of Curious Matter.

Good Books Wanted.¹

1. Collection of the Different Letters and Hands used in Britain, with Explanations of the most common and material Abbreviations.

¹ This appears on fol. 7, but is obviously intended to come here.

2. *De Praestantia et Usu Sigilloru.*, with exact Delineations of all the different Seals (so far as they come to light) of the Several Kings, Queens, and Princes of the Bloud, of Noblemen and Women, of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Monasteries, Archdeacons, Cities and Burroughs, Colleges, Antient Gentry etc.
3. Account of the use of Music, Vocal and Instrumental Interludes, Masks and Plays in England, wherein would be brought much Curious Matter.
4. History of the Jews in England, from their arrival there to their Banishment.
5. Besides The Saxon Laws Enlarged, the Homiliarum Saxonicum, Cento Saxonicus, and A Britannia Saxonica, by¹ the Revd. Dr. Hickes.
6. An Anglo Saxon Bible, as compleat as can be made.
7. A Bible in the Old English spoken before or about the time of Wickliff, with a Preface, concerning the Recenter Translations and Editions, their Authors' Excellencies and Imperfections.
8. A Grammar and Dictionary of the Law French.
9. A Glossary, containing all written by Spelman, Somner, Cowell etc. with all the additions to be gotten from the Books and Charters yet remaining to be consulted.
10. A Book, wherein the Several Offices, Fashions, Customs, Habits, Utensils etc. introduced into England, might be Noted down, with the time of their first Appearance, in Chronological Order.
11. A Dictionary for Fixing the English Language, as the French and Italians have done. . . .²

Such a Society would Bring to Light and Preserve All old Monumental Inscriptions, and other pieces of Antiquity yet remaining.

Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Engraving, Music etc. will come under their Consideration, and the Antient Methods being retrieved, perhaps many things may be used afresh to good Purpose.

They will be also able to explain not only most of the Obscure places in our Historians and other Writers, but others in the Roman and Greek Authors, and consider of their other Antiquities.

In Order to this, they will find it necessary to maintain a Correspondence with the Learned and curious men in each County and with the most eminent Persons abroad.

They will send fitt Persons to Travel, throughout England, and also in Other Countries, whose Business might be to Inspect the Books, Writings and other Rarities, which the Owners would be loth to send to Town; to take the Prospects of Antient Fortifications, Castles, Churches, Houses etc. To take Draughts of Tombs, Inscriptions, Epitaphs, Figures in Painted Glass, etc. To Collect all Material Notices pertaining to History and Antiquity, from the Relations of Persons of known Worth and Veracity; and if need by to buy up the most curious and useful pieces of Antiquity, of all kinds, at the Charge of the Society.

Such a Society seems to be reserv'd for her Majesty, and the Establishment of it would be one of the Remarkables of her most Glorious Reign.

¹ *desired by* obliterated.

² The only entry on fol. 7v is: 'This Society a Perpetual Seminary or School' (see below); the draft continues on fol. 9.

The Meeting, Library and Repository, an Ease and Satisfaction to Her Majesty's Officers, Foreign Gentlemen and others Attending.

Will promote the ends of the Union, since a Communication and Correspondence with the Scotch will ensue, which begets mutual Love.

'Twill be a School where in the antient Constitution, Laws and Customs of this Kingdom will be best learn'd, and usefully declar'd and mentioned in Parliament; whereby ma[n]y innovations and troublesome Debates may be prevented; as we have seen great Quarels have arisen thro' the Inexperience of Persons in our Antiquities and antient Constitution, which by the Authority of such a Society would have died in their very birth.'

The petition for incorporation of the first College of Antiquaries to Queen Elizabeth seems to have come to nothing because of her death; Bolton's 'Academ Roial' was not founded because of the death of James I; and the petition which Wanley was planning to submit to Queen Anne seems never to have been presented, probably because Harley left her Ministry in February 1708 and possibly because the Queen died in August 1714. It may have been no bad thing; at all events Wanley's programme seems disproportionate to the numbers and powers of the Society of which he was Secretary. It is a remarkable systematization of historical knowledge that smacks of Harley's library rather than of the Young Devil Tavern: yet it is as likely to have been roughed out over a wine-stained table as among books. Innumerable individuals and societies have in two hundred and fifty years covered only a part of its field; and even so this vast programme is almost wholly occupied with things written and not with things seen. Our Society, as founded by Humfrey Wanley, may not be able to claim continuity with the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries, but the English spirit of Leland and Camden, Dodsworth and Dugdale, still breathes life into the first activities of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

IV

THE REVIVAL

1708-18

A LETTER from Talman to Maddox,¹ dated 11 September 1708, seems to show that the Society ended its meetings at the Young Devil Tavern for no more academic reason than the bankruptcy of the proprietor.

‘Elà! Ò Sant’ Antonio! O Veceregente di S. Petro! Corpo di Bacco, Corpo di Dio di legno — come sara possibile di dirne parola? Che disgrazia è questa, O S. Rocco e Dio Bacco Protettori! Serrata la porta! Ma che porta? la porta del Diavolo: il gherzone poveraccio de Divolo fuggito e divenuto bancrotto. Quante malaventure? e ancora la Bella Bacchante redotta a mala fortuna, nascotta in qualche cazaccia, senza quattrini, senza amici! Ma come son madide le meie guancie? palida la faccia — melanchonici li occhii, e pieno de tristezza il cuore; quel che resta libero, è solamente il pensare delli infortuni del nostro venerabile Collegio, composto di persone reale e dotte, che con bella maniera ogni settimana, se radunavano insieme scorrendo con parole Salate e argomenti arguti, sopra l’antichità. Ma, O dolorosa Novita! Adesso tutti sono dispersi, non resta la minima sintilla de speranza de restaurare questa Academia de Antiquarii; spero pero che alla Fontana trovarò qualche ricompensa per questa gran’ perdita, perdita da vero; ma cosi e la variante fortuna, che sempre scherza con li affari mondani . . . Voglio fare da Filosofo, e restare firmo e paziente.’

There is some evidence that a Society of Antiquaries met at the ‘Fountain’ under Maddox’s leadership even before the ‘Young Devil’s’ doors were closed. A letter from Talman to Maddox, written from Ranworth on 10 August 1708², speaks of ‘Kindnesses received at the Fountain’, as well as of friends at the ‘Young Devil’, and continues:

‘Since I mentioned the Fountain Tavern I cannot forbear thinking of the Young Devil, I hope yt. Either you go there or yt yt Company comes to your tavern. I will not pretend to persuade a person of yr. character; for it must be granted yt. You know the use of such a Society if it be brought about; as to wch. you I remember made some objections; now if you woud also solve those obstacles, it would doubtless be of great benefit to the Learned Republick, to the end they might meet at set times, & w[ith] joynt stock carry on matters relating to antiquitys. Shall the Goths at Upsal³ boast of such a Society, & shall

¹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. e. 34, p. 21; it is not actually addressed, but other letters in the book seem clearly to indicate that it was to Maddox, cf. *ibid.*, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³ See above, p. 41.

we be backwards? Shall Brittain yt has such librarys, so many learned, & so much encouragement, be cold in an affair of this nature? Shall interest & love of self-honour, partys or the like be a means to obstruct so good a design? Sure the very thought of such a proposal should inspire all men of learning, nay it should inflame them, w[ith] an ardency to joyn all hands, to bring about so commendable, so beneficial a Scheme. In Italy in their grand musical Concerts, tho' performed by never so many great masters, yet no one endeavours to be louder than the rest to the end he may gain honour to himselfe but on the contrary joyntly make it their earnest business to produce one delightfull, one affecting harmony. But why should I pretend to speak? I ought to beg pardon for saying so much, for I can do nothing, at most only use the pencil.'

Foster, writing in February 1752,¹ and Browne Willis, writing in February 1754,² independently refer to meetings at the 'Fountain',³ and are, indeed, particularly precise. Foster notes that George Holmes then lived at 'Mr. Marshal's, a sword cutler, his father-in-law's house, next door to the said Tavern', and Browne Willis recalls that the landlord's name was Barber. Even so it remains uncertain whether it was Wanley's Society that met at the 'Fountain' after the demise of the 'Young Devil', or a *cénacle* of Maddox's. Talman's message to Maddox from Frascati on 11 November 1711—'Pray be so charitable as to write often, yt I may know how the Republick of Learning goes on at the Fountain Tavern & else where'—does nothing to make it clearer.

A possible explanation of a lapse in the existence of Wanley's Society rests on the dates of its apparent suspension. It seems significant that the Society's minutes stop at the very moment of Harley's fall from power in February 1708. He resigned on 9 February; the Queen accepted his resignation on the 11th; and the Society's last recorded meeting that year took place on 20 February, no meeting having been held the week before. There is, however, no certain evidence that meetings were held in the time of Harley's return to power between August 1710 and July 1714.⁴ They certainly began again in the year of his release from the Tower on a charge of high treason, but before his formal acquittal. In many of the years between, especially the earlier, he smelt so strongly of treason that a Society run by a member of his household, as Wanley was, may well have feared that the authorities would consider their innocent activities as no more than a cloak for plotting.

¹ Letter to Dr. Ducarel printed in Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*, vi. 147.

² Copy in Willis's hand, Bodleian MS. Misc. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 194.

³ The room where such meetings would have been held still exists behind the much restored façade at 17 Fleet Street, the property of the L.C.C., to which the public is admitted.

⁴ A letter from Foster to Browne Willis dated 21 April 1752 (Copy in Willis's hand, Bodleian MS. Misc. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 144) gives Dr. Matthew Hutton, Rector of Aynhoe, as one who attended the meetings as Holmes's guest. His presence is not recorded in the Minutes and he died in 1711; but not all visitors may have been recorded, and it may have been a Fountain meeting that he attended.

The sequestration of the Cotton Library less than a century before was too recent to have been forgotten, especially by the Librarian of a collection of the same kind.

Talman, too, was as a Catholic a likely suspect, and went into 'voluntary exile' in July 1709.¹ In November of that year² he wrote to Holmes from Florence: 'Present my service to all our Company at the Temple, particularly Mr. Norroy and Mr. Wanley.'³ If his old friends met, they may have done so as a coterie rather than a Society, and not have wished to put their meetings on record.

Whatever the cause of the gap in the Society's records at this time, it was not a want of liveliness in the little world of men devoted to antiquarian studies. Edward Llyud's *Archaeologia Britannica*, published in 1707, was mainly taken up with the Celtic languages, but it represented five years' travel in Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, Ireland, and Scotland, and many of the copies⁴ are accompanied by a questionnaire of more than linguistic scope. These 'Parochial Queries' were intended to provide the material for a geographical dictionary of the Celtic lands, with such appendixes as a 'Natural History of Wales'. The questions they set cover coins, public buildings, country houses, manuscripts, barrows, Roman roads, crosses, beacons, and finds of inscriptions earlier than the reign of Henry VII, weapons, urns, lamps, paterae, fibulae, and other ancient jewels.

Two years later, in 1709, Roger Gale published his father's commentary on the Antonine Itinerary of Britain, with additions from his own pen, which provided a basis for much further study. Students of the later periods of our history were also being provided with their *instruments de travail*: Leland's *Itinerary*, which up to now had circulated only in manuscript,⁵ was published between 1710 and 1712 by Thomas Hearne from the Bodleian manuscript.⁶ The first edition was of only 120 copies; it had quickly to be reprinted. Rymer, when he died in 1713, left fifteen volumes of the *Foedera* published.⁷ The first critical edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was printed at Cambridge in 1722.⁸

¹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. e. 34, p. 37. He sailed with William Kent in July 1709, reached Leghorn in the middle of October, and was still in Rome in April 1712 when the volume ends. He returned to England in 1715. Brabrook, in *Arch.* lxii, 1911, p. 59.

² On 5 July 1710 he sends 'My affections to Mr. Holmes etc., Wanley, Neve, Alex[ande]r but chiefly Mr. Attwood.'

³ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. e. 34, p. 71.

⁴ Llyud's rather disappointing replies will be found in Bodleian MS. 1820 a, fol. 76. On these and earlier questionnaires see Piggott, *Stukeley*, p. 11.

⁵ See letter from Edmund Gibson to Thoresby, 14 Jan. 1695, in Hunter, *Thoresby*, i. 190. One of the Gale MSS. (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 1205) contains an index to this, made for (and probably by) Thomas Gale.

⁶ See Toulmin Smith, p. xiv.

⁷ It was continued after his death by Robert Sanderson, who in 1717 became a Fellow of the revived Society of Antiquaries.

⁸ Edited by John Smith and published just after his death. See Douglas, *English Scholars*, p. 73.

The scholars of the second decade of the eighteenth century, with these basic texts to work on and Edward Gibson's greatly enlarged edition¹ of Camden's *Britannia* to consult, were in a better position than their forebears. It is little wonder that some fifteen or twenty books on British and Romano-British Antiquities were published between 1710 and 1730.²

Such books made it possible for country gentlemen to become antiquaries, and did much to bring their researches into fashion. Addison in 1711/12³ could report: 'I have heard one of the greatest Geniuses this age has produced, who had been trained up in all the polite Studies of antiquity, assure me, upon his being obliged to search into several rolls and records, that notwithstanding such an employment was, at first very dry and irksome to him, he at last took an incredible pleasure in it, and preferred it even to the reading of Virgil or Cicero.'

The Renaissance sense of the past had become part of the inheritance of every decently educated English gentleman. Sir John Fortescue-Aland, publishing his *Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy* in 1714, could write:⁴ 'To know nothing before we were born, is to live like Children; and to understand nothing but what directly tends to the getting of a Penny is to live the Life of a sordid Mechanick.'

1715 was a good year for antiquarian studies. Ralph Thoresby published his *Ducatus Leodiensis, or, the Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leeds*—a good old-fashioned local history with any amount of pedigrees; Elizabeth Elstob issued her *Rudiments of Grammar of the English Saxon Tongue first given in English; with an Apology for the Study of Northern Antiquities*;⁵ John Warburton made his survey of the Roman Wall,⁶ and the publication of the *Gallia Christiana* was begun in France.⁷ In 1716 Stukeley visited and described Richborough;⁸ and in 1717 Sampson Erdeswicke's *Survey of Staffordshire* (written between 1593 and his death in 1603) was at last published from Sir William Dugdale's manuscript copy.

All this production was encouraged by a new attitude towards the history of the English Church. In 1714 George Hickes could write:⁹ 'I know not any work an antiquary can do more serviceable

¹ Published in 1695; second edition 1722.

² See Piggott, *Stukeley*, p. 6.

³ *Spectator*, No. 447; quoted Douglas, p. 19.

⁴ p. lxxii; quoted Douglas, p. 19.

⁵ The Antiquaries' copy, given to their Library by Franks, has Peter le Neve's bookplate in it.

⁶ Published in his *Vallum Romanum* of 1753.

⁷ It only ended with vol. xvi in 1865.

⁸ Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii. 115.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Portland MSS. Report*, v. 445; quoted Douglas, p. 20.

to the Church than this, which will show the faith and other chief doctrines of the English-Saxon Church to be the same with ours, and perfectly answer that never ending question: where was your Church before Luther?’

Elizabeth Elstob, in the preface to her *Rudiments* addressed to George Hickes,¹ makes a plea for amateur antiquaries.

‘Methinks it is very hard, that those who labour and take so much pains to furnish others with Materials, either for Writing, or for Discourse, who have not Leisure, or Skill, or Industry enough to serve themselves, shou’d be allow’d no other Instances of Gratitude, than the reproachful Title of Men of *low Genius*. . . .’

But that of *low Genius* is not the worst Charge which is brought against the Antiquaries, for they are not allow’d to have so much as common Sense, or to know how to express their Minds intelligibly. . . .’

It was, indeed, time that the antiquaries did something to achieve a measure of corporate recognition. The Royal Society had bought a house in Crane Court for its own occupation in 1710; the first private Academy of Arts had met on St. Luke’s Day, 1711, in Sir Godfrey Kneller’s rooms in Great Queen Street.² By 1717 the Jacobite pretensions had been quashed; and even Harley’s librarian could feel that his master no longer smelt of treason. The library Wanley directed had been thrown open to the public in 1700, and the day-book of its business that he kept between 2 March 1714/15 and November 1726³ shows how great a centre of research it had become.

The need for a Society of Antiquaries was greater than it had been in 1707. More people were interested in the study of antiquity, yet Sir Isaac Newton had almost succeeded in eliminating it from the scope of the Royal Society. The ‘Advertisement’ at the end of Thomas Clerk’s list of the Society, published in 1718, ‘showing what subjects seem most suitable to the ends of its institution’, puts antiquities at the very end, after ‘Husbandry, Gardening and Planting’.⁴

In the early eighteenth century the taverns of London played as important a part in its social and literary life as did the cafés of Paris a century later. It is easy to believe that the revival of the Society—once the threat of political suspicion was removed—happened as spontaneously as its foundation. Maurice Johnson, indeed, suggests as much in a letter he wrote to Ducarel in February 1754.⁵

‘From 1709-10, I had the pleasure of being acquainted and frequently meeting

¹ p. xxix.

³ B.M. Lansdowne MS. 771.

⁵ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 144.

² Pevsner, *Academies*, p. 124.

⁴ Weld, *History of the Royal Society*, i. 426.

(at the Temple 'Change, and other coffee houses and taverns about the Temple) with Mr. Le Neve Norroy, Mr. Edward Alexander, Dr. Brook, Mr. John Chicheley, the two Mr. Gales, Mr. Hare, Mr. Mickleton, Mr. Pavey, Mr. Saunderson, Mr. Wanley, and Mr. Warkhouse who, with Mr. George Holmes, were well skilled in Records, which, with the study of our History and Constitution, coinciding with my profession, made me very willingly wait on such of them, and other noblemen and gentlemen of other professions curious in their researches of antiquity, as then were used to meet and discourse on such subjects; to whom I had the pleasure to introduce my own brother and other relations and most intimate acquaintances, particularly my own countryman and dear friend Dr. Stukeley, with whose assistance, and Mr. David Casley's, at the Cotton Library, we transcribed and examined from Faustinae. E. 5. the project formed by the Society of Antiquaries of London for establishing that Society and Library, by Cotton, Dodderidge, Lee, Davis et al. whence the Doctor (being the first Secretary on the revival) drew up the original plan and proposals, with the rules for re-establishing the academy of Antiquaries or Antiquarian Society, London, in the Minute book of their acts and observations.¹

According to Stukeley,² Johnson belonged to the Society before he did, and introduced him at one of the early meetings in June 1717 before it was formally constituted. He says: 'Michaelmas term following, we constituted ourselves into the Antiquarian Society . . . but we dated our commencement the 1 January following.' Virtue considered

'But this Society the spring of it appears from certain resolutions of the house of Lords and Commons for a particular review and Inspection of all the Officers or Records, and by the proper officers to be represented the order and conditions they were then in. Wherein many of these first mentioned gentlemen, meeting on that public occasion, had frequent meetings and conferences about the good repairs and establishments of their offices, of which more particularly in a printed account, the several reports to the Rt. Hon. Commissioners appointed for the inspection of all records, which being some years in agitation and settling, this was the foundation of re-establishing the Society of Antiquaries there.'³

That account is probable enough, and likewise proffers an intensification of tavern meetings as the cause of the revival.

John Warburton, however, in the preface to his *Vallum Romanum*, published in 1753, claims the revival as the consequence of his

¹ This account is repeated in the Minutes of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, of which Johnson was the founder (quoted Pettigrew, *Contribution*, p. 14). See also Johnson's preface to his copy of the Statutes copied by North in Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 248v. Kortholt, in his *Epistolum ad Kappium de Societate Antiq. Lond.*, Leipsic, 1730, p. 6, ascribes the revival entirely to Maurice Johnson.

² See his letter, B.M. Add. MS. 6182: 'In Michaelmas term my friend and countryman Mr. Maurice Johnson of Spalding introduced me to that meeting in the end of the year', and his MS. *Antiquarian Annals* in Mr. Alexander Keiller's collection, p. 22.

³ Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 144.

survey of the Roman Wall, begun in 1715. After giving a short account of the Elizabethan Society he continues:¹

'The old Society of Antiquaries being thus broke up, the study of *Roman* learning lay dormant in *Britain* until the year 1716, that the publication of my map of *Northumberland* again revived it. The inscriptions I had discovered and engraved in it, soon raised debates amongst the learned; some read them one way, and some another, and I in my turn was blamed, or commended, as the judgment or caprice best pleased the commentators. However, these contests soon terminated; for in the year 1717, a new society of antiquaries was formed on the same plan with the old . . . and on the 13th of January 1719, I had the honour to be elected a member thereof as I had been, the week before, of the Royal Society.'

Warburton does not seem to have felt it improbable that a society which, in his view, had arisen out of interest in his own work, should have waited two years to elect him a Fellow.² It is well to remember the estimate of him recorded by Stukeley, who accounted himself his friend:³ 'He certainly has great parts, and equal industry; and a pride equal to both . . . as other great genius's has all sense but common sense, and knows nothing of mankind. Fickle in his friendships; haughty in his carriage; excessively greedy of flattery . . . his love of fame and reputation prevails above all his passions: 'tis the incentive of his unwearied endeavour.'

Warburton's claims were not finally disposed of until 1754,⁴ when Dr. Ducarel informed the Society that he had consulted 'the Present most antient Members', and that they agreed that there was nothing in them.

The Society met at 'the Miter Tavern,⁵ Fleet Street, in the room up 2 pair of stairs,'⁶ in July 1717. The continuous records of the present Society of Antiquaries begin with an entry in William Stukeley's hand in his own copy of the Minutes.⁷

'Founders

of the Antiquarian Society London.

July 1717.

Peter le Neve Norroy President

Wm. Stukeley Secretary

John Talman director

Sam. Gale Tresurer

Edwd. Alexander

¹ *Vallum Romanum*, p. vi.

² For the Society's view of his claims see Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 147.

³ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 260.

⁴ Minutes, 14 Feb. 1754.

⁵ A plaque next to Messrs. Hoare's Bank almost opposite St. Dunstan's now marks the site of the tavern. It is shown in Rocque's map of 1746 a little west of Mitre Court, adjoining Cat and Fiddle Court. See K. Rogers, *The Mermaid and Mitre Taverns in Old London*, p. 134.

⁶ See the entry in Stukeley's diary for 30 Mar. 1748. Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 127, p. 14.

⁷ Ants. MS. 268.

Roger Gale
 Hen. Hare
 John Hare Richmond herald
 George Holmes
 James Mickleton
 Wm Becket Surgeon
 John Chichley
 Rottesley
 Pavey¹
 Humphry Wanley
 Robt. Saunderson
 Wm. Nicholas
 Maurice Johnson
 Dr. Samuel Knight
 Geo. Vertue
 Browne Willis
 Robt. Stephens
 John Harwood LL.D.'

Of the twenty-three members here recorded, only le Neve, Talman, Holmes, Wanley, Hare, and Sanderson had been members of the earlier Society; but all were conscious that it was a revival rather than a new foundation. Bagford, Batteley, and Elstob had died during the interregnum; Maddox, Stebbing, and Bowcher are the only surviving members of the earlier Society who are missing from the list. The President, Peter le Neve, and the Director, John Talman, were survivors from 1707; the Secretary, William Stukeley, and the Treasurer, Samuel Gale, were new-comers.

Whatever Stukeley's part in the re-creation of the Society, he became one of its leading spirits. He was² born in 1687, son of a Lincolnshire lawyer. He had early shown a gift for draughtsmanship and calligraphy and a taste for coin-collecting. 'My genius', he tells us, 'at first discovered its self to be of a philosophical turn, altogether, and invincibly so. My father discovered it early, and warned me against it, but in vain; for insted of transcribing tautological stuff on parchments, briefs etc. I was ever poreing on books, to improve in learning.' His father offered to send him to London to study law, but the boy refused, and was sent to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1703, to study medicine, in which he qualified at the beginning of 1708. He amused himself at the University with the study of map-making and architecture. In 1709 he went to London for a short time to study physic at St. Thomas's under the great Dr. Mead, a man of great style who had studied medicine at Padua and there acquired antiquarian tastes in the

¹ In fact William.

² His undated notebook, part family history and part biography, is in the Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 121. See also Piggott, *William Stukeley*, an admirable study.

Italian manner. It was of him that Dr. Johnson said that he 'lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man'. With something of this outlook, and a taste for good burgundy, Stukeley returned to his native county and set up in practice in Boston in 1710.

His friend Maurice Johnson (later to be with him a founder-member of the revived Society) encouraged him to read on British history and antiquities, and between 1710 and 1725 he made—like Leland and Camden before him—his itineraries up and down England. They extended from Kent to Devonshire, from the Lincolnshire coast to Wrexham, and up to the Roman Wall. He was, as a good doctor should be, a man of his eyes, and everywhere he went he drew. He was genuinely interested in everything he saw, from the Rollright Stones to Hawksmoor's new quadrangle at All Souls. Yet he was a man of books, too; it is significant that when in 1716 he made a model of Stonehenge he made it not from the site but from an engraving of Loggan's.¹ When he exhibited it to the Society, six years later,² however, he accompanied it with drawings he had made on the spot, that first demonstrated the true form of the avenue.

In 1717 he settled in London in a house in Great Ormond Street and was elected to the Royal Society.

Maurice Johnson and William Stukeley were both members of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding, which had grown up in 1710³ among a few men who were accustomed to meet in a Spalding coffee-house to read the *Tatler*. Doubtless because of this spontaneous generation several of them later declared that they had founded it.⁴ It seems certain, at all events, that the Rev. Timothy Neve was one of the foundation members of the Society; he was a kinsman of Peter le Neve's and probably knew of the existence of the London Society.

The interests of the Spalding Society, however, were by no means confined to antiquarian and historical studies. Its rules⁵ describe it

¹ Piggott, p. 37.

² On 14 Feb. 1722.

³ Nichols reports (*Lit. Anec.* vi. 12) that 'The devise of this Society, designed by Mr. Johnson, and executed by Vertue and subscribed Soc: Gen: Spalding: Instituta MDCCX. was two Tritons supporting a conch, in which sits a naked female, representing Truth, a flaming heart on her girdle, a star on her head; in her right hand a dove, in her left a lily.'

⁴ Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, 1784, p. 1, says it was founded by the Rev. Joseph Sparke and the Rev. Timothy Neve, with Dr. John Rowell as its first President. Maurice Johnson, in a letter to Dr. Birch (who was both Secretary of the Royal Society and Director of the Antiquaries), says it was founded by himself 'by the encouragement of Mr. Secretary Addison, Captain Steele, and others of Button's Club'. *Ibid.*, p. 141. A paper on the Society was read to the Antiquaries by Lawrence Weaver on 16 Mar. 1916; see *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vol. xxviii, p. 135.

⁵ Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, 1784, p. xxv. A letter from Johnson to le Neve of 7 May 1746 (op. cit., iii. 421) describes its progress: 'We, being men of private fortunes, but a few of us, no great neighbourhood, no public library but a few old books mouldering over the church porch, had many difficulties to struggle with, which in time, by a brave unwearied perseverance and diligence, we have quite subdued. . . .'

as 'a Society of Gentlemen for the supporting mutual benevolence, and their improvement in the Liberal Sciences and Polite Learning', and in its early days it seems, like the similar societies founded in 1684 at Dublin and Cambridge,¹ to have been ancillary to the Royal Society. Soon after the revival of the Antiquaries, however, the Spalding Society entered into correspondence with them and sent them copies of their Minutes until the end of 1753.²

Stukeley's experience of this Society, as well as his natural quickness and good fellowship, may have helped to make him a likely candidate for the secretaryship. One suspects that Maurice Johnson was disappointed not himself to obtain office, for he was a gregarious, chatty, and ambitious man who liked to make himself out more important than he was. As the years went by, indeed, he claimed to have founded not only the Spalding Society but also the Antiquaries, and to have been the first librarian of the London Society. In fact no such appointment was made.³

The fourth member to be elected to office, the Treasurer, was Samuel Gale. He and his brother Roger, also a Fellow from 1717, were sons of Thomas Gale, a learned Dean of York who had died in 1702.⁴ Samuel—a godson of Pepys⁵—was less learned than his father but a good friend to many antiquaries. He was the official Customs House searcher of imported books and antiquities, was himself a collector, and made a study of Winchester Cathedral. His brother Roger—Treasurer of the Royal Society as well as our first Vice-President—was more pompous than his scholarship justified, and was reputed to delegate some of his researches to others.

Henry Hare, who had succeeded to the barony of Coleraine in 1708, continued to be a member of the revived Society. It was he who initiated the friendly relation between the Society of Antiquaries and the Freemasons.⁶ The Grand Lodge of England first met on 24 June 1717. Henry Hare, elected F.S.A. July 1717, was

¹ Weld, *op. cit.* i. 301 and 305.

² The Rev. Timothy Neve founded another society of the kind at Peterborough which was formally affiliated to the Society of Antiquaries at the meeting of 14 Nov. 1722. A report from it was read on 17 Dec. 1730. On it see Weld, *op. cit.* i. 470, and Dack in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, N.S. v. 141. A volume of its Minutes, 1730-43, is in the Cathedral Library, Peterborough, and other volumes covering 1742-1830 are in the collection of its successor, the Peterborough Book Society. Maurice Johnson founded a third at Stamford (Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 1 and note *b*). They both declined before the middle of the century. On the role of the country societies see Douglas, p. 133.

³ He makes the claim in the minutes of the Spalding Society. See Gould (*Ants. MS.* 675), chap. vi, p. 103. On Johnson see Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, p. xix.

⁴ See Douglas, p. 215.

⁵ See Piggott, p. 38.

⁶ The connexion between antiquaries (organized or not) and Freemasonry goes back to the seventeenth century: Elias Ashmole was 'made Freemason' at Warrington on 16 Oct. 1646, and admitted at Masons' Hall, London, on 11 Mar. 1682.

an early member, and served as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England in 1727. John Duke of Montagu, F.S.A. 1725, had preceded him as Grand Master in 1721. Martin Folkes, elected F.S.A. in 1720, was elected Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England in 1724. Stukeley became a Freemason in 1721,¹ and by 1723 was master of a lodge which met at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand; on 4 October 1723 he read his discourse on the Dorchester amphitheatre at this lodge.²

George Vertue, one of the most gifted of the new Fellows, was a strict Roman Catholic; both his parents had been servants in the royal household at Saint-Germain. He was, like Wanley, a protégé of Harley's, and also enjoyed the patronage of Coleraine and Winchelsea. Walpole has left a vignette of him:³ '[Vertue] was simple, modest and scrupulous; so scrupulous, that it gave a peculiar slowness to his delivery; he never uttered his opinion rashly, nor rashly assented to that of others. As he grudged no time, no industry, to inform himself, he thought they might bestow a little too, if they wished to know.'

He had been apprenticed to a French engraver working in London, and then to Stukeley's friend Van der Gucht. He joined Kneller's 'Academy' in 1711 and rapidly acquired a reputation as an exact and skilful engraver; he executed most of the Oxford University Almanacks between 1723 and 1751. From the time he joined the Antiquaries (and possibly even earlier) he was engaged in collecting material for a history of the arts in England. He was a man greatly and deservedly beloved, and without doubt did much to make the Antiquaries a true sodality.⁴

Browne Willis inherited from Bagford the role of the eccentric of the Society. Unlike Bagford he was born comfortably off; grandson of a successful physician, son of a squire, he married an heiress and became a Member of Parliament.⁵ He contrived, however, to lose most of his money by his wrong-headed and absent-minded ways. He was chiefly interested in ecclesiastical history and spent much time in studying the Tower records and in going 'on

¹ Gould, in *Transactions of the Lodge Quatuor Coronati*, vi, 1893, p. 128, points out the importance of Stukeley's stand for the Christian character of Masonry. *Antiquarian Annals*, MS. in Mr. Alexander Keiller's collection, p. 21.

² The Librarian at Freemasons' Hall has kindly communicated to me the list of 26 members of this lodge preserved in the earliest Grand Lodge minute-book (1725-8). None of them were members of the Society of Antiquaries. Other Antiquary-Masons were Peter le Neve, Samuel Gale (letter quoted Gould, p. 132), Francis Drake, Sir Richard Manningham, John Ward, the Earl of Winchelsea. A later Mason of distinction was the fourth Earl of Carnarvon, P.S.A. 1878-85 and Deputy Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England 1870-4. No Antiquaries' Lodge, however, has as yet been founded. I owe much of this information to the kindness of our Fellow Mr. Lewis Edwards.

³ *Anecdotes of Painting*, Appendix.

⁴ See Walpole Society, *Vertue Notebooks I*, Oxford, 1930, p. x.

⁵ On him see Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 186; Walters, *English Antiquaries*, p. 48.

pilgrimage' to the cathedrals of England. A lady wrote a 'character' of him.¹

'... with one of the honestest hearts in the world, he has one of the oddest heads that ever dropped out of the moon. Extremely well-versed in coins, he knows hardly anything of mankind. . . . As, by his little knowledge of the world, he has ruined a fine estate . . . his present circumstances oblige him to an odd-headed kind of frugality, that shews itself in the slovenliness of his dress, and makes him think London much too extravagant an abode for his daughters; at the same time that his zeal for Antiquities makes him think an old copper farthing very cheaply bought for a guinea, and any journey properly undertaken that will bring him to some old Cathedral on the Saint's day to which it was dedicated. . . .'

Cole, the antiquary, completes the picture:²

'he had more the appearance of a mumping beggar than of a gentleman; and the most like resemblance of his figure that I can recollect among old prints, is that of Old Hobson the Cambridge carrier. He then, as always, was dressed in an old slouched hat, more brown than black, a weather-beaten large wig, three or four old-fashioned coats, all tied round by a leathern belt, and over all an old blue cloak lined with black fustian, which he told me he had new made when he was elected member for the town of Buckingham, about 1707. Everyone had to call him Squire; but his neighbours called him Old Wrinkle Boots.'³

Browne Willis had a great admiration for St. George, and liked to go to churches of that dedication on St. George's Day. It is possibly to his influence that we owe the date of our Anniversary Meeting.⁴

Of the remaining additional members few are of great interest. Edward Alexander was a Proctor in Doctors' Commons who served for many years as Registrar to the Commissary of the diocese of London. John Hare, Richmond Herald, died in 1720 and left little mark on the Society.⁵ James Hill, a barrister, was according to Stukeley a poet who made large collections on the antiquities of Herefordshire. James Mickleton of Gray's Inn had inherited his grandfather's collections relative to Co. Durham, but had not greatly added to them. William Nicholas was Storekeeper of the Tower; Samuel Knight held the archdeaconry of Berkshire and wrote on Erasmus and Colet; Robert Stephens was Historiographer Royal; and John Harwood an advocate in Doctors' Commons.

¹ Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

² *Ibid.*, p. 208, note.

³ A description of his house at Fenny Stratford by Dr. Sneyd Davies will be found in Walters, *English Antiquaries*, p. 47. A Ballad printed in the *Oxford Sausage* in 1774, suggesting that his boots descended from the cow slain by Guy of Warwick through Spelman, Camden, Dugdale, and Hearne, will be found in Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 210. A biography of him by J. G. Jenkins was published in 1953 under the title *The Dragon of Whaddon*.

⁴ Bolton, however, had proposed it for the annual meeting of his 'Academ Roiall'.

⁵ His MSS. are at the Heralds' College, see A. R. Wagner, *Records and Collections of the College of Arms*, pp. 25 and 40.

Though they had certain important members in common, a real difference in interests is perceptible between the Society of 1707 and the Society of 1717. The true dichotomy among antiquaries is between those whose eyes are trained to documents (in the narrow sense) and those whose eyes are trained to things. It may often happen that only the students of inventories and accounts are concerned with both. A scholar's exactness in dealing with the written word, and his power of wringing the last drop of meaning from it, is rarely found in the same person as the antiquary's sensibility to all the implications of a stone or a sherd. Yet in all archaeology of the historic period both are needed. Wanley and his friends had the first; Stukeley the second.¹ Wanley may be our founder, but it is from Stukeley that the tradition of our Society stems.

The meetings of the Antiquaries seem to have continued even through the summer vacation of 1717. A letter from George Holmes to Wanley, dated 11 September 1717,² runs:

'Good Sir,

You have very much obliged your friends at the Mitre, with the sight of the curious Book, they are very sorry they could not have your good company, we are now drinking to yours and all the Noble encouragers of antiquities and learning's healths. Mr. Talman, Mr. Gale, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Hill, Mr. Thomas, in a more particular manner give their service to you and so does

Sr.,

Your most Oblieged friend and humble servant

GEO. HOLMES

(Sent by hand with a parcel, porter paid).'

One of Stukeley's copies of the later minute-book of the Society³ has a leaf stuck in described by him as 'An Original Paper of the Founders of the Antiquarian Society, subscribing to the Engraving the Font of St. James's Church. Sam. Gale's hand. Novr. 6 1717', and lists the members of the Society who contributed five shillings. It is of particular interest as showing that the publication of such prints was from the beginning one of the first of the Society's intentions. Reasonably accurate plates of antiquities were, indeed, one of the great needs of scholars at the time. Many documents and histories had been published, but none were adequately illustrated. There was every reason for Stukeley suddenly to interject into his minutes:⁴ 'Without drawing and designing the Study of Antiquities or any other Science is lame and imperfect.'

By the end of the year 1717 the meetings were regular enough for a formal constitution to be envisaged. 'The ardor', Stukeley

¹ The point is well brought out for the early period of English archaeology in Piggott's *Stukeley*, p. 6.

² B.M. Harl. MS. 3779, fol. 284.

³ Ants. MS. 268.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

writes,¹ 'which had kindled in the breast of those sages'—the Elizabethan Society—'revived amongst us, and upon the first day of the succeeding year, we formed ourselves again into one body under the style and title of the Society of Antiquaries, London. It was done a little before Christmas and a copy of the original papers of the Constitution wrote in my hand and subscribed by the members, is now in Mr. Johnson's possession.'

The first pages of our Society's first minute-book,² written in Stukeley's hand, give a preamble and the articles of association.

*'The Society of Antiquarys London
Jan. 1 1717-1718.*

The Study of Antiquity has ever been esteem'd a considerable part of good Literature, no less curious than useful: and if what will assist us in a clearer Understanding the invaluable Writings of the Antient Learned Nations, or preserving the Venerable Remains of our Ancestors be of account, the forming a Society to carry on so good and entertaining a Work by their joint Endeavours cannot but be esteemed laudable and highly conducive to that purpose.

And whereas our own Country abounds with valuable Relicks of former Ages, especially of the Romans which are at present in the Custody of private Gentlemen, or lying in Obscurity, and more are daily discovered by chance or the diligence of such as tread in the commendable footsteps of those who revived the Spirit of this kind of learning among us in the last Century: to the end that the knowledg of them may become more Universal, be preserved and transmitted to Futurity: several Gentlemen have agreed to form themselves into such a Society here in London with a design at their own charge to collect and print and keep exact Registers under proper heads Titles of all Antient Monuments that come to their hands whether Ecclesiastic or Civil, which may be communicated to them from all parts of the Kingdoms of Great Brittain and Ireland, such as old Citys, Stations, Camps, Castles, Theatres, Temples, Roads, Abbys, Churches, Statues, Tombs, Busts, Inscriptions, Ruins, Altars, Ornaments, Utensils, habits, Seals, Armor, Portraits, Medals, Urns, pavements, Maps, Charters, Manuscripts, Genealogys, Historys, Deeds, Letters, Records, Observations, Illustrations, Emendations of Books already publishd and whatever may properly belong to the History of BRITISH ANTIQUITYS.

The better to accomplish which Undertaking and to encourage the Ingenious and Curious to communicate such Matters to them from time to time they have agreed upon the Following Articles as their common Establishment.

Article i

That any Person whose Genius leads to the Study of Antiquitys may at their request with the Consent of the Majority of the Society be admitted a Member of it, which is to be held every Wenesday evening at such place in London as shall be thought convenient whereat every one shall bear his Own expence without any penalty of forfeiture, and may withdraw himself at pleasure paying all Engagements giving notice of it in writing to the President.

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 6182. The copy referred to is probably that in the Minutes of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, ii, pp. 506 and 512 and b.

² Ants. MS. 268.

Article *ii*

Every new admitted Member shall pay a half a guinea, or the Member that recommends him to be responsible: and contribute one shilling on the first Wenesday each month towards carrying on the Works of the Society, of which he is to receive his equal Dividend from that time.

Article *iii*

All Works of the Society to be engraven printed or published, shall first be referd to the judgment and Approbation of the Society at two several Meetings successively and approved by the Majority then present.

Article *iv*

Out of the Society Yearly shall be elected by the majority of Voices or Ballot on the third Wenesday in January a President, Secretary, Director and Treasurer. The President in all debates shall have a double vote where they are equal. He is to nominate the Vice president.

Article *v*

The Secretary shall take an Account of what shall be communicated to the Society, read the papers and transcribe them into a Book, Register the Orders and Minutes, the admission of new Members, the Names and Donations of Contributors, all the notices of Antiquatys under Proper heads and regular Indexes that they may be of use.

Article *vi*

The Director shall Superintend and regulate all the Drawings, Prints, Plates and Books of the Society and all their works of Printing drawing or Engraving; he is to deliver to the Members their Dividends of such Works and by Ballot to receive the Votes, carrying the same to the President.

Article *vii*

The Treasurer shall receive all Subscription and Admission money and Contributions &c, and discharge the Expenses of the Works of the Society. In the beginning of every year he shall produce his Account to be laid before the Society and registered.

Article *viii*

No one shall be allowd to subscribe to any Plate or Printing but who are Members of the Society, and that all Members shall be obligd to subscribe in an equal proportion.

Article *ix*

That every new Member be proposd to the Society the night before the Balloting, and that nine Members be always present when any Act or Proposal is made without which it is absolutely invalid.

Article *x*

That Every Member who owes to the Society a year's Contribution shall be desird by letter or otherwise, of the Treasurer, to discharge it, which if he refuses to doe within half a year after, his name shall be expunged from the Society's Register.

Article *xi*

It's desired that when any Six of the Members subscribe to any Book to be printed, it may be done at the Society so that the advantage of a seventh Copy may accrue to the Library, and for that End all proposals shall lye upon the Table.'

These regulations were summarized in a large printed half-sheet which was prefixed to some of the earliest publications of the Society.¹

'The Society of Antiquaries, London.

January the first, 1717.

Agreed to meet one evening in every week to cultivate the knowledge of ANTIQUITIES of ENGLAND, according to such written orders as were subscribed to by the members of the Society. A President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, Treasurer, and Director of the Works of the Society, etc. were then nominated and elected. These officers are yearly chosen; and the monthly contributions, paid by each person admitted, are collected by the Treasurer, and applied for the use and advancement of the Society. The accompts of Monies received and disbursements are to be audited annually.'

It must have been with self-conscious pleasure that our Society read the preface to Hearne's publication of the *Curious Discourses* of the Elizabethan Society, which appeared in 1720, though he may well not have known of their existence.

'So that since there are so many excellent scholars in England, and since, when they are joined in any work, nothing hath proved too difficult for them, what an admirable performance must that needs prove, which shall, at any time, be undertaken and carried on by a society of antiquaries, that shall agree to act, as much as possibly they can, for the honour of this Kingdom. . . . Such a society as that I have been speaking of must consist of men of the most pregnant parts, and they are to discuss the most intricate and obscure points in our English history and antiquities. They should have their stated meetings, and give their opinions not only by word of mouth, but oftentimes in writing. This method will occasion many short curious discourses, that will be proper to be printed, and put into the hands as well of others. . . .'

¹ Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, p. liv.

V

THE MITRE TAVERN

1718-26

THE Society of Antiquaries that met in 1717 was a larger society than had met in 1707, and evidently made more noise in the world. It even had an influence on dramatic production: Shackerley Marmion's old comedy of *The Antiquary*¹ was revived for two nights immediately after its official reconstitution, as old Samuel Gale later remembered and recounted to Dr. Ducarel. Though its future was no more certain in the early months of 1717/18 than it had been ten years before, its members seem to have been determined that its records should be fully kept. Besides the official minute-book in Stukeley's hand which has always remained in the possession of the Society, there is a second and rather fuller version² which Stukeley seems to have made for his own use. It begins with a copy of the Statutes signed by the members.³ The actual Minutes that follow have a frontispiece drawn by Stukeley (Plate 7), representing three warriors uniting hands over a Roman altar; one holds a standard with clasped hands, medallions of Alfred and Charles I, and a bust of Julius Caesar. At the other end of the volume are notes chiefly of objects exhibited to the Society. A third set of Minutes long in the possession of Joseph Ames is now in the British Museum.⁴ A fourth,⁵ somewhat abbreviated, is in the Antiquaries' Library. An independent set of minutes

¹ 1875 edition, p. 199; the text was revised for the occasion to include a turnpike ticket (then a novelty) under the name of *Tessera*.

² Ants. MS. 205. The first volume covers the period to 20 Dec. 1721. It includes a short summary of the Society's history, and gives the Minutes from 5 Feb. 1717/18 to 1720/1. After a few blank pages there is a list of the founders (see above, p. 51) followed by Minutes 3 Jan. 1721/2 to 19 Jan. 1725/6, followed by miscellaneous notes dated from Grantham. At the other end is another copy of the Statutes, an admission book 20 Nov. 1723 to May 1725, and a list of subscribers to the plate of the font in St. James's Church, Westminster, published in 1718. Another copy by Stukeley of the Minutes from 8 Nov. 1721 to 19 Feb. 1721/2 is in a Gough MS., Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fols. 10-14v. A further copy of the Minutes 1717/18 to 1742, made for Richard Gough, is also in the Bodleian: MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fols. 250-9v. Classified items from the Minutes 1721/2-6 made by Gough from Stukeley's MS. will be found in Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 1. It is followed (fol. 146) by extracts from the Minutes 1747-62 by Gough.

³ They include most (but not all) of the Fellows elected up to 1720.

⁴ Egerton MSS. 1041 and 1042; 1717-45. Horace Walpole bought it at Ames's sale in 1760. Sir Peter Thompson, F.R.S., bought it at the Strawberry Hill sale, and from him it passed to Joseph Lilly to enter the Egerton Collection in Oct. 1843.

⁵ Ants. MS. 268; Stukeley has lettered it 'Minute Book of Antiquarian Society 1722'. A second copy of the Minutes is recorded to have been kept at least until 1750 (Minutes of 26 July).

in Vertue's hand, degenerating into a list of the plates to be engraved for the Society, is among the Harleian manuscripts.¹

The minute-book which runs from 20 November 1723 to May 1725² has an admission page which gives a motto for most of the members, written by them at the time of signature; Stukeley has added mottoes for a few of the earlier members. The fancy seems to have been his own and was not perpetuated. 'The Treasurer's Book of the Society of British Antiquaries',³ lettered in Stukeley's hand January 1718, is further adorned with a decorative band cut from an Italian humanist manuscript and stuck inside the cover. Its entries begin in February 1718 with the shilling subscriptions of the members, separately entered. Another of Stukeley's manuscripts⁴ begins with the Statutes, continues with lists of manuscripts, coins, and deeds he has seen, mostly in private collections, and then⁵ gives an account of donations made to, and purchases made by, the Society up to 1727. (Plate VIII.)

Finally, the Society bought a Register of paper bound in crimson velvet barded with brass, which still serves as the admission book of the Society,⁶ and (in 1721) a folio paper book to register letters and other papers. At the meeting held on Christmas Eve 1718 the Vice-President in the Chair ordered the Director 'to provide us with a box to lay up the books in'.

The first entries in the Minutes indicate how far the Society was a society for publishing prints.⁷ Already, before they were begun, two plates had been published. The first, in the late summer of 1717, was of the lamp⁸ dug up at St. Leonard's Hill, near Windsor, which Sir Hans Sloane later presented to the Society.⁹ It became, and still is, the Antiquaries' device. The second was of the font at St. James's Church, Westminster, for which subscriptions were invited in the autumn of 1717.¹⁰ The Minutes of 1718 show the Society busy with further publications.

'Feb. 5th. 1717/8: It was proposd for the first time by Mr. Presid^t Norroy to engrave a drawing of Richard IInd's picture in Westminster Abby taken by Mr. Talman's direction and agreed to.

Feb. 12. Mr. Sam. Gale Treasurer is authoriz'd to pay Mr. Vertue two guineas toward engraving the font of St. James's Church. It is proposd for the second time to engrave R. II's picture and agrd.

¹ B.M. Harl. MS. 7190, fol. 302.

² Ants. MS. 268.

³ Ants. MS.

⁴ Ants. MS. 264. The Statutes omit article xi.

⁵ Fol. 155.

⁶ It is a more modest version of the Register of the Royal Society, which dates from 1664 and is of vellum bound in crimson velvet with gold clasps and corners. Lyons, p. 53.

⁷ According to Vertue, Talman was the instigator of the publication of prints by the Society. See Minutes for 21 Mar. 1754.

⁸ On it see I. A. Richmond in *Antiquaries Journal*, Jan. 1950, and S. Piggott in *Antiquaries Journal*, Jan. 1951, p. 74.

⁹ On 28 July 1736.

¹⁰ See above, p. 61, n. 2. The plate was engraved by Vertue from a drawing by Charles Woodfield.

Feb. 19th. It is proposd and agreed the third time to engrave Richard ii's Picture in Westminster Abby, and Mr. Director Talman is desird and authoris'd to have a Drawing taken of it with all Convenient Speed in order thereto.¹

On 7 May 'Mr. Vertue had the Drawing of Richard II delivered to him by Mr. Director in order for engraving, for which he is to be paid Twenty Guineas. Mr. Director gives the Use of the Drawing to the Society. In order to defray the Expence it is found Necessary to raise a voluntary subscription of seven shillings and sixpence a peice of as many as please, for which they are each to receive the equivalent in prints of the same when finished. Mr. Vertue gives the Copper Plate, he is to be paid 5 guineas down, 5 guineas when half finished, and the rest upon delivery'.

Finally, on 24 December, 'Mr. Vertue brought a Proof of the Plate of Rich. II which had the intire approbation of the Society, and their thanks for his Care and Accuracy therein, and Mr. Treasurer was order'd to pay him Five Guineas more in part of his agreement for Engraving'.

The publication of these plates was the occasion of the first considerable communications to be laid before the Society. On 10 December 1718, '... Roger Gale Esqr. brought an Inscription to be put upon the Plate of Richard II with a very Judicious Dissertation upon the Date and Painting of the same, being in Oyl Colours, for which he had the thanks of the Society'. On 23 April 1718, and at the two subsequent meetings, it was agreed that the Horn of Ulph should be engraved, and on the last day of that year 'Mr. Samuel Gale brought a large and accurate Discourse upon the Horn of Ulphus given to the Church of York which is engraven on Copper by the Society, For which The Thanks of the Society is unanimously given to him, It being read over. A Latin Inscription to be put under the New Plate of Rich. II was read over and approv'd by the Society'.

It was this discourse that first drew the Society into the activity of literary publication. On 11 March 1719 it was

'Resolved that Mr. Samuel Gale's dissertation upon Ulphus' Horn be revised by Mr. President, Mr. Roger Gale, Mr. Mickleton and Mr. Holmes, or any three of them, and then printed.

N.B. Ten Members were present when the last resolution was made.'

When the officers came to read the manuscript they were a little less enthusiastic. Four months later 'Mr. President made a Report in the name of those Gentlemen who were orderd to revise Mr. Sam: Gales Dissertation upon Ulphus's Horn, and what alterations they hinted at are submitted to the Author's Pleasure; and the Work is orderd to be Published and printed in a good Manner in

¹ The drawing was made by Grisoni.

Quarto by Mr. Goslin at the Charges of the Society, with a print of the Horn before it, Whereof a sufficient Number are likewise ordered to be printed off".

The engravings of the Society were soon envisaged as being intended to be bound with the accompanying dissertations. Ere long¹ a title-page for these engravings was issued: 'Res Selectae ab Antiquariorum Societate Londini editae'. A second title-page describes them as 'Collectanea Antiquitatum sumptibus Societatis Antiquariae Londinensis impressa ab anno Domini MDCCLXVI'.

In July 1719 a committee was set up to consider the printing of the Society's first published book, the *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, edited by Roger Gale from the manuscript in the Cotton Library. It was arranged to print it at twopence a sheet, with rubricated titles, the printer to pay for drawings, engraving, and transcript, and the Society to take up 150 subscriptions.²

The Society's interest in graphic records quickly led them to the acquisition of pictures as well as to the publication of engravings. On 7 May 1718 they acquired three pictures, of which two are still in their collection.³

May 7. Bought by the Society the Portraict of Edward the Third for a Guinea which Mr. Treasurer is order to pay. . . .

Bought by the Society of Dr. Stukeley Secretary an old Picture of Elizabeth Wife to Harry VII for 12s. 06d. which Mr. Treasurer is order to Pay. Bought by the Society an old Picture of Harry VII for £1.0.4. which Mr. Treasurer is order to pay to Mr. Norroy.'

The Society, like other societies which to this day meet in City taverns, may well have been allowed to hang these pictures in the room where they usually met at the Mitre, but there is no record of the fact. In November 1721 they acquired 'Portifolios' for their prints and drawings.

Vertue's account of the Society's activities in January 1717/18⁴ says that the money 'collected by a Treasurer apointed to Receive it, is to be laid out for the use of the Society, in necessary Papers, books, drawings, Engraved plates, Printing etc. as the majority of the Society shoud appoint from time to time', and the official copy of the early statutes⁵ includes provisions for the Society's acquiring a seventh copy free, according to the trade practice of the time,

¹ Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, p. lv note, does not give a date and I have been unable to discover one.

² Entries in Wanley's day-book of Harleian Library business, B.M. Lansdowne MS. 771, record visits to the library by Talman and Gale in connexion with it in Jan. 1719/20 and Jan. 1720/1. The book was published in 1722 with illustrations drawn by Grisoni. The *Richmond Charters* were re-edited in 1935 by our Fellow Mr. C. T. Clay as vols. iv and v of the *Early Yorkshire Charters* of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

³ The portrait which in 1718 was thought to be of Elizabeth of York cannot now be traced.

⁴ B.M. Harl. MS. 7190, fol. 322.

⁵ See above, p. 58.



Peter le Neve, President, 1707-10, 1717-24

College of Arms



Stukeley's Frontispiece to the Minutes of the Society, 1717

Ants. MS. 265

when six of the members subscribe to a book.¹ The actual acquisition of books, however, was not at first an important activity of the Society, doubtless because a library was not easily maintained by a Society that met at a tavern and had nothing but a box to keep books in. The first book to be subscribed for was Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, on 18 December 1719; the copy purchased is still in the Society's Library.² On 22 November 1721 'Mr. Treasurer brought Mr. Chisul's Inscriptio Sigœa bought by order of the Society. He was orderd to buy the Bp. of Lincoln's New Camden when published'. A proper library had, indeed, become one of the Society's aims, if not its main one. At the meeting on 8 March 1721 Stukeley brought a message to the President from Sir Francis Leycester that 'he designs to present them with some books of English History when they get a library'.

Manuscripts were also occasionally acquired, usually by gift; on 23 May 1721 Stukeley presented a manuscript of the churchwardens' accounts of St. Clement Danes for 1616 and a genealogy of Robin Hood.³

The meetings were devoted, not, as those of the Elizabethan Society had been, to the discussion of a single subject, but to short communications and exhibits not unlike those which are now given before a Ballot. On 14 May 1718:

'Mr. Becket informed Us the Trees in Dean Yard Westminster were planted by Dr. Feckenham last Abbot of Westminster.

Mr. Gosling⁴ presented Each Member with a Print from his two Plates of Lord Bacon, for which the Thanks of the Society are returnd to him and Mr. Director is orderd to present him with a Couple of Prints of St. James Font in their name.

Mr. President exhibited a Curious Antient Deed dated MCLXXVI 22 H II being a Pacification between the Abbot of Canterbury and the men of the Isle of Thanet, Where to are 124 Wittnesses cum pluribus aliis. Tis printed in the Decem Scriptores inter Chronica Willi. Thorn p. 1827 ed. 1652 but without the Wittnesses.

The Secretary read a letter from M. Johnson which gives an Account of a fine Font in Ely Cathedral, vast Numbers of beautiful and rich Monumts. there, some pretty antient, Opposite the Door of the North Cross Isle the picture of the Archbp. of York, the E. of Northumberland, and three other Bps. who held out the Town agt. Wm. the Conqr.⁵ They are very antient and pretty entire.'

¹ The Minutes for 14 Feb. 1721/2 record the acquisition of a seventh copy of Dr. Keating's *History of Ireland* in this way, after a fair copy on vellum had been inspected.

² It includes a history of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries paraphrased from Spelman's *Occasion*.

³ On 4 June 1721 this was lent to 'some Gent. of the parish' for a fortnight. It was duly returned and is now Antiquaries MS. 67.

⁴ Either Francis Gosling the bookseller, whose shop was at the sign of the Mitre and Crown almost next door to the Mitre Tavern (Noble, *Memorials of Temple Bar*, p. 74), or Robert Gosling, bookseller (perhaps his brother) who was admitted Fellow in Feb. 1718. One of them printed Gale's paper on the Horn of Ulph. See above, p. 64.

⁵ Bastard crossed out.

At other meetings in 1718 an ancient gold ring found in digging under a foundation at Bridewell—'tis a quarter of an inch broad enameld'—portraits of William Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Essex; 'a curious old peice of Greek painting being a religious piece done on wood', and Stukeley's drawings of Arthur's O'on¹ and of an ancient pack of cards, and a roll of arms of the gentry of Norfolk in the time of Henry VI 'said to be done by one Bottoner Herald to Sr. John Falstaff' were exhibited. The most common exhibits, however, were deeds and charters and documents of other kinds. Exceptionally, on 17 December, 'Mr. James Hill brought Us a vast Collection of Drawings, Views, Inscriptions, Ground plots and Observations in Manuscript, the Fruits of his Travels this Summer in the West of England, well worthy of his Judgment and Skill in Antiquitys, Diligence and Accuracy, for which he had the deserved thanks of the Society to which he is so considerable an Ornament'.

In the early seventeen-twenties a general interest in Oliver Cromwell seems to have been felt; a number of portraits of him are noted.² A constant stream of intaglios were exhibited, both ancient and modern. Contemporary objects, discoveries, and events were sometimes recorded, such as the inscriptions on plates laid under the foundation stones of new London churches,³ a newly invented method of printing in colours,⁴ and engravings of Louis XV's coronation procession.⁵ Similarly the Society was instructed in the dialect of Yorkshire⁶ and in the rites of a highland lord's funeral.⁷

The exhibition of objects was sometimes a prelude to a gift to the Society: on 12 June 1718 Samuel Gale presented it with a print of Hollar's plan and view of Hull, and on 11 November Stukeley⁸ 'brought an Old wooden Escoccheon of the Treshams of Northamptonshire containing the Blazon of many Coats of Arms belonging to that Family which he gave to the Society'.⁹ In 1721 John Bridges presented several bronze fibulae, rings, and beads,¹⁰ and le Neve a silver coin of Gratian. In 1722 the Society received a further gift of Roman coins found at Ariconium, 'and a nest of

¹ On Arthur's O'on see Piggott, *Stukeley*, p. 60.

² In Nov. 1733 Mr. West brought a note 'wrote many years since' on the plate found in Cromwell's coffin.

³ St. Martin's in the Fields, 27 Mar. 1721/2; St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, 13 Apr. 1725.

⁴ On 5 Dec. 1722 'Mr. Kirkal . . . brought proofs of his new recoverd Invention of printing with different Tints in Claro obscuro in imitation of drawings.'

⁵ 3 Apr. 1723.

⁶ 9 June 1725.

⁷ 21 July 1725.

⁸ Professor Stuart Piggott points out (*Stukeley*, p. 42) that Stukeley does not seem to have communicated the results of his own field work 1719-25 to the Society, except by a few drawings.

⁹ It is still in the possession of the Society; Way, *Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 30. It is of carved oak.

¹⁰ 'Being no. 54 in Mr. Kemp's Catalogue of Curiosities.' They were among the few objects reported missing when the Society's possessions were checked in 1736, and are still not to be found.

drawers was order'd to be made to receive them and other like donations'.

On 12 June 1718 Samuel Gale 'brought a letter from the Reverend Dr. Knight a Member of the Society, containing an Account of a large Sceleton found near Chippenham Cambr., with massy chains and fetters dug up near him, and of some Penates dug up at Devizes'. Even more dramatically on 1 July 'Mr. President (Norroy) brought a fine Roman Urn taken up in his presence at Elmham, Norfolk, which was opend before the Society. Nothing but Bones was found in it.'¹

Some of the most famous archaeological sites in England came under the notice of the Society at an early date.² Stukeley talked of Verulamium and Silchester and on 12 May 1725 told the story of Wroxeter. 'The Secretary spoke of a certain schoolm^r at Wroxcester that usd to send his boys to gather dinders as they call roman moneys after a shower of rain, and he melted all the silver ones into a tankard. The lord of the manor of Wroxeter puts it into his leases that the tenants shall bring all Antiquitys found there on forfeiture of their lease. A vast quantity of coyons etc. found there brought to Mr. Ashmole were burnt in the fire of London.' On 28 November 1722 'Mr. Cooper brought a letter from Dr. Knight giving an account of seven barrows upon a heath six or seven miles East of Ipswich, one larger in the middle, the rest in a circle round it'—the site now known as the Devil's Rings.

The mere administration of the Society took a smaller place. On 5 March 1718 'It was Orderd by the Society yt all Members to be Admitted into the same be Balloted for and that a Balloting Box be Prepar'd for the Purpose.'³ On 12 June 'Mr. President being obliged to be in the Country for the summer season, has pleasd to propose for a Vice-President during his Absence Mr. George Holmes which was unanimously approved of by the Society'.

The end of the first year of statutory existence found the Society's finances in a satisfactory state. They had published four plates. The Treasurer 'exhibited the Accts. of the year relating to the Society where it appears he has received in Money £29. 4. 6 and has paid £22. 4. 4 so that there remains in his hands £7. 0. 2'. A year later, on 18 December 1719, the financial position of the Society was strengthened when: 'Mr. President proposd to the

¹ The urn (in fact Saxon) is still in the Society's Collection.

² Caerleon, 22 Nov. 1721; Cirencester, 14 Mar. 1722/3, 8 Jan. 1723/4, 22 Dec. 1725; Colchester, 25 Jan. 1721/2; The Devil's Dyke, 15 Nov. 1721; Marlborough, 8 Apr. 1726. In 1723, however, T. Twining published his *Avebury* to show that it was erected by Vespasian and Julius Agricola, and that Silbury was an 'honorary monument' to Titus Vespasian.

³ It has not proved possible to identify this among the Society's many ballot-boxes; indeed the earliest of these appears to date from the middle of the eighteenth century. Castors were added to the original ballot-box in Jan. 1736 (Treasurer's Book), which suggests that it was a piece of furniture on legs.

Society to Consider of an Additional Article to this Purpose: That every Member who owes a year's Contributions shall be desired by letter or otherwise of the Treasurer to discharge it, which if he neglects to do within half a year after, his name shall be expunged out of the Register.'

The Society's peaceful and stable condition at the beginning of 1719 was reflected in the unanimous re-election of all the officers on 7 January 1718/19 and again in 1719/20, when the balance in the Treasurer's hands was £4. 2s. 2d. on a turnover of £58. 9s. By 1721/2 he had a balance of £21. 13s. 7d. In this year the officers, after they had duly examined the accounts, asked the Treasurer to omit from the current list the names of such members as were in arrears and had not paid up in six months' time. £8. 14s. was duly paid up, but by the end of 1722/3 the balance was down to just under £20. In 1723/4 members were in arrears to an amount over £18, and the Treasurer was asked to write to them. In the following year an entrance fee of half a guinea was duly instituted.

The Society's chief expense lay in the publication of plates. The other expenditure lay in buying small necessities such as maps of England¹ and of the neighbourhood of London² and a reading-glass,³ and in the occasional purchase of coins.⁴

The early eighteenth century was a time when gambling was both recognized and organized by the State, and most people took a part in it. On 3 January 1721/2 'It was propos'd that £10 of the Society's money be Expended in buying a Ticket in the next Governmt. Lottery, for the benefit of the Society, and by Ballot carry'd in the affirmative, 10 of the Members being present.' Stukeley duly brought the ticket to the meeting on 30 May (together with a plan of 'the Roman amphitheatre at Dorchester'), but the Society drew a blank. On 28 November 1722 'Mr. President proposd the disposal of our blank ticket and put the question to add forty shillings to it and buy another ticket in the Government Lottery, which by ballot was carry'd in the affirmative and Mr. Treasurer was orderd to take care of it.' The Society, however, was unlucky in the draw, and did not venture again.

On 22 January 1723/4 Lord Hertford was elected President; he declared Peter le Neve 'Praeses natus' and nominated John Bridges and Roger Gale his Vice-Presidents. When Bridges died later in the year Lord Winchelsea, a member of barely two years' standing, was nominated in his stead. The Society, indeed, was beginning to attract a certain number of men who were more than scholars: Sir James Thornhill was elected in March 1722/3, Mr. Christopher Wren in June 1725, and Lord Burlington in

¹ 28 Nov. 1721.

² 20 Nov. 1723.

³ 17 Feb. 1724/5.

⁴ 7 Feb. 1721/2, five shillings; 6 Mar. 1721/2, five shillings again.

February 1723/4. At the same time commercial men from the provinces were occasionally admitted: John Kirkpatrick, merchant of Norwich, was elected in 1719. On 3 March of the following year it was agreed that the membership of the Society should be limited to one hundred persons. At the same meeting it was proposed 'that the Society consider whether it be adviseable for us to take in Gentlemen that are persons of learning and curiosity that live in distant parts of the country, who will favor us with a correspondence under the name of honorary members, who are not to pay contributions nor receive any of the works of the Society, such whose affairs don't permit them to come to town'.¹ A fortnight later the proposal was lost on ballot, only six members voting in its favour.

The first difficult business of the Society came before it in February 1719/20. A member, Joseph Hall, an eccentric who had signed the Statutes with astrological symbols in the flourish of his signature, had published a pamphlet entitled *A Sober Reply to Mr. Higgs' Merry Arguments* which came under the censure of the House of Lords. They declared that it 'is a mixture of the most Scandalous Blasphemy prophaneness and obscenity and dos in the most daring impious Manner ridicule the Doctrine of the Trinity and all revealed religion' and ordered that the Publisher, the Printer and 'Joseph Hall, gent: who owned himself to be the Author, be taken into custody of the Black Rodd, prosecuted by the Attorney General, and the pamphlet burnt by the hands of the common Hangman'. On 28 February the Society unanimously resolved that Mr. Hall should be expelled, 'and that Mr. Secretary give him notice thereof and expunge his name out of their books'.²

The chief practical business at this time lay in the question whether members should be allowed to subscribe for extra copies of the plates. The usage varied; usually they were allowed to have a specific number.³ On 4 February 1718/19 it was agreed that the Society's existing prints should be sold to the trade also. 'Mr. Director was orderd to deliver out Prints of Richd. II to be sold after the rate of 2s. 6d. a peice allowing to the Sellers 6d a peice and one over in a dozen. The Prints of the Font at St. James after the rate of 1s. 6d a peice allowing to the Sellers 4d. a peice. The Prints of Ulphus's Horn at 1s. allowing the Sellers 3d. a peice.'

On 14 January, 'Mr. Director brought us a Proof of an Etchd

¹ At the same time not all members were Londoners even in 1725. In March 'Mr. Baron Clark of Scotland' was duly elected and 'Sir Robert Cornwall proposed Mr. John Kirwood living near the old city of Ariconium and a curious Gent. for a member of the Society'.

² A minor trouble arose in Nov. 1723 over a newly elected member, Mr. Bromsall, who attended a meeting unrecognized and without explaining himself. Stukeley ejected him and he resigned in a huff. He wanders in and out of the Society's lists until 1740, when he was finally removed for non-payment.

³ See Minutes for 7 Jan., 14 Jan., 11 Feb., 1719/20; 28 Oct. 1724.

Plate of a Roman Lamp to be used as a Symbol or Ticket of the Society which he is pleased to make a present to the Society for which their unanimous thanks were ordered to be given him for the same'. On 25 March 'Mr. Director brought a Sketch of a Design for a Plate to be printed as a headpiece or Emblem of the Works of the Society at the beginning of any Publications which he was ordered to have etched'. This elegant device of the Society's Roman lamp, with the motto 'Non Extinguetur' and the legend 'Lucerna ænea Romana Monte Sti. Leonardi juxta Windesoram off . . . Ao. 1717', was long used on the title-pages of the Society's more important publications (Plate IX).

The Society continued active in the production of prints. On 11 March 1719 Vertue was sent to Kensington Palace to inspect Remy's copies of the Holbeins which had been burnt at Whitehall, with a view to engraving them. He reported at the next meeting that they were of an awkward size for the purpose, and the project was dropped. 1720 saw the publication only of two unimportant plates—one of seals, and another of the ruins at Walsingham, drawn by Badslade and engraved by Stukeley's friend Van der Gucht. In 1721 Stukeley's own drawings of Waltham Cross and of the walls of Verulamium were engraved and published. 1722 saw the publication of three plates of Fountains Abbey, two of St. Bennet's Abbey, and one of a Norfolk tomb. In 1724 a double plate of the tomb of Edward the Confessor was published, engraved by Vertue from a drawing by John Talman; in the following year two plates of the gates at Whitehall and Westminster drawn and engraved by Vertue were followed by a plate of Tudor and Stuart coins and medals.

Only the carping Hearne thought these activities unworthy. On 18 February 1724/5¹ he wrote to his friend West: 'Methinks Societies should engage in some great Works, either never yet printed, or, if printed, are become either almost or quite as rare as MSS. This I mention upon account of two Prints you lately mentioned, the publishing of which might have been enough for some single person . . . but, I think, they do not redound much to the Honour of the Members that joyntly concerned themselves, unless they had published them in some great Work, such as a Continuation of Weever.' Even John Talman, in a letter to Samuel Gale dated 7 March 1724/5, confessed: 'I am pleased to hear yt such Persons as Dukes &c. buy whole sets of our Prints, but at the same time I am Chagrind to reflect on the smallness of their number. . . .'²

The Society was beginning to contemplate other corporate work. On 10 February 1719/20 ' . . . Mr. Warburton gave us a Catalogue of MSS relating to English History in his Custody and It was proposed to the Society by Mr. President that Every Member should

¹ *Collectanea*, viii. 334.

² MS. in Gough's copy of *Archæologia*, i, in the Bodleian.

at his leisure bring in a Catalogue of such in their Own or Friends' possession fairly written on whole sheets of Paper'. On 14 December in the same year 'W. Stukeley proposd to the President that the Society should take drawings of all the Old Edifices in London that have not yet been well done, and have them inserted from time to time in Mr. Strype's Stow's Annalls belonging to the Society which was agreed to. It was likewise added that Every Member be desired to buy all good Prints of such public Buildings Monuments and the like that happen in his way at as reasonable a price as he can, which shall be repaid by the Treasurer out of the Society's money.' The book was duly bound with extra pages to receive the prints, but the pages are still empty. However, on 7 February 1721/2, 'Mr. Vertue brought the Remaining parcell of the Original Ground-plots of the City of London made after the fire, and from which Hollar made his print. Upon them the marks of the Commissioners in the enlargement of the streets etc. . . .'. Two years later he dedicated his engraved plate made from these to the Society. Again, on 22 January 1723/4 'Mr. Norroy made report of the Committee appointed to see the old house in Fitch Court in Silver Street which was not burnt in the fire of 1666. This is a Wood or Studd house 2 or 3 foot beneath the level of the present City, said to have been a House of retirement of Alderman Tichburn, and then stood in a sort of a garden. It consists of 2 little rooms on a floor, and staircase between. It was Order'd that a Committee should meet every Wensday at 3 a clock, of the Officers of the Society and as many more of the Members as please to take a view of the remarkable places in and about London at such place as shall from time to time be appointed.' A week later le Neve, Stukeley, and Vertue examined the remains of the chapel on London Bridge.

The Society began its great collection of proclamations and broadsheets on 23 June 1725, when Stukeley 'proposd yt the Society should collect the ceremonys of the installation of the Knts. of the bath and all other papers of like nature from time to time, such as Proclamations, coronations etc. and put them into a book to be provided for that purpose. . . . Mr. Director was directed by the Society to buy a Portfolio of a proper size with gards, to place all public printed papers in, of matters above mentiond, which are fit to be preserv'd by the Society, and every Member is desir'd to bring in such, as occasion offers, the charge thereof to be repaid by the Treasurer.'

On 3 January 1721/2 'It was propos'd it would be much for the honour of the Kingdom, particularly of the Society, to attempt a Compleat description and history of all the Coyns relating to Great Britain from the Earliest times to our own. Wm. Stukeley undertook all the British Coyns in Sr. Hans Sloan's Cabinet or elsewhere.

Mr. Holmes undertook the Saxon Coyns in possession of Mr. Hill a Counsellor. Mr. Ja. Hill undertook to get a Description of Lord Harley's Saxon Coyns. Mr. Roger Gale undertook the Roman which have relation to Britain. Mr. Sam Gale undertook those of the Danish reigns.' At the end of May Stukeley 'showd the Society what he has done toward Collecting the Coyns of Great Britain from the earliest times, according to the respective tasks the Members assumd to themselves some time ago. He showd a great number of British Coyns drawn out in some Order, whence he proposes to demonstrate their great Conformity with the old Greek and Punic.' . . . ' Nothing more happened until 1 April two years later, when Lord Hertford took up the matter. 'By the President's recommendation, the Society resumd the consideration of collecting all the legends and accounts of coyns that relate to Britain from the earliest ages to the present, in order to describe an exact *Metallographia Britannica*.' Separate committees were set up for British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and English coins. 'The first person nam'd in each Committee shall collect from all the informations that can be had, the drawings and descriptions of all coyns under that class, and every Member and person nam'd in any Committee is desir'd to communicate what comes in his way of any class. The Secretary is from time to time to register them in due order of time, together with what descriptions or historical matters appertain to them, in order for publication when the work is judg'd compleat, and the coyns are to be handsomely engraven by the best hands. . . .'

These proposals were repeated at the meeting a month later, Lord Hertford speaking 'very largely' to press the project. An unsigned letter of this date¹ from an unidentified member advises that it should be done by first cataloguing 'those noble and most considerable collections' that are in and near London, and then by having the best drawn.

The first work of protection to an ancient monument was undertaken by the Society in 1721. On 12 July 'The Secretary brought in a bill of Ten Shillings which he paid by Order of the Society for setting down Two oak-posts to secure Waltham Cross from injury by Carriages, which was repaid by the Treasurer. . . .'²

The cognate work of recording had already begun. On 15 February 1720/1 'Mr. President proposd that a Committee of Members should be appointed to meet very speedily to take out all the inscriptions in St. Martin's Church which is shortly to be pulld down and it was agreed to.'

¹ Ants. Corr., 29 April 1724.

² Stukeley had exhibited drawings of Waltham Cross (and a plan of Verulamium) which he had lately made at the meeting on 8 Feb. 1720/1. They were engraved by the Society in 1721 and 1722.

The Society had already shown its interest in discoveries made in building and rebuilding London. A note in Stukeley's hand gives the line of the Roman aqueduct found when building the new church in Bloomsbury in 1719.¹ In March 1721/2 Dr. Harwood brought fragments of fine red Roman ware with the inscription ALBUCI OFF which had been found when building St. Mary Woolnoth in Lombard Street, and reported that Sir Christopher Wren had found more with the same mark in the foundations of St. Paul's. On 12 August 1724 Stukeley 'reported that yesterday he saw in London Wall a little West of Bishopsgate the old Roman building of the wall within, the outward Case having been puld away. It was composd of two layers of Roman brick upon severall of Stone about 4 foot high.'

Too often, then as now, recording was but a prelude to destruction. On 5 July 1722 'Dr. Hardisway present gave us an account that Mr. Strong the Mason had pulld down the Old Gatehouse on the North of St. Albans Church, of which Mr. Ja. Hill and W. Stukeley had taken a drawing sometime before.'

The natural habitat of many of the members was among the records in the Tower or the pedigrees in the College of Heralds. It was Stukeley who brought fresh air into the Society. He had tried his hand at money-making, and had disliked it. 'In the memorable South Sea year 1720', he wrote,² 'I traded in the Ally, and used to get 30 or 40 pound in a morning. This increasd my distast to business, nor could I bear the loss of time, which it necessarily brings upon us, even when we have nothing to do. For the same circle must be observed every day of ones life, like a horse in a mill, and one's head must be constantly filled with the empty nonsense of coffee house chit chat, and public company.'

He had already visited Avebury, and was to visit it again;³ for him its stones were *Templa Druidum*, but it is the lasting fame he gave them which has preserved them. It was he who first pointed out the existence of the cursus and avenue at Stonehenge, and first gave a correct idea of the course of the Fosse Way.⁴ It was he who left the noble description of Crowland Abbey in its decay:⁵

'The roof, which was of Irish oak finely carved and gilt, fell down about twenty years ago: you see pieces of it in every house. The pavement is covered with shrubs for brass inscriptions, and people now at pleasure dig up the monumental stones, and divide the holy shipwreck for their private uses; so that, instead of one, most of the houses in the town are become religious. The painted

¹ Ants. MS., Green portfolio.

² Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 121, p. 27.

³ See Piggott, pp. 45 et seqq. His chief work there and at Stonehenge was in 1722 and 1724.

⁴ See Haverfield, *Occupation of Roman Britain*, p. 76. Hearne records in Oct. 1722 (vii. 4) that 'Dr. Stukeley, Fellow of the Royal Society, is making researches about the Roman Ways'.

⁵ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, i. 33.

glass was broke by the soldiers in the rebellion, for they made a garrison of the place. All the Easten part of the church is intirely razed to the foundation; and the ashes as well as the tombs of an infinite number of illustrious personages, kings, abbots, lords, knights, etc. there hoping for repose are dispersed, to the irreparable damage of English history.'

It was he who, on his way down the Kennett valley in August 1721, first recorded the need of a geological map: 'I have often wished that a map of soils was accurately made, promising to myself that such a curiosity would furnish us with some new notions of geography. . . .'¹ It was he, working in 1719 at Great Chesterford, where Roman remains lie near the town, who was the first antiquary to make use of crop-marks. The Crown Inn was on the line of the walls. 'Thither', he wrote to Roger Gale,² 'I summoned some of the country people, and, over a pot and a pipe, fished out what I could from their discourse, as we sat surveying the corn growing upon the spot. . . . The most charming sight that can be imagined is the perfect vestigia of a temple, as easily discernible in the corn as upon paper. . . . The people say, let the year come as it will, this place is ever visible . . . and fancy the fairies dancing there causes the appearance.' It was he who first made a stratigraphical drawing of an archaeological site: Bloomsbury Square.³

It is easy to forgive him his amiable foibles—his Druidical nicknames,⁴ his Lincolnshire Society of Roman Knights,⁵ and what Hearne called his fanciful ways.⁶ Through his patron the Duke of Montagu Stukeley came into touch with the great world of wealth and fashion and classical taste; but even among the frenchified splendours of Boughton he remained faithful to tumuli and earth-works, bronze axes and Gothic ruins. He was the true polymathic antiquary. When he called on Hearne at Oxford in September 1724 'he said his work was to consist of everything that was curious, whether Roman, Graecian, Ægyptian, Norman and what not. He said he should have in it Monasteries and other Religious Houses, as occasion offered. He pretended to have discovered a Roman

¹ *Reliquiae Galeanae*, ii, pt. i, p. 63; quoted Piggott, p. 62.

² *Ibid.* 112; quoted Piggott, p. 52. Piggott says that crop-marks were not used again by an archaeologist before Haverfield in 1904.

³ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 129, p. 56, dated July 1750. Cf. the MS., 1717-34, of the *Creation* at Freemasons' Hall, which has opposite fol. 21 a carefully drawn 'subterranean section from South East to North West of the Coal mines near Ponsford in Somersetshire'.

⁴ His own nickname of Chyndonax was derived from an inscription found near Dijon in 1623. See Piggott, p. 53.

⁵ See *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, x, Horncastle, 1909, p. 77 and Piggott, p. 54. In the Minutes he declares: 'Whilst others . . . are busying themselves to restore their Gothic Remnants, the glory is reserved for you to adorn and preserve the truly noble monuments of the Romans in Britain.' The knights, as *Equites*, were to travel; they were also to study and above all to preserve.

⁶ Hearne, viii. 4; 9 Oct. 1722.

Amphitheatre at Silchester, a draught of the walls wherof he shew'd me. This is again Fancy. I have been at Silchester. There is nothing like it.'¹

'In Stukeley', his biographer declares,² 'we see . . . the eighteenth century antiquary larger than life-size. He is unrepresentative, and yet representative: individual, eccentric, an "original", but with all his characteristics no more than a slight exaggeration of those of his fellow antiquaries. He is almost a corporate sum of his contemporaries, with all their achievements and their intellectual crotchets concentrated and magnified in one man.'

Unhappily it was easy for a man of such a temperament and such gifts to identify the Society with himself. In 1724 he was preparing an account of his travels between 1710 and 1723 for the press, and wished to include in them drawings and notes which he had communicated to the Society. His *Itinerarium Curiosum Centuria I, An Account of the Antiquities and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art observed in Travels through Great Britain*, appeared in January 1724/5. He described it in the preface as 'an account of places and things from inspection, not compiled from others' labours, or travels in one's study . . . : above all, I avoided prejudice, never carrying any author along with me, but taking things in the natural order and manner they presented themselves: and if my sentiments of Roman stations, and other matters happen not to coincide with what has been wrote before me; it was not that I differ from them, but things did not so appear to me.'

Several of the book's numerous and disparate plates are dedicated to individuals among the Antiquaries; but not even this gratification consoled them for the fact that Stukeley would allow none of them access to the minute-books until he had sucked them dry. He was, indeed, planning a second *Centuria* based upon them. A document in his hand³ appears to be a draft of its preface.

At the Annual Meeting in January 1724/5 battle was engaged.

'It was mov'd that some consideration might be taken of Mr. Nicholas's proposals for the benefit of that Society as it had been appointed. Dr. Stukeley seem'd to insinuate that it was wholly needless, and endeavour'd to invalidate all his proposals, and made replies to each article of them. But it was first required he should read over all the Articles or orders of the Society, which are eleven in number, which he unwillingly complyd with. After he had read and said what he thought propper, which took up about half an hour, all being silent, Mr. Nicholas desired that he might explain his own meaning, apprehending the Doctor might not take it as he meant. Which he having done, Mr. le Neve seconded his proposals, and said that he firmly believ'd it was no intended pique

¹ Hearne, viii. 265. The amphitheatre at Silchester has long been recognized but has not yet been excavated.

² Piggott, p. xi.

³ Ants. MS., Green portfolio. The second volume was not published until 1776.

as insinuated by the Dr. but purely for the Benefit and advantage and Satisfaction of the Members of that Society, principally insisting upon the particular, that to keep or take away any book of the Society's containing their Minutes and transactions and to be denyd access to it, and to put a lock upon another book of Minutes before the face of the Society, without rule or order for it, was unjust and unpresented and could not be for the advantage nor credit of the Society. Mr. Chicheley said that it appeared to be a contradiction in itself to cultivate knowledge and experience by Locking up the very way and means to it, for surely what was communicated to the Society was with an intent it should be known, and become Usefull in some degree or other, to the Members of it, and when they thought fitt to public use.

The Doctor insisting upon his having the minutes and register books under his care, they being writ perhaps incorrectly or lightly done, therefore would not bear reading, or Criticizing upon, and that he would not leave them open to be tumbled or tossed about, wherefor would keep them as he had done till they were filled up intirely—or if that did not please them he would resign his office and trouble himself no further with it.

Then Mr. Banks with some others mov'd that a Coppy should be made of them for the use of the Members to peruse when they thought fitt.

To this Mr. Roger Gale reply'd and taking the principal part of the debate and repeating them over he thought that several of the proposals were not material, but did agree that to have a perfect Coppy of the Register books and minute books literatim would be very convenient and usefull to the Society and was proposd and desired with my Ld. President's leave that a ballot might be, whether for the Coppy or not, it being carried in the affirmative 13 to 3. It was Orderd that Dr. Stukeley do get Copies of these books by a proper person he shall think fitt, and with what convenient speed he can, and afterward every three months to get added what should be wanting.¹

On 19 January 1726, immediately after the last of Stukeley's entries, the Minutes continue in another hand. 'Orderd that the Secretary brings the copy of the Books papers and Minutes, and all papers belonging to the Society which he has in his Custody and lay them on the table this day fortnight. Yeas 22, Noes 3.' On 18 May Stukeley 'brought the Copy of the minutes of the Society from their first Institution to January Instant which he had corrected and inserted the drawings in proper place; for which he had the thanks of the Society. He represented to the Society that being obliged to reside in the Country, he recommended to the Society Dr. Massey as his deputy for this year which was approv'd of. . . .'²

It was a sad ending to the first phase of our corporate history; but it showed that the Antiquaries were indeed a society, and as such greater than their most brilliant member.

¹ A second account by Vertue will be found in Bodleian MS. Misc. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 15.

² Stukeley had already suffered a disappointment; he had failed to become Secretary of the Royal Society in 1723. See Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 260, fol. 68v.

VI

GRAY'S INN AND THE TEMPLE

1726-49

IN 1726 Humfrey Wanley, the founder and first Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, John Talman, its first Director,¹ and Lord Winchelsea died and Maddox and James Hill in the following January. Stukeley, its Secretary since 1717, left London, greatly offended with the Society, to take up a practice at Grantham. A generation had passed and the survivors did not feel that a great deal had been accomplished. In April 1726 Roger Gale wrote to Sir John Clerk at Edinburgh:²

'As for the Antiquarian Society, I cannot but look upon it in its infancy and scarcely formed into such a body as it should be, tho' of five or six years standing. It was first begun by a few gentlemen, well-wishers to Antiquities, that used to meet once a week and drink a pint of wine at a tavern for conversation, from which we have not yet been able to rescue ourselves, thro' difficulties we have always had to encounter in providing ourselves with a private room to hold our assemblies in. . . . I think it will be of more advantage to us than is in general view, for by this means we shall not only be honoured with the accession of some persons of the first quality, who object with a good deal of reason to our present place of meeting, but I am sure it will cut off a great many useless members, that give us their company more for the convenience of spending two or three hours over a glass of wine, than for any love or value they have for the study of antiquities. Our number is too large being limited to no fewer than 100, and I believe there are 90 actually entered as members into our books,³ tho' we have had two or three reviews and expurgations . . .'

The Society had long been feeling that its hope of progress lay in the possession of some permanent home, to rival the house in Crane Court which the Royal Society had acquired in 1710. As early as 1718 Stukeley had written to Maurice Johnson:⁴ 'We have thoughts of taking a room in the Temple and laying up liquor in it as you⁵ doe. We have bought towards furniture a good picture of Edward III,⁶ and shall have several other pictures, etc., presented to us.'

¹ The Minutes for 19 Apr. 1727 record that Mr. Vertue 'is desird to buy any Prints or Drawings belonging to Mr. Talman's Auction which relate to British Antiquities for the use of the Society'. £9. 9s. 6d. was spent.

² Letter printed in Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, p. xiv note. A copy of the correspondence in Gough's hand has lately turned up among the MSS. from Scruton Hall deposited in the County Record Office at Northallerton. I owe this information to the kindness of our Fellow Mr. Croft Andrew. ³ It is recorded in the Minutes for 18 Jan. 1726/7 that there are 91.

⁴ Printed in Pettigrew, *Contribution*, p. 5.

⁵ The Spalding Society.

⁶ Probably that of Edward IV still in the Society's possession. See above, p. 64.

Three years later, on 14 November 1722, Stukeley 'acquainted the Society that he had been in treaty with Mr. Brown for buying a peice of ground in Whitefryers, the scite of the Chappel, to build a room on for the Meetings of the Society, according to their Order and that when he had got an estimate thereof, he would lay it before them'.

This was found to be too expensive, and the building project was dropped. Early in January 1725/6 a committee under Mr. Sawyer was appointed to investigate the possibility of finding rooms for the Society. On 19 January it reported that they had visited the apartment offered in Mr. Sawyer's own house, but had found it too small. At the beginning of February they reported that they had viewed three sets of chambers in Gray's Inn, two to be sold and one to be let. On 26 April Roger Gale wrote to Sir John Clerk at Edinburgh¹ that they were 'in hopes of obtaining commodious chambers in Gray's Inn'.

In the end the rent of chambers was found to be too high, and the Society rented only a single room in Captain Floyer's set, for £20 a year including fire and candle.² The captain was duly elected a member, and was asked to buy a table and chairs for the Society's use at their meeting on the first Wednesday in January. An old servant of Peter le Neve's was engaged to act as messenger and to clean the room.³

The move did not accomplish all that had been hoped of it. Vertue reported in the early months of the year:⁴ 'On Talman's death it was debated whether the place of director was necessary. The Dr. Degg was his deputy:⁵ the Dr. was chose director⁶ Feb 8 1726⁶/₇. At same time it was determin'd yt each member pay 2 sh. per month. Soon after this the Society droop'd a little, some members objg. to the expense and not finding it answer nor more persons come to private rooms in Gray's inn than did to the tavern. The Electn. of officers put off 2 or 3 weeks till Ld. Hertford cd. attend.'

Lord Hertford, indeed, was often absent, and much of the presidential influence passed into the hands of his deputies Roger Gale and Martin Folkes. Dr. Massey, who had succeeded Stukeley as Secretary, had given notice early in 1726/7 that he could not attend regularly as he was moving to Stepney, and had nominated Mr. Sawyer and James West as his assistants until in January Mr. Theobald was elected Secretary. Simon Degge resigned the Directorship in February 1726/7 and died a few months afterwards, aged only

¹ Letter printed in Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, p. xiv note.

² Minutes of 30 Nov. and 7 Dec. 1726.

³ Letter in Gough's copy of *Archaeologia*, i, in the Bodleian.

⁴ Gough's copy, Bodleian Misc. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 15.

⁵ Samuel Gale was Director for a short time after Talman's death.

⁶ And Assistant Treasurer.

thirty-five, at about the same time as Peter le Neve.¹ His office was not filled, and the lack of a Director proved to be a further source of weakness.

These changes were reflected in the Society's activities. Several prints of the *Tournament of Henry VIII* and a plate of medals were produced early in 1726; another of Furness Abbey in 1727. In the following year the Society published nothing, and in 1729 only some prints of letters from the Barons of England to Pope Boniface VIII that were not even facsimiles, and a plate of medals.²

There was, indeed, a want of spirit in the Society, that finds a more favourable reflection in a passage of Roger Gale's letter of 26 April 1726. 'All politics, news and other subjects not relating to antiquities and learning being excluded, which is absolutely necessary, as well for answering the end of our institution, as to obviate all disputes and quarrels that would arise in a Society of gentlemen of all professions and opinions; but hitherto we have kept so good harmony that should a stranger come accidentally among us, he would not suspect any difference in our sentiments as to public affairs.'

Most of the new recruits to the Society were men of relatively little distinction. John Bridges, elected in 1718, was busy forming his collections on Northamptonshire history, but never finished them.³ 'Honest Tom Martin of Palgrave', elected a year later, has been described by Cole⁴ as 'a blunt, rough, honest, downright man; of no behaviour or guile, often drunk in a morning with strong beer, and for breakfast, when others had tea or coffee, he had beefsteak or other strong meat. . . . His thirst after Antiquities was as great as his thirst after liquors.' About 1725⁵ the correspondence of Dr. Thorpe, another typical member, shows him and his friends chiefly occupied with pedigrees and manorial history, with occasional bursts of enthusiasm for hypocausts. Joseph Ayloff, elected in 1731/2, was a barrister and the son of a barrister, and established himself as the unofficial legal adviser of the Society. His interests lay chiefly in the field of historical documents. Exceptionally the

¹ Peter le Neve died on 24 Sept. 1729 and was buried at Great Witchingham Church, Norfolk. His death is recorded in the Register, with 'An epitaph on Peter Neve Norroy who lived and dyed an Infidell.

Here underneath this spacious stone
Lies Peter Neve that faithless one.
His life and death Declared the man,
Deny it neighbour if ye can!

(Le Neve was a Unitarian.) I owe this information to the kindness of the Rev. Noel Boston. See also *Eastern Daily Press*, Norwich, 5 Dec. 1951.

² The Minutes of 15 Dec. 1737 indicate squabbles over the titling of the plates.

³ The MS. is in the Bodleian; parts were printed in 1791. See Walters, *English Antiquaries* p. 58.

⁴ B.M. Add. MS. 5876, fol. 88v.

⁵ Ants. MS. 202.

Society attracted a man who enjoyed collecting as an amusement in a busy life; such a member was James West, a wealthy connoisseur who was a distinguished barrister and member of Parliament, who was elected to the Society in 1726.¹ His interests lay in heraldry, pictures, and early printing; he had travelled not only in England but also in France and the Low Countries.

Stukeley had at least some idea of what were interesting problems to lay before the Society. On 26 February 1723/4 he 'read a discourse upon the use of those brass cast instruments call'd Celts, shewing that they are British and appertaining to the Druids, that they were fixed occasionally upon the end of their staffs which they commonly walked with to cut off the boughs of Oak and Mistletoe in their religious Services. At other times they put them into their pouches and hung them to their girdles by the little ring or loop. He prepared a stick to shew the manner of fastening them with either sort recipient or receivd.'² Samuel Gale replied in a paper read to the Spalding Society in the following July.³ Hearne and Thoresby, he said, considered them the tools of Roman masons; Stukeley 'has carried the affair much higher' in claiming them to be sacrificial instruments. He begs 'leave to differ'. He considers that they are not strong enough for masons' work, and show little sign of wear; and that they are ill shaped for pruning mistletoe. He has compared specimens from Tintotop in Scotland with others from Langres in Champagne, and finds them much alike: and thence concludes that they were intended for Roman sacrifices.

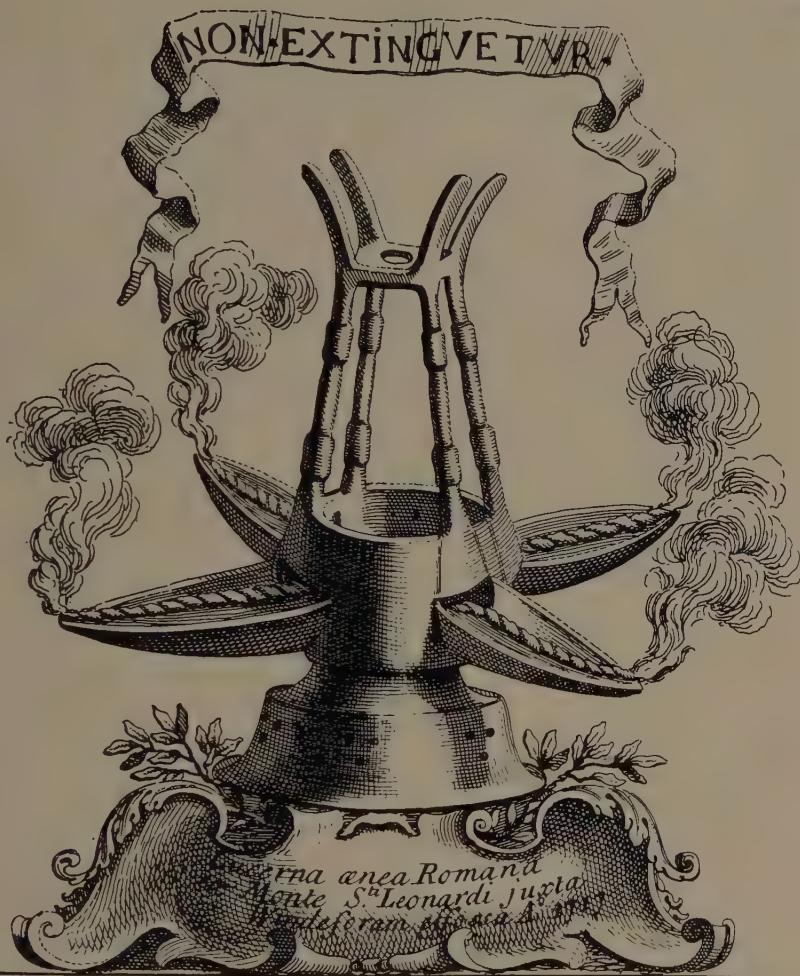
Such reasonable debates were extremely rare. As a rule the meetings consisted in exhibitions of the most numerous and disparate objects. On 28 April 1725, for instance:

'Mr. Le Neve Vice-Presidt. brought a peice of ironwork chased, being the Story of Curtius leaping into the flames. Also an amulet in copper with Astrological characters upon it. Also a silver Greek coin of Tenedos, a bipennis, on the obverse a Janus, an old and a young face. Mr. Lethullier brought a written account of some Roman Antiquitys found in Novr. last at Bellirecay in Essex, and he brought some of these antiquities, such as bits of Urns, and pateras of different colors, white, red, and blue, some Pateras with carvings upon 'em. There were some Roman coyns found there, and some fibulas of brass. Capt. Lethullier brought a very curious Onyx, the countess of Northampton set in gold. Mr. Le Neve brought some prints of the manner of creating Knts. of the Bath. Mr. Aynsworth brought an Egyptian brass figure of Isis and Orus. Mr. Lethullier brought a Saxon coyn of Burgred rex . . . found at Barking. Mr.

¹ See Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 344. His notebooks are in the possession of Mrs. Alston-Roberts-West, who (through the kindness of Mr. H. M. Colvin) has graciously allowed me to consult them. His MS. *English Miscellany II* has some notes of things shown to the Society in 1726, but in the main he kept a diary only when he was travelling.

² Further discussion of the subject took place on 17 and 31 May 1759; see B.M. MS. Egerton 2381.

³ Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii. 104.



SOCIETAS LONDINI REI ANTIQVARIÆ STUDIOSA.

Ian: A.^o MDCCLXVIII.

The Society's Device, by John Talman, 1718

		An Account of Donations to the Society ¹³⁵ and Purchases made. As appears from the Minute Book Since their Institution.	
Time	Person		
1718		A Drawing of Edward III's Helmet bought for	
July 7		A Drawing of Henry VII's Helmet bought for	
		A Drawing of the Helmet of Henry VII bought for	
June 12	J. Galt	A Drawing of the ground plot and prospect of Hull & Hollar.	
Nov 11	H. Stukely	A Wooden Crucifixion of the Friars of Northamptonshire	
1719	J. Galt	A Silver Plate of a Roman Lamp.	
1720	J. Galt	A Print of Norwich.	
1721	J. Galt	A Drawing of Old Scale	
1722	J. Galt	A Drawing of Colchester Castle.	
1723	J. Galt	A Print of the House of the Brior Thomas	
1724	J. Galt	S. Francis Xavier's Designs	
1725	J. Galt	A Print of an Irish Bishop	
1726	J. Galt	A Print of Bardsley Abby. by Hollar	
1727	J. Galt	Another of the same.	
		A Drawing of the Priory of S. Johns Gate London.	
		of S. Stephens Church	
		of the Kitchen of Glouster Abby.	
		of the Church of the Brior of S. Bartholomew as the small	
		Church of Christ in Smithfield Church & Church of S. Johns Chappell	
		of the Springs of Bury Abby in England.	
		of Gates of Arms in S. Stephens Church London.	
		of the Hall of Rosamond's Chappell.	
		A View of the West Side of Iron Monks	
29.	Amiel 17	Several Roman Antiquities as Tabulae Rings Hides &c in Brass.	
		A Drawing of the Wall of the Monastery of S. Albans Church.	
		A Print of the Table of Constantine's Works.	
		A Print of the Queen Elizabeth	
		Another of S. Charles the First	
		Another of Fuller Bishop of London.	
23.		A Print of the Church Wardens Act of S. Edmund A. 1686	
		A H.S. Genealogy of Robin Hood.	
		A Drawing of the Island of	
		Some Old Scale	
		A Plate of the	
		A Drawing of the Church of	
		12 half the of Old Scale	
		Drawings of Churches &c. 2 Stukely Churches	
		A Drawing of the Abbey	

The First Donations to the Society, 1718-27

Aynsworth brought a brass Anubis that came from grand Cairo, also some of the first mill'd money in England by Blondel. Mr. Lethullier presented the Society with a book lately published, the life of K. Alfred by Mr. Wise of Oxford, for which thanks of the Society were returnd. His Grace the D. of Montague was by ballot elected Member of the Society. Some pillars, pavements and like matters were lately discoverd at Norton Folgate near London. Mr. Aynsworth brought a brass figure of an Egyptian Idol in form of a Cat.'

Reform was attempted. On 22 February 1726/7 Mr. Le Motte read an essay on the Doors and Gates of the Ancients, so long that it had to be finished a fortnight later. On 15 March he read part of another on the Lights and Windows of the Ancients, but the second half of this seems never to have been read.

The Society's occupations, indeed, had become in the public mind a little ridiculous. When, in May 1732, Hogarth and four friends set out on a perambulation of Kent in remarkably high spirits, they wrote a burlesque account of their journey that seems to show not only an acquaintance with Leland and Lambarde, but also with the ways of contemporary antiquaries.¹

It may have seemed a little ironical that Allan Ramsay chose this moment to address 'An Ode to the Earl of Hartford and the rest of the Members of the Society of British Antiquaries'. He presented it on 19 January 1726/7 and 'was orderd the thanks of the Society'.

'... When you the broke inscription read,
Or amongst antique ruins tread,
And view remains of princes dead,
In funeral piles,
Your penetration seems decreed
To bless these isles.

Where Romans form'd their camps of old,
The gods and urns of curious Mould,
Their medals, struck of brass or gold,
'Tis you can show,
And truth of what's in story told,
To you we owe ...

Advance, great men, your wise design,
And prosper in the task divine;
Draw from antiquity's deep mine
The precious ore,
And in the British annals shine
Till time's no more.²

The sessions of the Society had hitherto been reasonably continuous; it had not, like the Elizabethan society, kept the Law

¹ See C. Mitchell (ed.), *Hogarth's Peregrination*, Oxford, 1952.

² *Poems*, 1800, i, p. 138.

Terms. On 12 July 1727, however, it adjourned until the first Wednesday in October; and on that day it adjourned further until 8 November. The elections on 17 January and 24 January 1728 had to be adjourned for want of a quorum.

By this time it was recognized that the room in Captain Floyer's chambers had proved a failure. On 29 November the committee that had been appointed to find chambers reported that they had seen none suitable, and were told to continue their inquiries. At the end of January 'The number present thinking the place of meeting very ill convenient as well as expensive, proposed moving to some more convenient place, and desired it might be referred to the next meeting, whether the Society be disposed to remove to a Tavern, or a private chamber.' 'Ld. Hertford declar'd he wd. not go to a tavern',¹ and when the vote was held on 28 February only two members voted for a tavern and sixteen for a private room. Notice was given to Captain Floyer for Midsummer, and a fresh committee appointed to look out for rooms near the Temple. They rented the chambers of a Mr. Briant in the King's Bench Walk, for £20 a year, and the Society met there for the first time on 9 October.

Even this move did not bring vitality to the Society; the average attendance dropped to nine or less.² Seven weeks later, on 20 November,

'Neither Prest. or V. Prest coming it mov'd by several Gent. prest that in consideration such accidents might frequently happen, and thereby prevent any Minutes being made of what should be produced at such meetings it might be in the power of any five or more of the Gentlemen present to nominate one to the Chair that so there be no more Chasms in the minute book.

A Motion was made that in consideration of the non attendance of the Prest or V.P., one reason to prevent it for the future might be to alter the day of meeting from Wednesday to Thursday, because several members of this Society being also fellows of the Royal Society and meeting generally there, at the breaking up thence there would generally be enough to adjourn to this meeting and that the reason why many Gent. would not be prest was that they could not spare two nights in a week when they could dedicate one with Con-
veniency.'

This change was duly carried, *nemine contradicente*, on 11 December; it is still effective.

Even so the meetings continued ill attended, with eight or nine members present and unimportant exhibits. Early in 1729, Vertue tells us,³ 'Another attempt to meet at a tavern was overrul'd by Prest. and Mr. Lethieuillier etc, who propos'd yt as there was in hand £50 (stock enough for another year's charges) the members shd.

¹ Vertue's notes, Bodleian Misc. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 15.

³ Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 18 (Gough MS.)

² Vertue, loc. cit.

in the vacatn. endeavr. to collect matter for next winter's entertainmt. but June¹ 1729 Mr. R. Gale presdt. it was resolv'd to meet next winter at the Mitre.'

A letter from William Nicholas to Charles Compton² sums up these wanderings.

'Upon the desire of some Bps. and hopes that others would become Members and be present if Gentlemen met at some private place, we removed first to Gray's Inn and then to the Temple. The former place was soon complain'd of as too much out of the way, and the Bishops came as little to Gray's Inn as they did to the Mitre. We also found the latter Inconveniency attended the Temple also, except in Dr. Tanner late Bishp. of St. Asaph, who was with us in all places being a great friend to Antiquities, and ventur'd to put his Mitred head into the Mitre Tavern which others pretended some excuse to avoid. Tho' perhaps they could not have thought a tripple Mitre too heavy, if they could obtain them at one time. So . . . we return'd and fixed at the Mitre again. . . .'

They met at the Mitre on 27 November 1729. Vertue tells us 'Ld. Hertford promist to come, but did not, the yearly nominatn. of Officers and audit of the accts. was omitted'. The Society was felt to be in a bad way, and drastic measures were proposed. 'At this meeting', Vertue continues, 'an attempt was made to unite 'em with the R[oyal] S[ociety], but fail'd.' Hearne entered in his diary for 3 October 1730: 'Samuel Gale, Esq. tells me in a Letter from Lond, Sept. 8. 1730, that Antiquities at present seems to be a little upon the Decline amongst them at London, they having lost several of their learned Members by death and other accidents; but they are waiting with Impatience for a Curious Dissertation upon Abury and Stonehenge, from Dr. Stukeley, in which (he is told) there will appear some amazing discoveries. . . .'³

Stukeley, however, was not yet ready to return to London. He had made a bare living as a country doctor, and in 1729 had been ordained a priest of the Church of England, in much the same spirit as a man might nowadays take a fellowship to facilitate his researches. Early in 1730 he was inducted into the living of All Saints, Stamford. He was something of a latitudinarian, but was soon using his Avebury notes, not for the Antiquaries but as proof of the existence of the Trinity.⁴ His serious researches were at an end, though the Brasen Nose College Society he founded in

¹ Minutes of 6 June, B.M. Egerton MS. 1041: 'The Expence of hiring Chambers being sch. the Society could not well Support considering the Small Number of the Members who pay their contributions punctually, it was therefore mov'd and agreed to that the future meetings be held at the Mitre Tavern as usual and that the Contributions be on the same footing as 'twas when the Society formerly met there.'

² Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 141.

³ x. 339.

⁴ Piggott, pp. 84 and 115.

Stamford¹ made a grand if futile protest in 1736 against the destruction of the stained glass in the church of St. George in that city.

By 1732 it was recognized that the Society of Antiquaries must do something to reform itself. The reformers seem to have been Letheuillier and Theobald, with Coleraine as a useful mouthpiece and Folkes as an impelling force. A motion proposed by Lord Coleraine on 8 February, that every member in arrears should be excused them on making two years' payments to the Society, was passed on 22 February.² A year later West proposed that all members should pay a guinea admittance money, and this too was passed. It was normally paid by the candidate's proposer immediately upon his election.³ On 17 April 1735, 'It was Proposed and Agreed to that on Thursday Next the Society will take into Consideration the Appointing of a Secretary who shall constantly Attend to take the Minutes and be allowed such Salary as shall be thought Proper for his Time and Pains.' This was confirmed on 24 April, and five shillings for each night's attendance fixed as a fee. On 1 May Alexander Gordon, a prudent Scot who had got out of paying his dues by a present of books, was duly appointed Secretary.⁴ He had already published his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*—the book which Scott in *The Antiquary* makes Jonathan Oldbuck read in the coach—and in the preface had expressed the hope that the Society of Antiquaries would cause the subject of their studies to be accepted even by those who then mocked at it.⁵ He was a rover, who was always changing his profession; he had been a professional musician, he had travelled and indeed lived in Italy, where he had written a life of the Borgia Pope; he had surveyed a canal between the Forth and the Clyde, and had been converted to archaeology by Stukeley's account of Arthur's O'on. His interests lay in the Roman field, and he was vowed to 'the total Extirpation of *Gothicism*, Ignorance and a bad Taste'. John Whiston declared⁶ that he 'had some learning, some ingenuity, much pride, much deceit, and very little honesty... Poverty tempted him to dishonesty; his national character and constitution to pride and ingenuity; and his dependence on the great to flattery and deceit'.

¹ Its Minutes from 19 June 1736, in Stukeley's hand, will be found in Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 122. His diary and notes while at Stamford (Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 123-40) contain no reference to the Society of Antiquaries.

² The Treasurer, however, remained rather casual in his task. On 21 Feb. 1733 Mr. Letheuillier proposed that Mr. Gordon 'in Consideration of his having presented to the Society several of his Works, be excused his arrears and all further Contributions to the Society which being put to the ballot was ordered'.

³ See, e.g., Minutes of 3 Feb. 1736/7.

⁴ On him see D. Wilson, *Alexander Gordon, the Antiquary*, Toronto, 1873; G. Macdonald in *Arch. Ael.* 4th series, x, 1933, p. 1.

⁵ He speaks of 'Antiquity... particularly Archiology, which consists of Monuments, or rather Inscriptions, still subsisting'.

⁶ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* v. 699.

His chief means of getting money with little effort was by soliciting and accepting subscriptions to books which he advertised but made no attempt to write. His work for the Society may have offered few temptations; at all events he seems to have done it honestly enough, if in a fashion that secured the maximum fees.

On the day of Gordon's appointment it was agreed *nemine contradicente*

'that for the future all Gentlemen who are admitted do subscribe the following obligation, wch. shall be writ on the top of each leaf in the Subscription Book:—

We whose names are hereunto subscribed Members of the Antiquarian Society of London do severally promise that we will attend the Meetings of the Society as often as our Affairs will permit; that we will duely pay our monthly Contributions, and that we will promote the Honour and Interest of the said Society in all things so long as we shall Continue Member thereof.'

A week later the book was duly brought to the meeting by the Secretary, and on 12 June the members present signed it.

On 22 May 1735 the Society tried to bring order into the question of its issue of prints. It was agreed that members might, if they wished, take old prints instead of the new issue, and that no one more than a year in arrears should be entitled to any prints at all.¹ The necessity of such a measure was demonstrated a year later, when on 27 May a considerable number of defaulters were reported. By January 1736/7, however, the Treasurer had over £130 in hand. On 9 June 1735 the Secretary was ordered to procure a book 'of 4 quires blank paper in rough-binding' in which the benefactions made to the Society, and the purchases made by it,² should be recorded, to serve as an inventory.

Gordon appears to have attended to gain his weekly fee during the summer recess of 1735; from 7 August to 9 October he signs the minute-book each week though no meetings were held. His chief business seems to have been to copy papers which had been read before the Society into its Register Book;³ the Society paid for this work by the folio.⁴ There were but few illustrations of these papers remaining, and it was probably as a result of this lack that on 11 December the Society decided that impressions should be taken of all seals and such-like objects as should be exhibited, and

¹ At the same meeting it was agreed that a complete set of the prints so far issued should be given to Sir Hans Sloane.

² These were not considerable, but at the sale of the Earl of Oxford's collection on 11 March 1741/2 they bought eight volumes of prints for £25. I owe this information to the kindness of Mrs. Geoffrey Webb.

³ Ants. MS. 262, begun on 19 July 1735. Some papers were included which had been read before the Society and later printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. The Society also occasionally asked an author to 'deliver in a copy' of his paper (e.g. 29 Jan. and 5 Feb. 1735/6) and a number of these are preserved among Ants. Corr.

⁴ 12 Jan. 1737/8. Further accounts for 1739 and 1740 will be found in Ants. Corr.

asked Vertue to procure the necessary materials.¹ In January following they bought a coin cabinet and appointed 'a Committee to Inspect the Several Presses, Drawers etc belonging to the Society, and Examn the several books, drawings, prints etc. according to the Catalogue of donations lately drawn out by the Secretary and make a report thereof'. They reported on 20 May, giving a short list of missing objects and reported that everything was now listed.²

In this same January the long-vacant office of Director was again filled. Charles Frederick, a young lawyer of twenty-six, son of the Governor of Fort St. David, was chosen, partly perhaps because he was a good draughtsman.³ His duties were defined by a committee that sat a year later: their findings⁴ read as if there had been some difficulty with the Treasurer and the Engraver. They define the Director's duties as the superintendence and custody of the Society's drawings, engravings, and books, the management of the printing and sale of its publications of prints and books, and the delivery to each member of those due to him. The Director was to approve of drawings and inscriptions before they were engraved, to have the custody of the copper plates, and to deliver the printing accounts quarterly to the Treasurer. Further, he was to be the custodian of the Society's collections. He was empowered to appoint a Sub-Director for whose conduct he was to be responsible.

This report was duly approved. Vertue was appointed Sub-Director, and William Bowyer Printer to the Society.

The Society next proceeded to tidy the administration of its library. On 4 March 1735/6 it was agreed that when any book should be laid before the Society, a member should be invited from the chair to give an abstract of it.⁵ The Society evidently hoped to increase its library from review copies. At the same meeting it was 'Ordered that no member take any book belonging to the Society home to his own house without Leave first given by the Society, nor transcribe any part of it without leave'. As a further precaution a stamp was bought in November 1737, engraved with SOC. ANTIQ. LOND.,⁶ to be impressed on the title-page and last leaf of every book belonging to the Society.⁷

On 20 January 1736/7 it was decided that in future any question of business should be put to the ballot, and that any standing orders

¹ On 20 Dec. 1739 it was agreed that any gentleman whose coins, &c., should be engraved should receive one or more prints gratis.

² A second audit was ordered on 19 Nov. 1741.

³ Brabrook in *Arch.* lxii. 62.

⁴ Minutes of 24 Feb. 1736/7. The committee consisted of Letheuillier, Frederick, Theobald, and Vertue.

⁵ This procedure is still followed in the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.

⁶ The Minutes interpret this as *Societas Antiquaria Londinensis*.

⁷ A steel seal-manual for sealing the letters of the Society had been acquired in Feb. 1737/8.

and by-laws passed should be entered in the book provided, immediately after the Statutes. On 2 March the Secretary produced an index to all the pages in the minute-books where such orders were entered, but William Bogdani, as acting Director, refused to accept any but seven of them as of more than temporary force. A committee then examined them, and reported at the end of March, when a general revision was duly made.

The dignity of the Society was enhanced in various ways. On 8 January 1735/6, 'Mr. Vertue presented the Society with an Iron Mace guilt formerly belonging to Peeter Le Neve Esq: Norroy King at Arms, for wch. he had the thanks of the Society and it was ordered to be Laid before the President every meeting.'¹ On 20 May 1736 the Society proceeded to consider a question of importance.

'Some gentlemen of the Society having moved the proposing some Foreigners of Eminent Note and Learning to be honorary Members of this Society, a Minute was read of a former Meeting, March 17th 1724, whereby the Society had declared against the admitting of honorary Members living in distant parts of the Country, but this being conceived only to relate properly to Persons living within the Kingdome The Chairman by the approbation of the Gentlemen present, put the following question, viz.

"That Foreigners of Eminent Note and Learning may be admitted as Honorary Members of the Society without being subject to any Annual Contributions or entitled to receive the Copies of any works which shall from time to time be engraved or published by the Society. Provided also that such Honorary Members be not accounted into yt number of one hundreded to wch this Society is by former Order limited."

This question being put to the ballot passed in ye Affirmative. Ordered that Monsieur Celsius Professor of Astronomy at Upsall in Sweden be recorded as an honorary Member of this Society. The Marquis Scipio Maffei of Verona was proposed by Martyn Folkes Esq. and seconded by Dr. Mortimer to be an Honorary Member of this Society, and in Consideration of the said Gentleman's short stay in England, the Society agreed to proceed to a ballot immediately wherby he was unanimously elected. Signor Francisco Algarotti of Venice was proposed to be an Honorary Member of this Society by Mr. Mitchel, seconded by Mr. Bowman.'

On 1 December 1737 Nicholas proposed that the Society should consider the holding of an annual feast, 'as seems to have been in use after the first Institution of the Society'. At the next meeting it was agreed that one should be held on every St. George's Day (unless it fell on a Sunday or on Good Friday) and a committee of the officers and two members was set up to arrange it. Letters were

¹ It was regilt in 1736 at a cost of a guinea and is still in the Society's possession. It is possible that it may be the 'antient iron Scepter from the armory in the tower, with piked ornmts. of offence at top', which was exhibited to the Society by Mr. W. Nicholas on 3 Feb. 1724/5.

sent to every member of the Society in London inviting their attendance at the feast.¹ The committee reported on 12 January 1737/8, recommending that the dinner should be at the Mitre, and 'that the Ordinary for Dining be four shillings pr. head and one shilling more for a pint of Port wine, and all exceedings above that, to be at the Gentlemen's particular expence'. The five shillings was to be paid beforehand to the Treasurer. Twenty members dined, and the custom became established.²

On 22 September 1737 the list of members was read; it totalled ninety-eight, of whom the last elected was Andrew Coltée Ducarel. By January there were exactly a hundred. On 9 November Bogdani proposed that a list of the members should be printed; this was postponed at the Treasurer's request on the casting vote of the Vice-President in the Chair.³

On 16 February 1737/8 the indefatigable Mr. Theobald moved that the statute limiting the number of members to a hundred be repealed; his motion was not passed. A similar proposal was again negatived two years later. By 1740 candidates were put in a queue and the one at the top was automatically first elected, unless he were known to be out of England, when he might be set back a place or two. The question of increasing the number of members was brought up again in June 1745, but was withdrawn. Finally, on 24 April 1746, an increase to a hundred and twenty was passed by sixteen votes to nine.

On 22 January 1740/1⁴ the Director proposed, and Folkes as Vice-President seconded, a motion that the form proposing a member be in writing, give his name, abode, and qualifications, and be signed by at least three members. One of the earliest 'papers' that came up on 26 March 1740 reads:

'James Burrough Esq^r of Cays Coll. Cambridge, Esqre., Beadle of that University, a gentleman of great learning and well skill'd in all parts of Antiquity and Architecture, desires the honour of being admitted a member of this Society.

J. WARD
M. FOLKES
T. BIRCH.'

The certificates afford a good deal of variety; taste and wealth as well as learning figure among the approved qualifications.

¹ B.M. Egerton MS. 1041, 8 Dec. 1737.

² Vertue's list of twenty-nine subscribers to the dinner for 1740 will be found in B.M. Add. MS. 23091, fol. 15.

³ After much discussion and revision its annual issue was authorized by Standing Order early in 1740/1.

⁴ A 'paper' or certificate had first been required for candidates for the Royal Society in 1731. Lyons, p. 152.

'Dec. 17, 1741.

Dr. Pocock is recommended by us as a Candidate for Election into this Society as a Gentleman of Great and Universal Learning of the most extensive curiosity and a great lover of Antiquity and able to promote the knowledge of the same.

M. FOLKES,
WM. BUSBY,
WM. STUKELEY,
D. WRAY.'

In April 1750 Godolphin Edwards of Shrewsbury figures as 'a Gentleman of a good Estate, great Learning, and fine Taste; an indefatigable Searcher into the Antiquities of Britain, and particularly Those of his own Country, of which he has made some curious Collections. . . .'

On 21 February 1739/40 Samuel Gale, who had served as Treasurer for twenty-one years, resigned his office. A committee audited his accounts and found them all in order, with a balance of nearly £127. He was suitably thanked and presented with a piece of plate to the value of ten guineas.

Vertue was worried over the appointment of Gale's successor:¹ he felt that he should be a gentleman of means, usually reside in London, and have both leisure and inclination to attend. An absentee Treasurer, he felt, would be a source of danger to the Society.

On 12 March Charles Compton was elected to the office. The new Treasurer was undistinguished but competent. He at once instituted printed receipts for the monthly contributions. A further change was threatened in September, when Gordon resigned the Secretaryship as he was intending to emigrate to Carolina. In fact his departure was delayed, and he continued to act until August 1741 when he finally departed, with a gift of ten guineas and honorary membership.²

Once more Vertue was perturbed about the succession.³ Cole was the favourite candidate, but lived in the country. 'If that Gentleman', wrote Vertue, 'has the honour, but can't or won't constantly attend—that he may nominate Mr. Ames to be his deputy or Register to attend constantly and Ames to receive the salary as Gordon did.' Joseph Ames, a Wapping ship chandler, who knew neither Latin nor Greek, and was not considered worthy of office, acted as Secretary without being formally appointed.⁴ In 1743 he

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 23091, fol. 13v.

² He was reasonably successful in South Carolina, where he practised as attorney, lawyer, and portrait painter. He died about 1755.

³ B.M. Add. MS. 23091, fol. 13v.

⁴ See Bodleian, Ballard MS. 8, fol. 164. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. B. J. Enwright.

prepared, on his own initiative, an index to all the minute-books, which the Society gratefully accepted,¹ offering a complete set of their prints in return. He does not seem to have received a regular fee for attendance, as Gordon had done, but on 17 January 1744/5 was voted five guineas 'for his diligence in the Execution of his office'.

One of Ames's qualifications for the Secretaryship was, no doubt, that he was a bibliographer rather than a writer on antiquities. None the less, at the end of 1740 a storm blew up over the accessibility of the Minutes. Vertue was so angry about it that he could hardly write grammatically.

'The week before [he writes on 12 December]² was proposed by a party roused up and alarmed by our most Zealous Secretary—for the pretended good of the publick and Learning that no papers minutes etc. draughtes be lent to any member of the Society, to take notes or Coppys any partes or parcells of the Minute book—for their own use or publick, unless copyd by the Secretary—and no one else—by direction and under their hand signed with promisses or honour not to discover or publish.

These restrictions and limitations being contrary to the first proposal and foundation orders for the Society's promoting the knowledge of British Antiquitys—and other learning relating to studies of that kind—and as in more than twenty years by the generous contributions—and benefactions of many curios members—great encrease cultivations collected by degrees in manuscript notes Minutes, Letters, books, drawings and Prints—without purchase mostly, are the delight and amusement of Gentlemen of that Society, and doth contain more points of history and remarks than in any other place to be met with—is a great inducement to Gentlemen to attend and assist at their meetings—and promote knowledge learning and loves or publishers of History and antiquitys.

Contrary to the expectations of the proposers of this [word illegible] selfish, illnaturd, griping Law, numbers of members assembled more than usuall and after several discidyd reasons for the use and good communications to the members of the Society, they so far shoud the unreasonableness of such Schemes, rejected the proposal, and unanimously resolvd it was not necessary to ballot for such an unadvised proposal, and so was rejectd.

At the same time a Motion was made, to be ballotted for next meeting, that all the books, Manuscripts and Minutes shoud every night be laid on the Table to be freely perusd and viewd by any of the members at pleasure—and note or transcribe what they please.'

Frederick had proved but an absentee Director and the Rev. Thomas Birch, an Anglican parson of Quaker origin, was already working as Acting Director. His Latin catalogue of the Society's publications failed to give satisfaction, and in January 1738/9 Theobald proposed, and Johnson seconded, William Bogdani (who

¹ Minutes of 19 May 1743.

² B.M. Add. MS. 23091, fol. 14 The motion was proposed by Mr. Bowman and Mr. Mundy (Meetings Minutes, 4 Dec. 1740). Vertue records that no less than nine members spoke to it.

had married Johnson's sister) as Acting Director; he was elected by twelve votes to eleven. He was Clerk of the Ordnance Office in the Tower, and held a lease from the Crown of the manor of Hitchin. A year later Bogdani resigned, and Birch once more took over, retiring when Frederick expressed a wish to take up his duties in 1740. On 14 January 1741, however, Frederick resigned the Directorship on being elected Member of Parliament for Shoreham. Birch and Bogdani were both nominated to succeed him; Birch was successful in the ballot. Five years later his eyesight had grown so bad that he was forced to resign,¹ and Joseph Ward, Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham College, was elected in his stead.

The Society was still not wholly satisfied with its quarters at the Mitre. In 1737/8 Theobald, seconded by Lord Coleraine, moved that a committee be appointed 'to Consider of a more convenient place for the meeting of the Society', but the motion was lost. On 14 January 1741 he once again moved for a committee on the question; fifteen voted for him, and eighteen against. A year later Dr. Mortimer brought it up again, seconded by Theobald; once more it was negatived, this time by nine to eight. The narrow margin evidently alarmed the conservatives, for on 24 February 1742 Browne Willis moved that any question relating to the meetings of the Society should only be settled by a two-thirds majority of the members present; this was duly passed at the next meeting, together with a rider that any such motion must be voted on at the next meeting after it had been brought forward.²

The conservatives may well have found the atmosphere of the Mitre agreeably convivial, and they had economy on their side, for the tavern meetings involved the Society in no expense but an annual guinea to the inn servants. The finances of the Society were reasonably prosperous; in 1731 the Treasurer held a balance of nearly £52, in 1738 of nearly £127. Yet at this time the Royal Society was in financial straits,³ partly in consequence of the expenses of their house in Crane Court, and the two societies had too many members in common to be likely to forget the fact.

As usually happens, the administrative reforms in the Society had been effected by men who were not themselves engaged in important researches. Folkes in particular was repugnant to the older generation of working antiquaries. Stukeley writes of him:⁴

¹ Brabrook in *Arch.* lxii, 1911, p. 64 notes that he recovered his sight and became Secretary to the Royal Society.

² In fact, the Society had passed a rule on 28 Feb. 1739/40 that all special notices must be hung up in the meeting-room for at least a fortnight before being voted on.

³ See Lyons, p. 156.

⁴ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 260, fol. 24; these paragraphs seem to have been written between 1752 and 1754. Recent researches by our Fellow, Brigadier Hogg (*Royal Artillery Journal*, lxxxi, 1954, p. 1), have shown that Folkes was the first Chief Master of the Academy at Woolwich, on the nomination of his fellow Antiquary the Duke of Montagu.

'Martin Folkes has an estate of near £3000 got by his father in the Law. He is a man of no œconomy. Before at age, he married Mrs. Bracegirdle off the stage. His mother grieved at it so much that she threw herself out of a window and broke her arm. . . .

Quarrelling with Sr Hans Sloane about the presidentship of the Royal Society and being baffled, he went to Rome with his wife and daughters, dog, cat, parrot and monkey. There his wife grew religiously mad. He went to Venice and got a dangerous hurt upon his leg.

Returning he was successor to Sir Hans, president of R[oyal] S[ociety]. Losing his teeth he speaks so, as not to be understood. He constantly refuses all papers that treat of longitude. He chuses the Council and officers out of his junto of sycophants that meet him every night at Rawthmill's coffee house, or that dine with him on Thursdays at the miter, fleet street.

He has a great deal of learning, philosophy, astronomy: but knows nothing of natural history. In matters of religion an errant infidel and loud scoffer. Professes himself a godfather to all monkeys. Believes nothing of a future state, of the Scriptures of revelation. . . . He thinks there is no difference between us and animals, but what is owing to the different structure of our brain, as between man and man. . . .¹

He has been propagating the infidel system with great assiduity; and made it even fashionable in the Royal Society, so that when any mention is made of Moses, of the deluge, of religion, Scriptures etc. it generally is received with a loud laugh.'

Whatever opinion one holds of Folkes, it is incontrovertible that the administrative reform of the Society was not accompanied by any great increase of vitality to its meetings. The attendance at them was usually small; indeed on 7 May 1730 it was proposed, and agreed at the next meeting, that the former quorum of nine for transacting business should be reduced to five.² Through 1732 the average attendance was not more than seven or eight. In 1737 on 9 June, when twelve were present, 'the Society had several Conversations relating to affairs of Antiquity but no Monum^t was Exhibited at the Table'. On 29 September only Compton, Gay, and Gordon were present. In 1740 often only four members were present; and for 11 June there is the entry 'no company'.³ Sometimes, too, no formal business was transacted and no exhibitions made. On 29 March 1744, with a Vice-President in the Chair, and the Treasurer and Secretary, and four members present, all that Ames (a man of Quaker stock) could record was: 'Spent the time in Conversation (no silent meeting).' On 16 November 1749, with

¹ The phrase suggests that Folkes was a reader of Edward Tyson's *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or The Anatomy of a Pygmie compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape and a Man*, 1699.

² Maurice Johnson considered that this measure should make the summer recess unnecessary. Letter dated Spalding, 30 June 1744, quoted in Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii. 404.

³ Cf. 7 July 1748: 'There being so few persons present, there was no business done this evening.'

ten members and four visitors present, the entry is still 'spent the Time in Conversation'.

The Register Book of the Society shows that the chief interest of the middle thirties lay in classical antiquities.¹ John Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, published posthumously in 1732, had transformed the whole study of Roman Britain.² Its author knew his monuments at first hand and had a real conception of what a Roman province was. Neither Gordon nor Warburton was friendly to him, but both availed themselves of the fruits of his work. Four years later the major interests of the Society clearly lay in the Roman field,³ not only in collectable objects such as gems and coins but also in roads and buildings. Again, on 15 November 1739 'Mr. Papilion moved that each member of this Society should give into the Secretary what accounts they meet with from time to time relating to Roman tessellated pavements found in Britain, whether printed or unprinted, in order that a proper list be made of them by the Society'. Vertue brought a few a week later, but nothing more happened.

The astonishing domination of Rome can be shown by an entry in James West's diary on visiting Caerphilly in August 1734.⁴ 'What I went chiefly to view was the Ruins of the Castle. . . . It is the largest and most Stupendous I ever saw. The Taste in which It is built seems not Elegant enough to suppose it Roman and the building is too grand for to adjudge it to any other people.'

The natural apprenticeship to such studies was the tour of Italy and, exceptionally, of Greece.⁵ Yet, when the traveller returned to England, he was much less apt to stand for election to the Antiquaries than to the convivial Society of Dilettanti, which had been founded in 1734.⁶ It too was a tavern society, but drew its members from a wealthier class than did the Antiquaries.⁷ It had some

¹ e.g. in 1735 several dissertations were read on Julius Caesar's passage over the Thames. When the Society in 1741 spent £28. 9s. on eight volumes of prints at Lord Oxford's sale they were chiefly of classical antiquities.

² See Haverfield, *Roman Occupation of Britain*, p. 75; G. Macdonald, in *Arch. Ael.*, 4th series, x, 1933, p. 1.

³ In 1731 it published a plate of the bronze Roman head dug up at Bath in 1727 and in 1732 a plate of a Roman ruin.

⁴ West MS., Mrs. Alston-Roberts-West, 14 Aug. 1734.

⁵ As early as 1675-6 Sir George Wheler had visited Greece with Jacob Spon, a French draughtsman, and in the eighteenth century other Englishmen followed him. Lord Charlemont, for example, visited Greece with Richard Dalton as his draughtsman. (K. Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 178.)

⁶ See Cust and Colvin, *The Society of Dilettanti*.

⁷ The men who were in the eighteenth century members of both societies were Joseph Banks, elected to the Dilettanti 1774; Joseph Windham, 1779; John Campbell, 1780; Payne Knight, 1781; Henry Englefield, 1781; Philip Metcalfe, 1786; Charles Towneley, 1786; Roger Wilbraham, 1786; Rev. C. M. Cracherode, 1787; William Mitford, 1787; Roger Pettiward, 1789; Abraham Hume, 1789; Philip Yorke, 1790; J. T. Stanley, 1790; Richard Colt Hoare, 1792; William Sotheby, 1792; John Willett Adye, 1800; and Thomas Hope, 1800. At the present time the common membership is considerable.

Italianate touches; the member in the chair still wears a scarlet toga and sits in a curule chair.

Another antiquarian interest of the time was Egyptology. As early as April 1721 'Mr. Roger Gale brought a little Egyptian Osyrus of bak'd green Earth taken out of a mummy at Grand Cairo', followed by two more in May. In 1723/4 Vertue brought a print of a mummy brought from Egypt by William Letheuillier and dedicated to the Society¹ and Thomas Serjeant 'brought a parcel of Egyptian gods lately come from Grand Cairo, being a brass Osiris, a brass Harpocrates, a Terminus, a naked brass figure distorted of better taste, Isis and bambino, a little Egyptian priest, a cat, a stone beetle, a curious beetle with wings and hieroglyphics in a curious paste of blew color'. This branch of study had soon its own specialist society. In 1739 William Stukeley, newly enriched by the marriage portion of his second wife—who was sister to the Gales—was able to spend his winters in London. His interests now lay less with the Antiquaries² than with the Royal Society and with the foundation of an Egyptian Society 'for the promoting and preserving Egyptian and other ancient learning'. It met at a tavern in Chandos Street.³ Lord Sandwich was President with the title of 'Sheich'; a sistrum 'to call silence' was laid before him. Martin Folkes, Jeremiah Milles, Stanhope Dampier, Mitchell, and Stukeley (who acted as Secretary) were members as 'philoaegyptians', and Lord Sandwich, Dr. Perry, Dr. Pocock, and Captain Norden, as having actually been to Egypt. Here there was a greater overlap with the Antiquaries; indeed the Antiquaries in November 1741 elected the Danish Captain Norden as an Honorary Fellow as having 'made many Curious Observations in his Travels to Ægypt and the Levant'. None the less it offered a certain competition with the meetings at the Mitre.

Further competition came from the Royal Society. Under Newton its field had been limited to the field of the experimental sciences, but after his death in 1727 the Society, under Sir Hans Sloane, reverted to its older and more comprehensive tradition. By 1739 more than half its council were non-scientists, and three of them Antiquaries.⁴ A considerable number of papers on antiquarian subjects were submitted to the Royal Society through Sir Hans.⁵

¹ See the print in the Antiquaries' volume of engravings, *Greek and Latin Antiquities I*. A paper of Stukeley's on Egyptian hieroglyphics, dated 1724, is among the MSS. at Freemasons' Hall.

² He was moved for non-payment in 1740 and does not seem to have attended a meeting until 20 Nov. 1741. See Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 124, p. 76, Piggott, p. 144, and Surtees Society, lxxiii. 325.

³ See Piggott, p. 143. A copy of the printed paper summoning the Society to a meeting, headed by an engraving of the sistrum, will be found stuck into Stukeley's MS. of *Abraham* at Freemasons' Hall.

⁴ *Notes and Records*, ii. 35.

⁵ e.g. B.M. Add. MS. 4432, Chichester Cross; Add. MS. 4436, fol. 138, on a hypocaust

Martin Folkes was not only the nominal Vice-President, and actual head, of the Antiquaries, but also, in Sloane's time, of the Royal Society. He had stood for the Presidency unsuccessfully, on Newton's death; it was after his failure that he had spent two and a half years in Italy and returned an archaeologist. In 1741, on Sloane's resignation, he was elected President of the Royal Society and greatly intensified its literary and antiquarian interests.¹ He was assisted as Treasurer by James West, who was also a member and from 1749 a Vice-President of the Antiquaries. It may fairly be said that the approximation of the interests of the two societies was in the interests of neither.

James Hill, in the attack on Folkes's Presidency he printed in 1751,² has a section 'Of Antiquities commemorated in the Transactions of the Royal Society'.³ In it he sums up the position fairly enough. 'The Members of this illustrious Society would perhaps have been larger on this Head, if they had intended to have set themselves up as Rivals to a certain other Society; an Event which perhaps nothing could have frustrated but the judicious Contrivance of making the same People Members of both.'

Martin Folkes succeeded in turning the Society of Antiquaries' scheme for compiling tables of coins, which had been launched in 1721/2, to his own profit. He planned himself to make a complete account of English gold and silver coins and persuaded the Society to allow him to take the work over at the expense of the corporate scheme. Nothing more happened, except for one or two numismatic papers by Folkes,⁴ until in December 1744 the Society agreed 'that as Mr. Folkes has been at a great deal of Pains to compose a History of our English Coins; that therefore the Society would to compleat it, agree to have a continued Series of their drawings, from William the Conquerour, to this present time, Engraved at their own expence'.⁵

On 13 February following 'Mr. V. President Folkes, pursuant to a proposition agreed to in December last, brought a Scheem of the English Gold and Silver Coins disposed in the Order and Size of the Book of Coins he has Published, to shew the manner he intended they might be done by the Society, which he Computed in that method to take up near fifty Plates. He also offered his care and

found at Lincoln; fol. 312, on the discoveries at Herculaneum; Add. MS. 4437, fol. 280, on a medieval flask from York.

¹ See Weld, i. 483; Lyons, p. 160. 'The Vertuoso's Club' described in E. Ward's skit, *A Complot and Humorous Account of all the remarkable Clubs and Societies of London*, is the Royal Society and not the Antiquaries.

² *A Review of the Works of the Royal Society*.

³ Part ii, p. 47.

⁴ In 1732 the Society published two plates of English silver coins and one of gold.

⁵ What appears to be a draft of Stukeley's protest against the plan will be found in Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 124, p. 111.

study to add to each Plate, one printed Leafe, as an explication of the Coins therein represented: which altogether with some later discoveries of Coins and remarks on them, would make another such Vol. as is already done by him'.

On 15 and 22 January 1735/6 Folkes read 'a very learned and Curious Dissertation Concerning the Value of Ancient moneys', at the end of which 'Mr. Vice President Gale was pleased, in the name of the Society, to request of Mr. Folkes, that he would deliver in a Copy of the aforementioned Dissertation and permit them to publish it for the honour and Credit of the Society. Mr. Folkes promised to give a Copy thereof as soon as he had revised and made some Additions thereto'. There the matter was allowed to rest until, in 1754, the Society bought Folkes's forty-four copper plates of coins, and the copyright to his treatises on gold and silver coins, from his executors for £120. It was a bad bargain. Two years later¹ they bought from his library the books needed to complete his tables, for £10. 9s. Ward was entrusted with the task of completing the work, and on 13 April 1758 the Council expressed its anxiety that nothing had been received from him. By Christmas he was dead, and all the papers had to be recovered from his executor. Dr. Gifford undertook the completion of the work. In 1760,² when Mr. Perry the engraver brought proofs of the plates to lay before them, the Society began to have qualms about their copyright and found that their title was not certain. By March 1762 the Society was on bad terms with Gifford because he had not delivered any letterpress and because he blamed Mr. Bowyer for the delay. The Minutes³ record 'that this delay hath been moreover attended with some very mischievous Effects to the Interest if not to the Credit of the Society; since by some underhand and very sinister Practices, a pirated Copy (as it may be in a great Measure presumed), of the Society's Plates of Coins (engraved, it seems, by the very Person, and at the very time he was in the Pay of the Society, and Supposed to be fully employed on their Plates) has been given to the Publick by another Person, viz. Snelling in Fleet Street'.

Stukeley did his best to pacify the quarrel in December, and the plates were finally published, in quarto, in 1763.

The Antiquaries themselves were beginning to cast their net more widely. On 20 December 1724 'Mr. Lethullier brought a very curious peice of Irish Antiquity, being a broad peice or plate of gold found in Ireland, near Baltimore under ground, like that discoverd from notice of an Irish bards song, whereof there is a drawing in Dr. Gibson's ed. of Camden'.⁴ On 9 November 1732

¹ 12 Mar. and 9 Apr. 1756. ² 13 Mar. 1762.

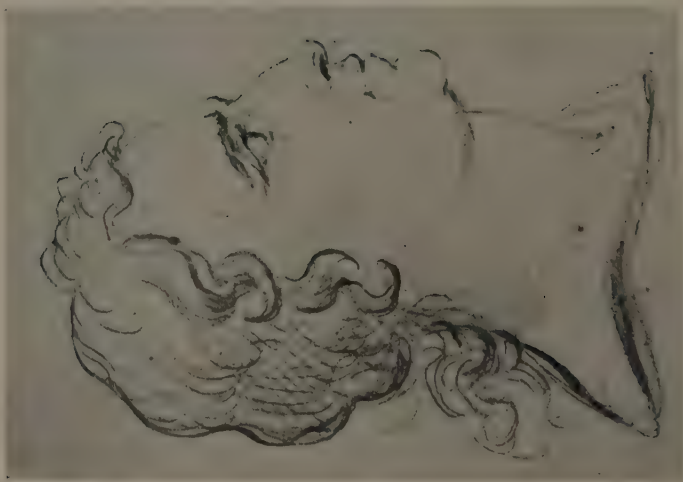
³ 1 Apr. 1762.

⁴ There is a sketch, which was engraved in *Arch.* ii, plate 1, p. 38.



Dr. William Stukeley, before 1720

Society of Antiquaries



a. Maurice Johnson, by Michael Van der Gucht, 1723



b. Humfrey Wanley, drawn from the life by Stukeley, 26 Oct. 1723

Bodleian MS. Eng. Mic. e. 136 fols. 4 and 21

'Mr. Bogdani produced a Drawing¹ from a Rock in the River Taunton in New England drawn by Dr. Greenwood 1730 and another of the same by Dr. Danforth 1680 together with a Letter from Dr. Isaac Greenwood Hollisian Professor at New Cambridge to the Rev. Mr. [blank] Viller Rector of St. [blank] Tottlefields dat. N.E. Cambr. Dec. 1730 giving an Acct. of the same'. On 12 February 1735/6 a visitor, Mr. Marcus Moses, 'shewed several Phylacteries and other Jewish antiquities, a particular Account of which he was desirous to Lay before the Society when they pleased to Appoint a Time and was accordingly desired to bring them next Thursday'.² On 20 November 1741 when Stukeley at last revisited the Antiquaries (evidently quite unconscious that he had been amoved from their list) he 'saw two drawings of the antiquitys in Port Mahon, being two tumuluses of stones, with a kind of altar stone of a very large bulk near each'.³

In the medieval field some interest was shown in manuscripts. The Islip Roll was exhibited to the Society for the first time on 28 January 1741,⁴ and on 15 March 1743 Vertue brought drawings of the illuminations of the surviving fragments of the Cotton Genesis, which had been nearly destroyed in the fire of 23 October 1731. On 2 February 1737/8 'Mr. Ames brought a Specimen of reviving the ancient manner of Illuminating MSS by Mr. Jacob Smith, drawing master now at St. Paul's, which gave great satisfaction to the Society'.

There was, on the whole, a remarkable absence of reports of field work, though on 9 September 1742 'Mr. Ducarel reported that on the 30th. of August last he caused one of the Barrows being the second from Stevenage Town towards London to be opened'. Occasionally, however, chance finds were reported. On 13 February 1745 'The Society had notice that Mr. Smith who has Contracted for Digging up the Ballast or Gravell out of the River, to mend the Roads, which are between the New Bridge Westm. and Southwark Main Road, attended below with the *great Sword* he had lately found;⁵ he was desired to walk up with it, which he did, and gave an account how it was Took up, about 80 yards above the Center Arch, and about 8 foot deep, in the bed of the River, he permitted a small Sketch to be taken of it, and had the Thanks of the Society return'd him for his Civility'. Exceptionally, too, in February 1734, the Society asked Lord Coleraine and Dr. Knight to view St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, which was to be pulled down, and to make

¹ Copied in the minute-book.

² He duly read the paper on 20 Feb. and was again present as a visitor at the next meeting.

³ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 124, p. 76. The war with Spain had brought the Balearics into notice in England.

⁴ It then belonged to Mr. William Green Carver of Wakefield, Yorks.

⁵ Now in the possession of the Royal United Services Museum.

a report on it and its inscriptions to them. Only Stukeley was left to lament the destruction of Arthur's O'on;¹ the sanctuary at Westminster; parts of the Roman Walls of London; the gatehouse of Whitehall; and the chapel and main arch of London Bridge.²

Medieval studies in the years after 1730 were at a low ebb.³ The generation of the Saxonists was dead. A new relation between Church and State discouraged ecclesiastical polemics and with them the study of ecclesiastical history. Men were interested less in research than in criticism, less in history than in political theory. The study of national history offered no hope of preferment or patronage, since it could hardly be turned to the glory of a German dynasty. It was an age of reprints⁴ and of belated publications⁵ rather than of original work.

In 1736, it is true, Vertue read an interesting dissertation on the tomb of Edward the Confessor and the Westminster Retable.⁶ On 4 July 1745 Mr. Thomas Branch (not a member) presented the Society with 'a Marble, representing Christ and Some of his Disciples, when Peter cut off the Ear of Malchus, who lays it down at their feet, supposed to be done more than three hundred years agoe'.⁷ Members, such as Browne Willis, the Gales,⁸ and Ducarel, still travelled in search of interesting churches and monuments.⁹ There is an admirable directness in the beginning of Ward's paper on Beacons,¹⁰ read in 1749. 'In the year 1740, as I was viewing, with a friend, the church at Burton Dasset in Warwickshire, we happened to observe a painted board, placed over the entrance into the chancel, but so covered with dust, that neither we nor the sexton, who attended us, knew what to make of it. But as it seemed to represent something uncommon, we desired we might inspect it something more clearly; And when the sexton had taken it down, and washed it, we perceived it was the picture of a coat of arms, with a Beacon for the crest. . . .'

Yet even such innocent curiosities brought down the thunders of the Roman antiquaries. In 1736 Sir John Clerk wrote to Roger Gale: 'I am sorry to find that Gothicism prevails so much in your Society. If your Antiquarians won't entertain a just opinion of it,

¹ But see also Minutes of 21 July and 27 Oct. 1743.

² Draught of a paper by Stukeley apparently intended for the Antiquaries. Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 124, p. 116.

³ Douglas, *Eng. Schol.*, p. 355; Piggott, p. x.

⁴ e.g. Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 1730.

⁵ e.g. William Lambarde's *Alphabetical Description of the Chief Places in England and Wales*, written about 1570 and published in 1730.

⁶ In the Register Book, Ants. MS. 262. It has an interesting sketch of the Retable.

⁷ A Nottingham alabaster, still in the Society's possession. Way, *Catalogue*, p. 29.

⁸ Roger died in 1744 and Samuel in 1754.

⁹ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 380, has a pleasant story of how they used to stay at quiet inns and pretend that Gale's carriage and footman were only hired.

¹⁰ It was the first of the Society's papers to be printed, in *Archaeologia*, i, p. 1.

they won't believe it to be only the degeneracy of Greek and Roman Arts and Sciences. In this view I myself have admired the laborious Dullness and Stupidity which appear in all the Gothick contrivances of any kind. These Barbarians had the originals in full perfection and yet could discover no beauties for their imitation; but Goths will always have a Gothick taste.'

Francis Wise, when he wrote his *Letter to Dr. Mead concerning Some Antiquities in Berkshire*,¹ was perhaps better advised when he wrote that in his view the Society of Antiquaries 'might still be made more useful, if some of the most knowing members would form themselves into small parties, each party at their leisure undertaking a distinct province, and in the nature of a travelling Committee, inspecting one or more Counties; in order to give directions for such enquiries, as shall be thought proper to be made, and to receive information not from the vulgar inhabitants alone, but from gentlemen of learning and curiosity. . . .'

¹ 1738. He identifies the White Horse as a monument of the West Saxons made in memory of the victory over the Danes in 871, and gives an account of its scouring.

VII

THE CHARTER

1748-53

THE large common membership which the Society of Antiquaries shared with the Royal Society must have made the difference in status and stability between an unofficial and a chartered society painfully obvious; it will be remembered that Vertue records an attempt to merge the Antiquaries in the older society.¹ The Antiquaries, too, were interested in the history of the Elizabethan Society and of Bolton's and other projected academies,² and must have realized that a charter had been recognized as the only guarantee of stability for both of them.

The Society, too, was beginning to hope that it might one day own property, for the endowment of learning was coming into fashion among testators. In November 1743 it was solemnly recorded in the Minutes that Mr. Edwards, a member of the Society, had left his library, valued at £4,000, and £7,000 (subject to a life interest) towards building a library to house the Cotton collections. Less than three years later, on 1 May 1746, a motion was brought forward: 'That for the better Preservation and Perpetuating of the Books, Drawings, Prints and Goods of this Society and their Successors: and that shall hereafter belong to them: A Deed shall be drawn up, Nominating and Appointing Three or more Gentlemen of this Society in Trust for the Whole body, to Receive, Act and Do etc. as shall be agreed upon.' That it was never balloted on suggests that other schemes were already in the wind.

The matter was brought to a head at the end of 1749, when the Society learned of Lord Coleraine's bequest of his English drawings and prints. Stukeley recorded³ the discussion at a November meeting: 'By the advice of the learned in the law, they cannot receive

¹ See above, p. 83.

² Peter le Neve exhibited a copy of the *Academ Roial*, formerly in the collection of Sylvanus Morgan, on 28 June 1721; he exhibited a copy of the charter of the *Musaeum Minervae* on 2 Feb. 1725/6, and Vertue a second on 20 June of that year. On 8 Feb. 1730 Maurice Johnson communicated a paper on the history of the various societies. A history of the Society had been prefaced to Sir William Oldys's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* in 1736, i, p. cxxx. On 8 Dec. 1737 the Secretary read the passage in Camden relating to the debates of the Elizabethan Society. (Da Costa in B.M. Egerton MS. 1041.) On 25 Sept. 1746 Mr. West exhibited another MS. of the *Academ Roial*, and on 12 Feb. 1746/7 Browne Willis brought a copy of the Fleetwood letter (see above, p. 9, note 4).

³ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 128, p. 97.

that donation; their Society being nominal only. Dr. Rawlinson spoke, that it was high time to think of obtaining a charter, and of removing from a tavern, to a place, where they could be secure of what they already had. He was pleased to add, that then he could assure them, they never would want Dr. Stukeley's company, who was the founder and ornament of the Society.' The Society in due course received the bequest through the generosity of Coleraine's niece,¹ but proceeded to the consideration of securing a charter.²

The omens were hardly favourable. The President, who had been elected as Marquis of Hertford but had inherited the dukedom of Somerset in 1748, might be an absentee chairman, but was the obvious channel through which royal favours might be secured. On 1 March 1749/50 Martin Folkes as Vice-President had to announce the Duke's death to the Society. He had already arranged that the Duke of Richmond should be nominated and secured his consent; the election was unanimous. No one expected the Duke to be more than a titular President; they prayed 'the Honour of his company at one of their meetings', and asked him to nominate Vice-Presidents to act for him. The Duke duly attended on 29 March and was no more seen.³

Martin Folkes, his representative, was obviously a good man to put through a major administrative change. But in October Vertue reported⁴ that at the October meeting he 'appeared to be heavy and low spirited, much different from his usuall looks'. Vertue thought his depression might be due to the loss of his noble friends, Pembroke, Montagu, and now Somerset—'noble worthy friends, such as gave life and spirits to his studies, his amusements and his conversation'. In fact, Folkes was already ill.

Some members feared that the whole scheme was a plot of Folkes's to secure the merging of the Antiquaries in the Royal Society.

'I cannot but own, [North wrote to Ducarel on 21 March 1750/1] it is no small concern to me to see the matter carried so far. It is hard to know the hearts of men; and though I cannot pretend to point out the utmost extent of our Proprietor's designs, and am willing to hope that the good of the Society is intended, yet if there is any among them base enough to aim at it, this Incorporation may prove the means of absolutely destroying, instead of establishing or perpetuating the Society. An invidious member of the R[oyal] S[ociety] is most likely and able to effect it, out of resentment to a Society that has

¹ See below, p. 116.

² Letheuillier, in a letter to Borlase dated 18 Nov. 1751, declares that the Charter 'is an Affair I have more than twenty years wish'd for, and endeavourd to promote'. B.M. Stowe MS. 752, fol. 55.

³ He did, however, attend the dinner on St. George's Day, 1750. Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 129, p. 28.

⁴ B.M. Add. MS. 23096, fol. 23v.

subsisted several years with at least an equal degree of reputation. The method, I apprehend, is obvious: let an association of such but get an Incorporation, and consequent thereto introduce all those certain expenses which will be represented to be necessary to a Corporate body; and then it is almost unavoidable that we, who have no stock of money, and no estate, must soon come to nothing, or shelter ourselves under a Society long since incorporated, and in possession of both. This is not too remote as not to be feared: however I hope the best; yet still must declare, that I shall be very unwilling to be subjected to the disagreeable alternatives of advancing any sum for what I cannot approve, or quitting a Society whose original institution I so greatly esteem, and might otherwise on easy terms be a member (and I hope not absolutely an unuseful one) to the end of my life.¹

On 26 April 1750 the question of the Charter was proceeded with. 'James Theobald Esq^r made a motion which was Seconded by Dr. Rawlinson and others, that there might be a Committee Chosen to consider of some Ways and Means in order to gain a Charter for this Society. That the Secretary should wait on our most Noble President the Duke of Richmond to acquaint him of it, and that It should be advertis'd in the Papers, to meet the next Thursday on special affairs.' The Duke does not seem to have been particularly enthusiastic about the scheme. On 3 May the Secretary reported to an unusually large meeting of thirty-nine members that 'His Grace desires you will consider of the Expense which must necessarily accrue thereon; yet, that if you shall find it Convenient and Agreeable to you, he will Chearfully assist you in whatsoever shall lay in his power'. After some debate two motions were passed. 'Resolved: That it is the opinion of the Members now present, that it will be for the advantage of this Society to procure His Majestie's Charter of Incorporation. Nemine con— Resolved. That Mr. Rooke, Keeper of the Records in the Chappel of the Rolls be desired to enquire of Mr. Grub Clerk of the Patents, the expence of procureing a Charter for incorporating the Society and Report the same at the next Meeting. . . .'

On 10 May Mr. Rooke reported that a charter would probably cost between two and three hundred pounds. A committee to proceed in the matter was voted for, and carried by twenty-seven votes to three. At first a General Committee of the whole Society was proposed, but finally the officers and eleven members were chosen to deal with the business.

North was still against it, and wrote to Ducarel on 29 May:²

' . . . Tis no small pleasure to find you are of the same sentiments as myself concerning our Incorporation, wch. the very consideration of the conductors of it

¹ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* v. 441. Stukeley's diary for 27 Feb. 1752 (Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 131, p. 25) shows that he feared that the Antiquaries' charter might have a bad effect on the Royal Society.

² Gough's copy of the letter is at the end of his copy of *Archaeologia*, i, in the Bodleian.

satisfies me is only as a lucrative job for some I think we may guess at. The footing it was put on at the meeting at Mr. Vertue's is I think quite reasonable, and some years stop for breathing time after an Incorporation (if it should take place) will be necessary unless the Projectors are resolv'd to levy what arbitrary Fines they please on the Members, and can be powerfull enough to make a law of expulsion against the non-contents; which surely they never will aim at. The worst I fear is that those of our Sentiments, who are in Town, will too soon desert Attendance, and then tis hard to say what a set of projectors flush'd with Success and without Opponents will do. . . .'

North seems to have been as much afraid for his pocket as of the machinations of the Royal Society. The more disinterested Vertue was also afraid of this rival, and wrote, apparently to Stukeley, on 8 September 1750:¹ wishing his correspondent were in London

'to see it well established for time to come, not any ways Obliquely engaged to another Society—but clearly and firmly attached to the foundation of this that it may stand on its own bottom, as it should do, for which reason many motions have been made proposed and projected to obtain a charter in order for the better establishing for perpetuating their meetings and the usefull communications from all parts of the Nation relating to History and Antiquities, somewhat like the Society for Improving of Natural Experiments and knowledge call'd the Royal Society.

Many of wch. Society, having joynd the Antiquarys have over grown or over shaded this poor Society, and lately, this year several Gentlemen have proposed and drawn up a form or several forms in writing, for perusal and consideration to the Society, to comply to, or approve of, in order to be engrossed and proposed to be handed [to] officers of State, to be addressed to his Majesty, at his return. . . .'

On 15 November a further blow fell on the Society: the Duke of Richmond died. This time Mr. Theobald moved that Martin Folkes, who had acted so often in the stead of the two last Presidents, should himself be President, and on 22 November he was unanimously elected.²

At the end of February a letter was sent to every member calling a meeting for 14 March 1750/1 'in order to Consider and determine of the draft of the Charter for Incorporating this Society', and those who could not come were invited to send their proxy to another member. Forty-six members were present, and twenty-four proxies were presented.³ Philip Carteret Webb, who had done much of the business, read the draft of the intended Charter, and it was approved, fifty-nine for and nine against, with Martin Folkes to continue as President, and the Council to be constituted by the eight existing officers and thirteen named members. The finished draft petition read thus:

¹ His draft survives in B.M. Add. MS. 23091, fol. 149.

² The election was duly confirmed at the Annual Meeting in January.

³ Some of these survive in Ants. Corr.

‘—*To the Kings most Excellent Majesty—*

The Humble Petition of Martin Folkes Esquire President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and of the several other Persons whose Names are Hereunto Subscribed Members of the said Society, in behalf of themselves, and the Rest of the members of the said Society.

Sheweth, That your Petitioners and Several others of Your Majesties Loyal Subjects, Members of the said Society have for several years last past met together at certain Times for their mutual improvement in the Study of Antiquity and in the History of Former Times which has ever been esteemed highly Commendable and Usefull, not only to inform the Minds of Men, but also to excite them to Noble and Virtuous Actions and such as may hereafter render them famous and Worthy Examples to late Posterity, in which laudable Undertaking they humbly hope their former labours have not been altogether Unsuccessfull or Unacceptable to many learned Men. That the Petitioners have reason to hope that several Persons would give them considerable Donations for their Future Encouragement to proceed in their said Studies if they were made a Body Corporate and capable of holding the same in Perpetuity which at present they are not, being only a Voluntary Society.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly Pray Your Sacred Majesty would be pleased graciously to grant unto them and the rest of the Members of the said Society of Antiquaries of London Your Royal Charter for Incorporation and making them a Body Politick and Corporate for ever pursuant to the Draft here unto annexed and such other as to your Majesty in your Royal Wisdom may seem meet

And your Petitioners shall ever Pray &c. &c.’

It was agreed that each member should contribute two guineas towards the cost of the Charter, and that the Treasurer should be empowered to make such payments as the committee ordered.

Ill luck continued to dog the scheme, for five days after the meeting Frederick, Prince of Wales, died;¹ and it had been proposed to approach the King through him. North, still disapproving, wrote to Ducarel on 28 March 1751:²

‘. . . Beside partaking of a full share of the general greif for the loss of the prince of Wales, it is no small concern to be assur’d that our Scheme of Incorporation is so far advanced. My Imagination presents nothing to me but a melancholy prospect of ruin to the original design of the Society, tho’ the projectors have paid so much regard to the old Members as to nominate several of them for the intended Council, yet I make no doubt but that they have got a great majority of their own Stamp. If you have never yet read Hill’s Observations in the Philosophical Transactions I beg you now will, to see how they are conducted and particularly remark the little preface before that article wch. treats of Antiquities,³ in wch. the Artifice of that society in regard to Ours is in a very few words yet very strongly express’d.’

¹ The meeting of 21 Mar. was adjourned until 18 Apr. ‘on the Occasion of the Malancholy Loss the Nation have this day sustained’.

² A copy of the letter is at the end of Gough’s copy of *Archaeologia*, i, in the Bodleian.

³ See above, p. 95.

On 18 April the new President gave the Society a Bank Bill of £20 towards the expenses of the Charter. At the end of June Webb was asked to report at the next meeting what had been done, but no report was received until 7 November, when he announced that he had spent more than £280 and that the Charter 'would in a few days pass the Great Seal when a Large sum would be due to him for Fees expended upon that occasion'. It was agreed that the proposed call of two guineas each on the members should be made to meet part at least of these expenses.

Vertue felt apprehensive about the finances, and wrote to North:¹

'At the Councill to Settle or promote affairs or Scheems—rubbs on whether on to the end upwards or downwards, I am not capable to form any judgement. But computation and encrease of Expenses is visible on account of the Charter, and so we emburse that, and other proposed assesments. Last meeting was read the further progress of the Councill, that, one two or three articles were absolutely necessary, 1st, for the encrease of Members to 150 at a guinea each person per ann. besides a voluntary of some guineas to pay the Costs at present, and for all new members to be admitted, to pay five guineas down, each person, and the annual payments. Furthermore, to take a house is proposed by the same projectors and proper provision for meetings there, and necessary furniture and Servants—to all which by a seeming general Concurrence or infatuation, no mortal debates or offers to open their thoughts, in consideration or abatement. However by their own computation the yearly expence of 150 guias. or pounds, will [they] discharge this, by the fellows and lovers of antiquities—which will be a true demonstration of their affective to such laudable [commendate] Studies. . . .'

The Society's bad luck still held; on 26 September Folkes had a paralytic stroke² and became incapable of doing business. A few months later he resigned his Presidency of the Royal Society but continued titular President of the Antiquaries, appointing Lord Willoughby of Parham, two baronets, and the faithful Theobald his Vice-Presidents. Fortunately the business of the Charter was nearly done, and on 13 November 1751 Joseph Ames could write to Sir Hans Sloane³ that it had been granted on 2 November. On 14 November, Theobald in the Chair, the Letters Patent under the Great Seal were read, the members standing.

All the Fellows—as the members had now the right to call themselves⁴—were summoned to a special meeting on 12 December. On that day the Visitors prescribed by the Charter—the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor—were duly nominated Fellows by a special instrument,⁵ and power was given to the

¹ Draft in B.M. Add. MS. 23091, fol. 28.

² Vertue in B.M. Add. MS. 23096, fol. 30.

³ Ants. MS. 675.

⁴ The usage was of course borrowed from the Royal Society. Lyons suggests (p. 40) that 'Fellow', *Sodalis*, was derived by the Royal Society from Bacon's *New Atlantis*.

⁵ A copy of this will be found in B.M. Lansdowne MS. 840, fol. 220.

President and eleven others to nominate other Fellows: in fact the hundred and twenty members of the old Society. The Council was authorized to prepare a draft of the Statutes and By-Laws for submission to a future meeting. This was passed for the first time, *nemine contradicente*, on 19 December, for a second on 9 January 1752, and finally on 16 January.¹ It only remained to pay Mr. Webb's bill of disbursements, which amounted to £346. 12s. 6d.;² to thank him for his professional services, for which he had not charged a professional fee, and to offer him a set of the Society's prints;³ to accept from Dr. Rawlinson 'a Neat Mohogony Box with three Locks to Deposit the Charter Seal, and other Valuable Papers of this Society',⁴ and to design a corporate seal.

This proved a more difficult matter. The Council met at the Temple Exchange Coffee House in the middle of January 1752 to consider it. Charles Towneley, Norroy King of Arms, had in the previous May offered⁵ on behalf of Garter, Clarenceux, and himself a free patent for a coat of arms, crest, supporters and motto, and Ames had duly acknowledged the 'very friendly offer'. Nothing more had yet been done. Some Fellows evidently felt that seal and arms should be identical; yet of a variety of designs which survive in the Antiquaries Library,⁶ each more fanciful than the last, few are heraldic. Mr. Charles Rogers suggested the Nile, leaning on a sphinx, with the motto 'Habet auctoritatem Antiquitas'. Mr. Cheere produced elegant classical sketches of Antiquity presenting Truth to History (looking like the three Graces) and Study (or Antiquity) viewing the Effects of Time, as exemplified by classical ruins. The quasi-heraldic designs were no less odd. An anonymous Fellow wished for a shield with Britannia under a Gothic arcade, with a Druid and a Saxon for supporters; or a shield with St. George and the Dragon with sphinxes as supporters. 'T.M.' made no fewer than twelve suggestions, of which an example is the Temple of Honour, with Time sitting 'in a mournfull Attitude by the Door, which is open'd by a Figure representing Virtue'.

Stukeley produced a much more heraldic scheme:⁷ party per pale *azure* and *sable*, a lion crowned rampant regardant, holding in his right paw a sun *or*.

'The lyon intimates that generous nature and noble ardor which preserves and restores from the injury of Time. *Regardant*, he looks back to time past. He

¹ See Appendix A.

² 19 Dec. 1751. Nearly a year later a further £10. 2s. 6d. was paid for copying the Charter.

³ 16 Jan. 1752.

⁴ 23 Jan. 1752. The Seal is still kept in the box, though Mr. West failed to deliver the document which had been left in his charge until Apr. 1764.

⁵ Letter of 10 May 1751, Ants. Corr.

⁶ MS. 266*.

⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxii, June 1812, p. 528. He refers to it in Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 134, p. 61.

holds a sun in glory in his right paw. The rising sun dissipates the mists and obscurity of night and oblivion. The field is partè per pale Azure et Sable, meaning day and night; the lyon is argent, sun or. The Crest is an eagle, whose sharpest sight reaches the greatest distance. He holds in his talon a wolf's head erased, the wolf is the emblem of devouring time. Supporters, a golden lyon, as a compliment to the Sovereign, who gave the Charter; and an eagle Sable. This is in a method strictly heraldic.

Otherways, for a scutcheon, take the picture of Britannia as on the reverse of halfpennys: for crest an antique lamp; a Druid for Supporter.'

The matter seems to have rested there until 14 March 1754, when a motion was brought forward to remind the Society that nothing had been done. Six members (none of them officers) were thereupon appointed to consider the question: 'any three of them to Devise proper Arms, Crest, Motto and Supporters for the use of the Society'. Once more the fancy of members went to work. On 19 July 1754 Thomas Martin wrote to Dr. Ducarel: 'Pray are the Arms or Device yet fixed for our Seal? I think Stonehenge should be the principal thing expressed, and if a Crest, the British Oak, and if Supporters a Pict and a Druid.'¹ Two years later, on 22 July 1756, the Council was reminded that a committee had once been appointed to settle the question, but had never reported. A second committee was nominated, but remained no less silent. On 10 December 1767 the then President raised the question again, inviting further suggestions.

On 27 April 1769 the Council moved—as if it were an entirely new idea—'that a Common Seal, agreeable to the Charter, be forthwith provided; and that the same be of steel, of the size of an English Crown Piece; the Device Gules, a Lamp, Or, the Inscription *Soc. Antiquar. Lond. Exurge, Non Extinguetur.*' A committee was once more appointed. On 2 January 1770 it was reported that they had rejected the traditional lamp, 'as wholly of too rude and inelegant a Form',² and referred the whole matter back to Council. The President was thereupon authorized to choose a device, but reported on 21 February that he had been too busy to think about it. A committee of three was appointed, and reported at the end of March that they had made a design, which Council approved with some slight alteration. Finally on 14 June Mr. Pingo the engraver produced a seal with the now familiar device: *argent*, a cross of St. George, *gules*, charged in the centre with a royal crown of England, *Or*.³ Crest, an antique lamp, *Or*, burning. Motto: *NON EXTINGVETVR*. Since the model for the antique lamp was that which

¹ Ants. MS. 678.

² See also Council, 29 Apr. 1769. The committee rightly decided it could not be Roman.

³ On 5 Apr. 1900, Everard Green, Rouge Dragon, wrote to the Secretary to say that the Society's arms had earlier been granted by Charles II to Sir Edward Nicolas, Secretary of State, and belonged to his descendants. No action was taken.

Stukeley had exhibited to the Society in 1717, it is to be hoped that his shade was satisfied.¹

The Charter, Statutes, and By-Laws made only limited changes in the organization and administration of the Society.² The institution of Visitors remained a dead letter; they have never yet been called upon to arbitrate in a dispute. The Society has never yet appointed a Serjeant at Mace. The real innovation lay in the creation of a Council³ of twenty-one to assist the officers, with ten retiring each year, and in the transference of the Annual Meeting to St. George's Day. The Statutes laid the duty on Fellows of signing an Obligation to 'promote the honour and interest of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and observe the statutes and orders of the said Society' and enforced an admission fee of five guineas and an annual subscription of a guinea, with a compounding fee of ten guineas.⁴ The number of Fellows was fixed at a hundred and fifty. A Catalogue of Benefactors was prescribed, and the donor of a gift of twenty pounds value, or more, was granted the privilege of attending the meetings of the Society. The rest of the Statutes did little more than codify the existing customs of the Society.

The Society, as soon as it could look forward to the future, began to take a professional interest in its past. As early as 8 February 1730/1, a paper by Maurice Johnson had been read to the Society 'relating to the Origin Progress and discontinuance of the Antiquarian Society of London in the several reigns from Q. Elizabeth's time; when it was first instituted downwards to the present time'.⁵ By the end of 1748 North was collecting further material. A letter to him from Vertue, dated 3 December 1748, raises the question of the Fleetwood letter and the date of the Elizabethan Society.⁶ By February 1751/2 North was writing to Ducarel about an account of the early Society which the latter had sent him, which he had found imperfect.⁷ In March he wrote again⁸ to lament the lack of the Minutes of the years after 1717. By July North had received a copy of Johnson's paper⁸ but found it much less important than he expected. Browne Willis meanwhile was asking Vertue and

¹ At the same time Pingo produced a plate with the arms and crest on a diapered ground for use on title-pages.

² The election for officers on 23 Apr. 1752 was the first to be held with the formalities still observed. Until Apr. 1753 the Council met at a variety of Fleet Street taverns and coffee-houses; e.g. 10 Apr. 1753, at Joe's Coffee House in Mitre Court.

³ Edward Jacob, Esq., who compounded on 19 June 1755, is the first compounder I have noticed.

⁴ Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 248v. (North's hand.)

⁵ Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, p. 143. See above, p. 9.

⁶ Copy at the end of Gough's copy of *Archaeologia*, i, in the Bodleian.

⁷ Copy in Gough's copy of *Archaeologia*, i, in the Bodleian. Stukeley hung on to the Minutes and they did not come back to the Society until after his death.

⁸ Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 248v.

Foster for their recollections of the early history of the Society,¹ and Stukeley was setting to work. His first act was to write to Maurice Johnson. He was told in reply on 6 May 1752 that Johnson had only 'a rude piece of paper, which I had wrote upon, with a kind of project of uniting ourselves into a Society, and half torn thro', as an imperfect thing; but that he accidentally catch'd it up, and made some memorandum upon it, in his own handwriting, on the subject of the meeting. He adds, that it is not by any means proper, or worthy to be repositied in the archives of the Society. . . . But he tells me what may be really useful for us; that in the year 1738, when Dr. Mortimer was about to publish an account of all our literary societies out of universities' Johnson made full extracts for him, but they were never used. 'If the Society can induce the Dr's son Hans to restore those papers, wrote by Mr. Johnson, and his father's collections along with them, they may be of service.'² No trace remains of any of these papers.³

Stukeley, however, found enough and remembered enough to write his *Memoirs towards an History of the Antiquarian Society* in time to present them to his patron, George, Earl of Macclesfield, President of the Royal Society and F.S.A. at the meeting on St. George's Day 1752,⁴ when they were read. He gave his account of the Elizabethan Society with great good sense, and a close approximation to the right dates; and his recollections of the re-creation of 1717 with modesty.

By the end of February 1754 it was felt that all these reminiscences and researches should be co-ordinated, especially as Warburton had just claimed to be the Society's founder.⁵ At a meeting at which Dr. Ducarel read letters about the Society's history from Maurice Johnson, Browne Willis, and George Vertue,⁶ a motion was put forward 'That the Secretary write to the Revd. Mr. Geo. North a Member of this Society: That he will be so good as to finish what he has begun Relating to this Society with all convenient speed, which will be extremely agreeable to them'. A fortnight later North's reply was read.

'I was lately not a little surprised and rowz'd by a letter from our Secretary Mr. Ames, dated 3rd instant, sent by order of the Society upon a Motion of Mr. Theobald's that understanding I had made Collections towards a History of our

¹ Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, p. 144.

² B.M. Add. MS. 6182, fol. 1. The MS. was left to the British Museum by Professor Ward. Printed in Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii. 11 note.

³ Through the courtesy of the Librarian I have been able to look for Dr. Mortimer's paper in the records of the Royal Society, but have found nothing.

⁴ Ants. MS. 11. Ward's copy (also in Stukeley's hand) is B.M. Add. MS. 6182. The reading is recorded by Stukeley in Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 131, p. 401.

⁵ See above, p. 50.

⁶ Meeting of 14 Feb. 1754. These letters are printed in Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 140. The originals are in the Antiquaries Library.

Society, it would be highly agreeable to them, if I would endeavour to compleat it with all expedition. I was always desirous to shew all possible respect to the Society, but 'tis a disagreeable employ to set about a Work of which one cannot conceive a hope of performing it in a manner satisfactory to one's mind. The Truth is, that after all my Enquiries, the Materials are so scanty and deficient as to leave great Chasms for an Historical account. My greatest obligations are to you, Mr. West, and the Cotton Library; all the rest I met with are only scanty Transcripts, often repeated without additions. Dr. Birch's I know, are an inexhaustible fund of English History, of those points that are least noticed by the generality; and if upon my application to him, I can receive no account of the Society of Antiquaries, which subsisted in 1659, the Chasm between the middle of King James the First's reign and 1718 cannot be filled up.'

Unhappily North fell ill, and when in 1769 he was again asked for the materials he had accumulated, he returned but a scanty hoard, coolly declaring that they were all 'that survived his order to burn most of his papers indiscriminately in a dangerous illness, which he had about four years before, from a conviction how ungenerously such things are commonly used after a person's decease'.¹

The Society, as usual, fell back on Stukeley, who on St. George's Day and on 12 June 1760 read a revised version of his recollections of the Society's beginnings, together with a rather fuller account than he had given in 1753 of its Elizabethan predecessor. He wrote, conscious of how few of the friends of 1717 remained on earth; and asked to have the manuscript back for further revision, which he did not live to make.² In fact it was nearly twenty years after the grant of the Charter that an official history of the Society was published.³

The Charter gave the Society a sense of stability which encouraged its members to look for a more permanent home, even though after it had been paid for the Treasurer had only £8. 15s. 8½d. in hand.⁴ The first proposal put forward was a suggestion by Mr. Hart that the Society should use the large room at Essex House, which he would furnish, and two smaller rooms for their books and collections, at £50 a year on a lease of seven years. For £30 a year more they could have three coal fires on Meetings nights, and not less than '4 doz'n Candles of 6 in the Pound', cleaning, a servant to wait on them and a bed for the Secretary on Meetings nights.⁵ On 14 February 1752 the Secretary wrote to Mr. Hart declining;⁶ a letter from Ames to Rawlinson⁷ reveals that they had been unable

¹ Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, p. li note; *Lit. Anec.* v. 466. I have ascertained from Mr. W. Branch Johnson, the historian of Codicote, that nothing relevant remains in the Parish Chest.

² The MS., 'Antiquarian Annals, or the History of the Antiquarian Society of London', was in the collection of our Fellow the late Mr. Alexander Keiller, now in the Bodleian Library.

³ *Archaeologia*, i, Introduction. See below, p. 146.

⁴ Meeting, 5 Mar. 1752.

⁵ Letter in *Ants. Corr.*

⁶ *Ants. MS.* 675 (unpaged).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 8 Feb. 1752. In the same letter he says he has offered to attend at the house one day a week to attend to the Society's business.

to make a decision because neither the President nor any of the Vice-Presidents had attended the meeting. On 14 May a committee of three was appointed 'to treat with proper Persons for a House for the future Meetings of the Society and to Agree for a Lease thereof'.

The Society may have grown impatient, for on 9 November Mr. Colebrooke submitted a plan for a house to be built for the Society, designed by Mr. Jacobsen, with its quantities surveyed by Mr. Spencer the Surveyor. The Council did not approve it on grounds of expense, but the meeting granted a gratuity of £5 to the surveyor for his trouble.

A week later the committee at last reported that they had inspected a house in Bolt Court, Fleet Street, in which it would be possible to throw two rooms together to make a meeting room over 35 feet long and near 16 feet wide. There were besides two stories and an attic each of two rooms, and a handsome square garden, all for £25 a year, with a proportionate increase if the alterations were made at the landlord's expense. It was unanimously agreed that the Secretary should ask a Vice-President to summon a Council to agree for the house. On 23 November, however, it was reported that the landlord had already let the house to a neighbour for £3 a year more. The committee were told to try again.

Meanwhile another solution was being unofficially presented. The first Trustees of the British Museum, appointed in 1753, had included the President of the Royal Society but no direct representative of the Antiquaries. In January 1753, however, Stukeley was appointed a Trustee.¹ In November of that year he visited the Speaker, and reported in his diary:² 'He is projecting to take Montague House for Sr. Hans Sloan's library, the Cottonian and Harleyan MSS and to bring thither the Royal and Antiquarian Societys.' The project is referred to in a letter from Dr. John Ward to Maurice Johnson, dated 26 April 1753;³ he considered that all the places which had been suggested for the Museum would be inconvenient as meeting-places for the Society. More than a year later, on 15 November 1754, Ames presented from the author Cornelius Johnson 'a Print, being a Section of the Quadrangle designed for the *British Musaeum*, including the Royal Society, Antiquarian Society, and a Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture'.

By the time the British Museum had moved to Montagu House in 1754,⁴ another solution had been found. On 25 January 1753

¹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 133, p. 66.

² Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 134, p. 5.

³ Quoted Pettigrew, *Contribution*, p. 12.

⁴ The British Museum was opened in 1759, with three departments of Printed Books, Manuscripts, and Natural History, each with its own under-librarian.

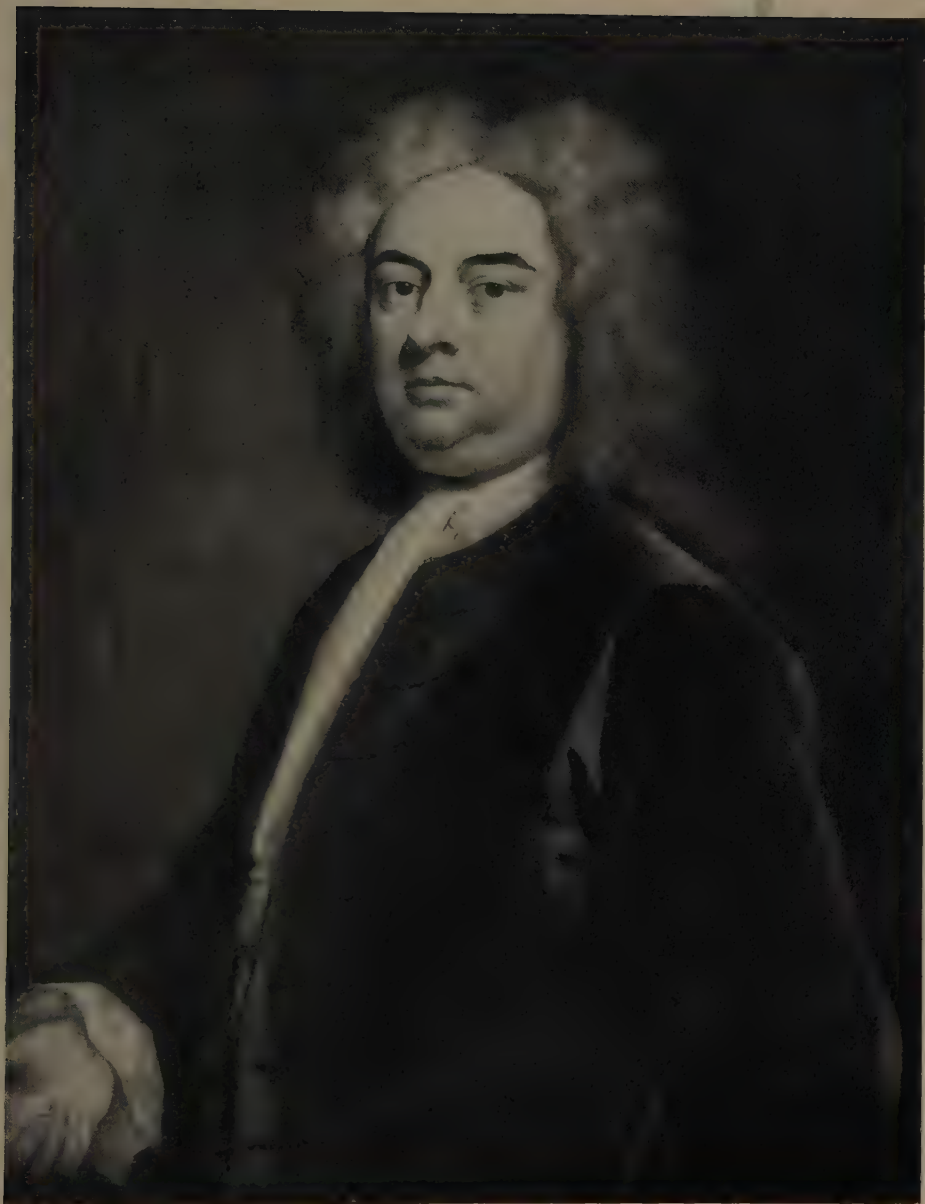
the Antiquaries' Committee finally reported that they had seen 'a House in Chancery Lane (Plate 16) lately called Robin's Coffee House, which they apprehended would be proper. Therefore laid a Plan of the said House before the Society. . . .' Mr. Rooke, who worked at the Office of the Rolls near by, was added to the committee, and they were asked to treat for the house. By the end of February the business was well in hand, when at the meeting¹ which was to have authorized its conclusion the whole project was thrown out, nine members voting for it and thirteen against. On 1 March the authorization to treat for the house was again moved and passed and on 8 March it was reported that they had acquired the end of the lease—nine years—from Sir Joseph Jekyll's executors at an annual rent of £60.

The committee was authorized to furnish the house 'in the most Frugal and proper manner for the Reception of the Society with all convenient speed', and by 15 March could report that it should be ready in about three weeks. There was a certain amount of discussion about the plan of the seats and tables for the Meetings Room,² resulting in favour of two parallel tables crossed by one for the President, Treasurer, and Secretary. On 31 March the Director, the Rev. Thomas Birch, was able to write to Maurice Johnson at Spalding to tell him that they were almost ready to move.³ On 5 April the Society gave notice to Mr. Cole, the landlord of the Mitre, but told him they would dine there on St. George's Day, and ordered a parting tip to the tavern servants. A week later they held their first meeting in the new house.

¹ 22 Feb. 1753.

² 22 and 29 Mar., 5 Apr. 1752. Stukeley records for 3 Aug. 1753, 'I drew a plan of the disposition of the Antiquarian Society room, at the Rolls'. Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 133, p. 73.

³ Letter printed in Pettigrew, *Contribution*, p. 11.



Samuel Gale, Treasurer 1717-40, ascribed to T. Vanderbank, 1722

Society of Antiquaries



George Vertue, by Thomas Gibson, 1723

Society of Antiquaries

VIII

CHANCERY LANE

1753-69

ON 12 April 1753 Stukeley wrote in his diary:¹

'I assisted at the Society of Antiquarys, to open their new room over the master of the Rolls his gateway. I exhibited the bit of the Roman brick with the maker's stamp ALSB. It was not interpreted. As also the 4 silver coins Roman.

I read my letter to Ld. Chancellor on 10 October last, with drawings and description of Lesnes Abby. I have not frequented this meeting since I left London in June 1726, and may well be accounted the founder; and now cannot be among them, as being on a Thursday, immediately after the Royal Society; and so late in evenings.'

They dined at the Mitre, and Stukeley said grace.²

Once established in the new house, the chief business of the Society lay in tidying up small details of business. The policy of insurance that Dr. Rawlinson had already taken out with the Sun Fire Office on the books, prints, and bookcases of the Society at the Mitre³ was assigned to the President, Council, and Fellows for their possessions in the new house.⁴ In May 1753⁵ it was agreed to let the lower and upper floors of the house to the sitting tenant for a short term. In July they had a little trouble with the administrator of the Jekyll estate about redecorations.⁶ A housekeeper was engaged, and allowed a shilling a week for all her 'Mops, Brooms, Brushes, Dusters, Pails, Sand and other Materials, and necessary Utensils, for keeping the House Clean'.

The members settled down to making themselves reasonably comfortable. In March 1763 it was 'Order'd, for the better Accommodation of the Members during their sitting; and to prevent the Damage and Injury that often accrue to Books from being used on hard Tables without Covering; that the Treasurer provide proper Cushions for the Benches, and Coverings for the Tables, in the Society's Meeting Room, and also Matting for the Floor'. In

¹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 132, p. 72.

² Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 134, p. 65.

³ 9 Nov. 1752 and Ants. Corr., 1752; Policy No. 131569 for £200.

⁴ 23 Apr. 1753.

⁵ 24 May 1753; the lease, at £18 a year, was renewed on 6 May 1755.

⁶ There was further trouble in Dec. 1767; the ultimate ownership of the house seems then to have been before the Courts.

December 1766 it was further ordered that a green cloth cover was to be provided for the table in the Reading Room and a new ballot-box bought.¹ In May 1767 there were serious complaints about the smell and smoke from tallow candles, and it was ordered that wax or spermaceti should alone be used at meetings for the future.

The Council ordered² that the rough catalogue of the pamphlet collection should be completed and the collection rearranged, and tightened up the regulations for borrowing books³ and for acknowledging gifts from abroad.⁴

The Secretary was reminded from time to time about keeping the records up to date⁵ and that rough minutes must be read and approved before they were entered in the book.⁶ It was agreed that all certificates of candidature must be suspended for four meetings before ballot, exclusive of the day of proposal and the day of balloting, but noblemen were exempted. The old ballot-box was altered and six dozen cork balls bought. It was 'recommended from the Chair, that on introducing Gentlemen to be present at the meetings of this Society, the Members conform to the Rules of Order and Decency establish'd among them, by first giving the Names of those Gentlemen to the Chair, and awaiting Leave for their being admitted'.⁷ It was passed that lists of the Fellows should be printed, one by dates of election, partly to establish the seniority of those who might be called on to act for an absent Vice-President, and another in alphabetical order; but Ames muddled the lists and the order was cancelled. Finally he got them right, and the four surviving members whose election dated from 1717 were put in order of age.⁸ It was then ordered that a framed list of members should be hung up in the meeting-room and kept up to date, so that Fellows might know when a vacancy arose.⁹ In May 1755 it was agreed that addresses should be added to the list.

Dr. Rawlinson presented the Society 'with a handsome large Pewter Standish;¹⁰ a small bell cast from an Old Patern,¹¹ and a picture of King Henry the VIIth',¹² and Vertue gave¹³ a painting of Edward, Earl of Oxford,¹⁴ and another of Humfrey Wanley,

¹ That now used at Council Meetings: a beautiful bit of cabinet work that looks as if it had been made by a clockmaker.

² 28 May 1755.

³ 14 May 1756.

⁴ 2 Dec. 1762.

⁵ e.g. 28 June 1753.

⁶ 17 May 1753. Rough drafts of the Minutes for 1754, 1765, and 1766 are preserved in the green box of Ants. MS. 241.

⁷ 20 June 1754.

⁸ There are copies in the Library of the Society and in Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 27, fol. 52.

⁹ 21 Nov. 1754.

¹⁰ This appears no longer to figure among the Society's possessions.

¹¹ On 17 Apr. 1760 Mr. Hanbury was allowed to take a cast of it. It is still in the Society's possession; Way, p. 27.

¹² 10 May 1753. The picture is still in the Society's possession. Scharf, xxiv.

¹³ 27 Feb. 1755.

¹⁴ Scharf, L.

painted by Thomas Hill on 18 December 1711.¹ In 1766 James West presented two portraits of former Fellows—the Rev. Thomas Baker,² of St. John's, Cambridge, and George Holmes,³ Deputy-Keeper of the Records in the Tower; and in 1770 Mrs. du Plessis gave a portrait of Lord Coleraine.⁴ In that year it was agreed that a clock should be bought and set up in the meeting-room to ensure that the meetings should begin more punctually.⁵

The Treasurer's department was reformed in some small particulars. On 17 March 1763 it was agreed that four guineas should be paid to the Secretary for his losses on paying the bills of the Anniversary Dinners over some years, and that for the future the deficit over six shillings a head should be paid by the Treasurer out of the Society's funds.

In 1763⁶ it was agreed that the Treasurer's accounts, audited up to 31 December in each year, should be presented at the anniversary. The audit revealed a considerable number of defaulters; yet the Council on 19 April 1764 voted that the existing form of request to them was 'harsh and offensive', and that since printed letters were seldom read, it would be better if the Secretary wrote 'in more persuasive and milder Terms' to each individual. By December it was evident that the new system was not working well, and the Council resolved 'That Every Person, who shall hereafter be elected a Fellow of this Society, shall either before or at his Admission, enter into a Bond, conditioned in the Penalty of Twenty Pounds Sterling, for the due and regular Payment of his Annual Contribution money to the Society'.⁷

It was time that something was done. A list of defaulters was laid before the Council on 7 February 1765, headed by Mr. Charles Clarke and Mr. William Thompson, eleven years in arrears, and Mr. Charles Joy, ten years, and going on through others of nine and eight years' default. They were now proposed for amoval. The great difficulty in collecting arrears was the respect due to rank. This was sometimes met by a visit rather than a letter. On 27 April 1769 it was reported that Lord Charlemont, 'a considerable Defaulter to the Society', was in London. The Secretary was ordered to wait upon him (charging his coach hire to the Society) 'from the Council, with a State of his Arrears, and a Request, that he will be pleased to discharge the same'.

¹ Scharf, LI.

² Scharf, LV.

³ Scharf, LIII, perhaps by Charles Bridges. Holmes's widow also offered a miniature of him on copper, from which a print was made, 6 July 1749.

⁴ 10 May 1770. The picture is by Richardson, painted in 1714. Scharf, LII.

⁵ Council, 28 Feb., Meeting, 2 Mar. It seems possible that this was the clock in a mahogany case now in the Library.

⁶ 15 Dec.

⁷ Council, 6 Dec. A long series of these bonds, now chiefly interesting for their autographs, is in the Library of the Society.

The balance in the Treasurer's hands gradually increased. Eventually, and most gratifyingly, £200 was invested in 3 per cent. Bank Annuities,¹ and by 1760 the Society held £600. The finances naturally benefited by any increase in numbers, and in May 1755 the Society was increased from a hundred and fifty to a hundred and eighty, 'exclusive of Peers, Privy Counsellors, and Judges'.

The only important administrative change was to appoint two Secretaries, one of whom was to reside in the house.² Ames at sixty-five was less competent than he had used to be, and the Rev. William Norris, thirty years younger, was appointed to aid him.³ He was to read the Minutes of the previous meeting, and to take the Minutes at all meetings of the Society and Council; Ames was to continue to enter the fair copies into the minute-books. Each was to receive £20 a year⁴ 'without any gratuity'.

Mr. Norris was assigned 'the Two Back Rooms up Two Pair of Stairs, having their aspect towards the Rolls Chapple'. These were furnished by the Society with two stoves, each with fender, tongs, poker, and stand; five pairs of checked linen curtains; a writing table and a dining table; nine walnut chairs and an arm-chair, and two scone glasses.⁵ Presumably Mr. Norris furnished his own bedroom. At the same time shelves and drawers were set up for the Society's plates, prints, books, pamphlets, and papers, in the large room 'up two Pair of Stairs towards the Street'.⁶

The matter was of the more interest since Mrs. du Plessis, executor of Lord Coleraine, announced in November 1754 that though the codicil by which he left his prints to the Society was void in law, she none the less wished to implement it.⁷ About twelve hundred prints and drawings were received.⁸ The Society had already received a large collection of pamphlets from Dr. Bartholomew of Town Mallings,⁹ and was soon to receive a bequest of books from Henry Emmett,¹⁰ and the library was now considerable. Furthermore, the Antiquaries were beginning slowly to acquire a collection of antiquities and a place had to be found for them. On 23 May 1754 Mr. Baker presented two Urns 'to be lodged in some future Museum of the Society';¹¹ and later in the day it was moved and ordered that the Council be directed to appoint some proper room in the house for a Museum.

¹ 11 Apr. 1754.

² 4 and 11 Apr. 1754.

³ 11 May 1754.

⁴ 16 May 1754.

⁵ 13 June 1754; Council, 15 June. None of the furniture is now identifiable; the Society owns no walnut chairs. They were probably among the furniture sold in 1860 for £11. 6s. 6d.

⁶ Some cheap shelves with green baize curtains were bought from Vertue.

⁷ An account of the matter by Mr. Baker is in *Ants. Corr.*

⁸ Still in the Society's possession.

⁹ 23 Nov. 1752.

¹⁰ 17 June 1756.

¹¹ Still in the Society's possession; Way, *Catalogue*, p. 17.

It must have come as rather a shock when at the beginning of 1767¹ Mr. Rooke, who had been active in getting the lease of the house for the Society, petitioned the Council, as Keeper of the Rolls, that he should be allowed to occupy a room in it as an office, as he was too old and ill to face the rigours of the unheated Chapel of the Rolls. On 28 May the Council decided to move the meeting-room 'up two pair of stairs forward' into the pamphlet room, and to move the pamphlets into the attics. Nothing was done to establish a Museum.² The small council-room was fitted with shelves for books, and the two rooms on the ground floor were allotted one to the housekeeper and one as a waiting-room for servants in attendance on members. Henry Rooke did not get his room after all.

In May 1754 it was resolved 'That Three Catalogues of the Books Prints and other Effects of the Society of Antiquaries of London, be prepared by the Secretaries; in Order that one of them be deposited with the President, another with the Treasurer, and the Third with the Director; that each Catalogue be signed by the Secretaries, and examined with the Effects by some Members of the Council; and that such Alterations and Additions be annually made as may become necessary.' On 22 February 1755 Joseph Ames gave over the sole charge of all the Society's possessions to Norris.

The Society's activities in publishing prints continued much as before. A succession of castles³ had been engraved, mostly from drawings in the Office of the Duchy of Lancaster, between 1733 and 1737, diversified by a plate of seals and coins and a portrait of Bishop Tanner.⁴ In 1737 the classical fashion made itself felt in a series of plates of Roman roads, pavements, hypocausts, and reliefs. Then in 1751 a medieval vogue came in, with plates of Winchester and Cirencester Crosses. In 1747 the definitive title-page for use when the plates were bound was issued:⁵ *Vetusta Monumenta: quae ad rerum Britannicarum memoriam conservandam Societas Antiquarium Londini sumptu suo edenda curavit. Volumen Primum.*

In 1765⁶ the minister, churchwardens, and a few parishioners of St. Margaret's, Westminster, offered to purchase a hundred copies of the engraving of the window they had lately purchased for the Church.

The main problem of disposing of plates outside the Society

¹ 26 Jan. Ants. Corr.

² On 7 Mar. 1774 the Council decided to buy a cupboard 'for the reception of such Matters of Curiosity as shall be presented to them'.

³ Tutbury and Melbourne, 1733; Lancaster and Pontefract, 1734; Knaresborough, 1735; Tickhill, 1737.

⁴ This has the Society's lamp as an accessory.

⁵ The page exists with at least three different printer's ornaments.

⁶ Council, 4 April.

continued unsolved. In January 1756, however, Council decided that 'a proper Printseller in the City should be consulted to know upon what Terms he will undertake to publish, and circulate the Prints of the Society in that part of the Town'. A week later they accepted Mr. Boydell as their agent, and agreed to give him a 20 per cent. commission. Mr. Tovey was chosen to act for Westminster at the same rate.

The subjects of the plates in the main represent the conservative interests of the older Fellows. In fact the Society was fighting a battle against the prevailing Graeco-Roman taste. 'Taste', in the technical sense, was the foe of English antiquarianism: an artificial gusto of which the aim was to reconcile the picturesque with the supposed canons of classical beauty. It represented the Grand Tour, as against the humbler peregrinations of men who were content to begin—and even end—with the study of the antiquities of their own country. Borlase, in the preface to his *Antiquities . . . of the County of Cornwall*, published in 1769, declared:

'It is the usual observation of Foreigners, that the English Travellers are too little acquainted with their own Country; and so far this may be true, that Englishmen (otherwise well qualified to appear in the world) go abroad in quest of the rarities of other countries, before they know sufficiently what their own contains; it must be likewise acknowledged that, when these foreign tours have been compleated, and Gentlemen return captivated with the Medals, Statues, Pictures, and Architecture, of Greece and Italy, they have seldom any relish for the ruder products of Ancient Britain.'¹

The tendency towards Taste rather than antiquarianism was increased by the election to the Society of a number of men who were artists in the classical style. In 1757 'Mr. Thomas Jenkins, student of Painting at Rome', was duly elected. Through much of his career as banker and dealer in antiquities² in Rome he wrote regularly to the Secretary to report current finds and excavations and in 1767³ presented to the Society a wooden model of the Temple of the Sibyls at Tivoli which took up a good deal of room but was much admired by the Fellows. In the same year Bracci and Piranesi the engraver were elected as honorary members. Allan Ramsay, the portrait painter, was elected a Fellow in 1743; Robert Adam, the architect, in 1761; Richard Wilson,⁴ the landscape painter, and

¹ P. V. Borlase, a Cornish parson, had not been able to get abroad, but found himself 'placed in the midst of Monuments, the Works of the Ancient Britans, where there were few Grecian or Roman Remains to be met with; my curiosity, therefore, could only be gratified by what was in its reach, and was confined to the study of our own antiquities; and these papers are the fruits of that study'. A plea that a tour of England should precede a tour of Europe will be found in John Warburton's *Vallum Romanum* (1753), p. vii.

² Letters in *Ants. Corr.* from 1758 to 1772. He died in 1798.

³ 10 Dec.

⁴ 12 Jan. and 16 Feb. 'As a Gent. of great Merit in his profession, well versed in Antiquity and by his acquaintance and correspondence in foreign parts capable of becoming a very worthy and valuable member. . . .'

James Stuart—'Athenian Stuart'—in 1758,¹ together with Marco Foscarini the historian of Venice. Francesco Bartolozzi and John Baptist Cipriani the engravers (both described as of Florence) were received as Honorary Fellows in 1767.² Reynolds was elected in 1772, Valentine Green, the mezzotinter, in 1775; Josiah Wedgwood, the potter, in 1786. No less than thirty-two Italians were elected between 1762 and 1772. Art of another kind was recognized by the election in 1757³ of Francis Grose, a Middlesex man of Swiss descent, who was a topographical artist by profession and a spendthrift by character. His *Antiquities of England and Wales*, published in four volumes between 1773 and 1787, and his subsequent *Antiquities of Scotland*⁴ were works of vulgarization. He was a man of Falstaffian corpulence and humour, who is now best remembered by his caricatures⁵ (Plate 24). The elections of artists were but poorly counterbalanced by those of distinguished men from other fields, such as William Hunter the anatomist,⁶ and the great legist William Blackstone.⁷ Even the Rev. Bryan Faussett, essentially a local archaeologist, had to be recommended as 'a Gentleman well versed in the Greek, Roman and English Antiquities'.⁸

Robert Wood had published the *Ruins of Palmyra* in 1753, and was to issue the *Ruins of Balbec* in 1757. The Society of Dilettanti financed the stay of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett in Athens between 1751 and 1753, and backed their publication of the first volume of the *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762.⁹ In 1764 they sent out their 'first Ionic expedition' of Nicholas Revett, Richard Chandler, and William Pars, which resulted in the publication of the *Antiquities of Ionia*.¹⁰

It is not surprising that in the years after 1755 the exhibits and papers at the Antiquaries' meetings were predominantly classical, and many of them concerning objects from Italy.¹¹ Sir William Hamilton acquired the nucleus of his famous collection of vases in 1766,¹² and in that year began the publication in Naples of his four volumes of *Antiquités étrusques grecques et romaines* that became a Bible for the classical archaeologist. The discoveries at Herculaneum, too, were making their mark, and on 21 May 1765 the

¹ 15 June and 7 Dec.

² 7 May and 18 June. The Piedmontese lexicographer Baretto was elected at the same time.

³ 17 Feb. 1757.

⁴ 2 vols., 1789-91. He died in 1791 while preparing the sequel on the *Antiquities of Ireland*.

⁵ An engraving of him with his friend Forrest in a monk's dress was published in 1772.

⁶ 26 Nov 1767 and 11 Feb. 1768.

⁷ Dec. 1760 and Feb. 1761.

⁸ 13 Jan. 1763.

⁹ The final volume did not appear until 1816.

¹⁰ 1769-97.

¹¹ Such studies were encouraged by the *History of Art*, published by Winckelmann, Hon. F.S.A., between 1763 and 1768.

¹² Bought by the British Museum in 1772.

President announced with pride that he had applied to the Spanish Minister to get 'through his Mediation with the King of Naples a compleat sett of the Herculaneum Publications for this Society'. In the seventeen-sixties the old interest in Egyptian antiquities continued; Mr. Schmidt's dissertation on the Egyptian Zodiac was begun on 31 May 1764, and was continued for three further meetings.

Yet medieval styles and studies were slowly coming back into fashion. Francis Price, appointed Clerk to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury in 1734, gradually learned enough to become one of the first men who appreciated Gothic structure in terms of stress. Stukeley had built a Gothic Hermitage in his garden at Stamford as early as 1738, and now Horace Walpole and his friends were fostering a vogue for Gothic art¹ and literature. The Ossianic poems were published between 1760 and 1763; Bishop Hurd produced his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* in 1762 and Bishop Percy his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* in 1765. Hurd pleaded that Gothic architecture should not be judged by 'Grecian rules', and tried to make the Middle Ages respectable by equating the Heroic Ages of Greece and northern Europe.

Horace Walpole had been elected to the Antiquaries in 1753² and to Council in 1758, but he contributed little to their researches. On 14 February 1760 he 'propounded questions to the Society on the ancient method of painting'; and on 26 January 1761 he 'exhibited a golden Bracelet found . . . in a meadow belonging to the Earl of Thomond at Short Grove in Essex'. In 1760 he was glad to buy Ames's copy of the Minutes from 1717 to 1743;³ his annotations show that he found them useful. Yet his approach to medieval art was in its essence too unscholarly for him to feel at home in the Society.

The chief exponent of English antiquities in the Society was still William Stukeley.⁴ On 3 March 1757 he 'read a Dissertation on the Antiquity, Descent and Religion of the British Druids', followed on 12 May by another 'very learned and curious Dissertation' on 'the Religion of the Druids, proving that they were not Pagans, but of the antient eastern Patriarchal Religion, free from Idolatry, like the Magi of the Persians'. In November he was on safer ground

¹ See B. S. Allen, *Tides in English Taste*, ii. 43. Sanderson Miller's Gothic ruins date from 1746, and Walpole began to gothicize Strawberry Hill in 1750.

² Admitted 14 Feb. 1754.

³ B.M. Egerton MS. 1041. It was sold from Strawberry Hill to Sir Peter Thompson; passed from him to Joseph Lilly and so into the Egerton Collection in Oct. 1843. For the Society's discussion of the sale, and of the fate of Theobald's duplicate copy, see Da Costa in B.M. Egerton MS. 2381 under 19 June 1760.

⁴ His name was accidentally omitted from the list of Fellows after the Charter was granted, but was replaced in 1754. Meetings, 20 and 27 June 1754; Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 121, p. 58, 7 Nov. 1754. He had been elected to the Council on 23 Apr. 1754.

in a paper on Waltham Cross, which he had lately revisited. The posts which the Society had set up to protect it in 1721¹ had been broken down, and the earth dug away round the cross, so that the whole stood on a raised mound of earth that was insecure. 'The Authors of this unworthy Violation he found to be the Commissioners of the Turnpikes, or their agents.' He had succeeded in persuading the lord of the manor to erect a low wall and posts for the protection of the cross, but had so far failed to prevent the owner of an adjacent house from removing part of the steps of the cross and enlarging his building so that his roof rested against one of the statues of the Queen.

'The too prevailing, if not general, Neglect of, and ye defacing antient Monuments, of which this of Waltham Cross, and a similar practice of the Commissioners for making a Road cross the Kingdome from Newcastle to Carlisle (where the Workmen pull down the Roman Wall, the greatest Work ever done by that magnanimous People, break in pieces the Squared and Carved Stones, Inscriptions, Basso Relievos, Altars, Military Pillars and the like noblest Remains of Antiquity, to make the Road withall, and this, in a Country abounding with Stone) are remarkable and recent Instances, furnish him with a severe and melancholy Reflection on the appearant Danger we are in of relapsing [*sic*] into and being immersed again in Gothic Barbarity. The Resurrection of Learning, he observes, began with the Reformation of Religion; but that Religion in its honest and open Attire now no longer pleases, so true Learning seems to languish and be neglected with it.'

On 15 February 1759 Da Costa tells us² 'William Stukeley M.D. read a dissertation on various Antiquities found at Silbury hill near Abury and Prints and Drawings thereof. . . . The Dr. shewed to the Soc. the old British Iron Bridle found there. In this Dissertation the Dr. asserts the Bridle to be near 5000 years old and the greatest peice of Antiquity extant: that Silbury hill is the tumulus of the British King Chyndonax founder of Abury temple, and is Anterior to the Pyramids. The King's grave was on the top of the hill, and there his bones were found (but quite decayed and rotten) this iron Bridle and some Urns.'

On 22 March 1759 Stukeley showed his wooden model of Stonehenge, made 'many years agoe, when the whole work was as familiar to him as the Alphabet', and told them how he had explored the place with Heneage, Lord Winchelsea and other friends. 'By the help of a ladder they got upon one of the Architraves. These are about 15 ft. long and 7 ft. broad; large enough, he says, for a steady head and nimble heels to dance a minuet on. The Company they had with them dined at the Place, and left their Tobacco Pipes

¹ See above, p. 72.

² B.M. Egerton MS. 2381.

upon it, which he supposes still remain there. . . .’ For the rest of the summer session of 1759 he seems to have read a paper at almost every meeting: often an old paper he had read to the Society years before. The other papers in the same field were often by men of his own generation, such as Vertue’s on castles.¹ Finally on 15 March 1764 Stukeley read a ‘Minute of the Observations made by him on the Giant of Cerne Abbas in Dorsetshire’.

By this time his critical faculties were beginning to fail. As early as 1747 Charles Bertram of Copenhagen had persuaded him to accept his forged manuscript of Richard of Cirencester.² On 18 March 1756 Stukeley read a paper on it to the Society, and persuaded his friends to elect Bertram to their honorary fellowship.

The general taste is better represented by a letter from Mr. Arderon of Norfolk,³ read on 29 May 1766. He gave an account of a stone image he had seen in the church at Walsingham, ‘so miserably defaced by time, yt. it can’t well be said now whether it was designed for a Man or a Woman; yet Tradition, Mr. Arderon says, has handed it down, that it really is the same wch. Thousands of poor deluded bigotted Wretches have travelled many Miles barefooted to see. . . .’ He went on to Holkham, and found the house ‘more like a Town than a House, and . . . magnificent beyond his power of Description’.⁴

English antiquities were frequently represented in the exhibitions, though often with an apologetic comment.⁵ In 1757⁶ ‘James West Esq^r shew’d (more for curiosity than as a peice of Antiquity) a private pocket Book of devotion of Queen Elizabeth, very fairly written tho not by herself although the prayers were of her own Composition were very solemn and fine as appeared by the two English Prayers Dr. Milles publicly read. . . .’ On 7 April in that year Theobald showed an illuminated missal of 1483; ‘the insects and flowers were as if painted by a profess’d Naturalist’.⁷

Most often the exhibits at the Society’s meetings in the seventeenth-century were as various as they had been forty years before. On 20 November 1766, for example, the Fellows present were gratified with the sight of a map of the Caucasus, a fifteenth-century brass jug found at Shap, the drawing of a small bronze figure from Castlesteads, a little Jupiter from Castor near Peterborough, a piece of

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 23091, fol. 13.

² See H. J. Randall, ‘Splendide Mendax’, in *Antiquity*, vii, 1933, p. 49 and Piggott, p. 157.

³ Not F.S.A.

⁴ He wondered why the stone for its building had been brought ‘hundreds of miles’, when some equally good could have been had a few miles off at St. Edmund’s Point.

⁵ When Stukeley exhibited a drawing of the Saxon church at Lincs. on 11 June 1761 it was described as ‘old but beautiful’.

⁶ B.M. Egerton MS. 2381, Da Costa.

⁷ A Book of Hours: B. M. Egerton MS. 2381.

writing by a woman of the MicMac Tribe of Indians in North America, and a letter about discoveries of Etruscan inscriptions at Tarquinii (Corneto).

The Society did little to encourage local archaeology. On 2 May 1754 Theobald moved that the Society should issue a questionnaire, 'in order that the Members may have an Opportunity of Dispersing the same during their Recess in the Country whereby such Gentlemen of Learning and Industry as should be disposed to promote usefull and entertaining researches of those kinds, might be directed in their choice of Materials, and the Society reap the Fruits of their Labours and knowledge'. A committee was appointed to consider the matter, and copies of the questionnaire were printed,¹ but as no report had been received by 11 July Theobald asked for his papers back. Only a full and careful account of Sherborne made in answer to his queries survives.²

It was probably thanks to Vertue's influence that medieval antiquities continued to form the staple of the Society's published engravings. Deeds and seals,³ churches,⁴ castles,⁵ and crosses⁶ continued to be issued. When Vertue's rule ceased there was a marked swing towards antiquity, with lamps,⁷ figurines,⁸ and pavements⁹ of the Roman period.

Some members were of opinion that the Society devoted too much attention to objects and not enough to literary pursuits. On 24 June 1756 Mr. Webb observed 'that there is too often a want of Litterary Communications at the Meetings of the Society, earnestly recommended it to Members, as a proper Remedy to supply such defect, and as what may be of real use and advantage to the Republick of Letters, that they would in the Interval of their Recess, which now approaches, for the Summer Season, Collect and Digest, and from time to time communicate, such critical and Litterary Notes, and observations, not foreign to the purpose of their Institution, as the Course of their Studies and Researches may have occasionally furnished them with. . . .'¹⁰

An interesting suggestion to extend the work of the Society into the modern field was made by Henry Baker in a letter to the

¹ In *Ants. Corr.* 1754. It was on a parochial basis.

² *Ants. Corr.* 1756.

³ *Vetusta Monumenta*, ii. 4 (1751); 6 (1750); 7 (not dated); 15-16 (1755); 19 (1757).

⁴ *Ibid.* 7 (Greenstead and shrine of St. Edmund); 26 (St. Margaret's, Westminster), 1768.

⁵ *Ibid.* 5 (Savoy), 1750; 11 (Sandal Castle), 1753; 12 (Savoy), 1753; 13 (Clithero), 1753; 14 (Savoy), 1754; 23-24 (Richmond), 1765; 25 Placentia, 1767.

⁶ *Ibid.* 8 (Gloucester), 1751; 10 (Doncaster), 1752.

⁷ *Ibid.* 17, 1756; 18, 1757.

⁸ *Ibid.* 18, 1757; 21-22, 1765.

⁹ *Ibid.* 43 (Pittmead), 1788; 44 (Cirencester and Woodchester), 1788.

¹⁰ On 22 Jan. 1756 he had made the sensible proposal that the Society should collect marked sale catalogues.

President dated 14 May 1756,¹ which was considered by the Council on 22 June. He wrote:

'While the Members of this Society of Antiquaries are worthily employed, in searching into the Records of Ancient Times, and spare no Pains to explore and clear up the Monuments and Transactions of Ages past, 'tis greatly to be hoped, they will not be unmindful of handing down to Posterity authentic Memorials of such remarkable Events as have happened, or shall happen within their Own Days: for however commendable it may be to search into Antiquity, it is at least equally Commendable to perpetuate the Transactions of the present Times.

Nothing has been a greater Hindrance to Knowledge, or a more general Failing in Mankind, than a general Supposition that 'tis needless to give Accounts of what every Body knows; whereas that common knowledge of, and assent to Facts, is the strongest Reason why they should be recorded at that very Time when the Truth is out of Doubt; which can never be the Case after a few years; for the Remembrance of many Particulars after a few years must inevitably be lost.

For these Reasons I humbly propose that a Book be provided (to be called the *Chronicle*) wherein to insert the *Memoranda* of the present Century: and that it be strongly recommended to the Gentlemen of this Society, to draw up Accounts, (with the utmost Impartiality and Regard to Truth) of such Matters and Things as may come to their particular Knowledge; to be laid before the Society, and inserted in the said *Chronicle*, after they have been examined, corrected and settled by the Council, and such other Members as shall be desired to assist, with as much Care and Exactness as if they were to be immediately printed.

Few Ages can perhaps afford more Materials for such a Chronicle than the present: Alterations made throughout the whole Kingdom by public Roads and navigable Rivers; the prodigious Enlargement of this great Town by new Squares, Streets, and Buildings, at least equal in Extent to all London within the Walls, the finishing St. Paul's and 50 other Churches, the New Bridge, the Mansion House, the vast Improvements made and now making in the City of Westminster; the various Inventions and Improvements in Arts, Sciences and Manufactures; and numberless other Things which Gentlemen's own Thoughts will readily suggest; particularly every Circumstance relating to the Life, Progress and Establishment of this learned Society. And should any Difficulty be now found in giving clear Accounts of these Matters, that Difficulty is the strongest Argument for the Necessity of recording Facts at the very time they happen. . . .

The Council invited him to repeat the gist of his letter before the Society at its next meeting, but nothing more was done² until on 5 May 1757³ Theobald rose up in wrath 'and in a Speech made

¹ Ants. Corr. As early as 1750 a book 'to Register Facts of Consequence as they might arise' had been proposed (22 Nov.), and Baker had sent up a *ballon d'essai* on further recording on 4 June 1752.

² On 26 May 1757 he presented to the Society two sheets of the first paper made of silk rags, which are still filed in Ants. Corr.

³ B.M. Egerton MS. 2381, Da Costa.

remarks on the Utility of Mr. Henry Baker's proposal formerly made to this Society viz. of a Chronicle or Book to note down the remarkable Occurrences of our own times, e.g. foundations, Chartes, Buildings etc. and as a beginning to said Chronicle read a paper to the Society on the Original and present state of York Street Watergate built by the famous Inigo Jones'.

More than a year later, on 1 June 1758,

'The Secretary laid before the Society a large Folio Paper Book, bound in Calf, and letter'd on the Back, *Chronological Register*, and on the Cover *The Chronological Leger Book of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Provided by Mr. Theobald, and designed for entering such Memoranda of the present Age, as shall be thought worth recording and handing down to Posterity; in pursuance of the Design some times since submitted and recommended to the Consideration of the Society, by Mr. Baker in a Letter address'd by him to the President. In this Book Mr. Theobald made a Beginning, with entering an Acct. of the Rise and Progress of the Society of London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce—'

It appears to have remained the only entry.

The Society even in its exhibitions occasionally turned its attention to the products of its own day. On 12 November 1767 Dean Milles communicated a printed description of the new West Window in his cathedral of Exeter, 'by the ingenious Artist Mr. Peckit of York'. On 2 March in the following year no antiquities were exhibited, but a contemporary Florentine mosaic was shown and a 'curious graved Stone after the Antique Manner by a curious Modern Artist'.

An item of the business of the Society in the middle of the eighteenth century was an official publication of Domesday Book. On 22 December 1755 the Council considered a paper by Philip Carteret Webb on the subject, asking Fellows to send in any copies or transcripts they had, and recommended it for printing² in five hundred copies on writing paper with a large margin, with a view to their eventual publication of the text. This plan had to be given up on grounds of expense, but the scheme was taken up officially. On 19 February 1756 it was reported that a proposal to publish Domesday Book had been referred to the Society by Sir Martin Wright, a Judge of the King's Bench. Discussion of the project continued intermittently for a long time. On 15 December 1757 the Society again decided to send out a printed letter to Fellows asking for any transcripts, copies, or extracts they might have.³ By

¹ The Society of Arts had been founded in 1754.

² See also Council Minutes for 13 Jan. 1756. *A Short Account of some particulars concerning Domesday Book with a view to promote its being published, by a Member of the Society of Antiquaries, read at a meeting of the Society 18 December 1755*, with a preface signed P. C. W., was published in 1756.

³ Copy in B.M. Add. MS. 32325, fol. 145.

this time the Society was in correspondence with the Lords of the Treasury on the question whether Domesday Book should be printed in type or published in facsimile¹ in engraving on copper, and on 30 May 1768 the President and Council formally reported to the Lords Commissioners in favour of engraving on copper. On 18 June 1767 Webb reported that £10,000 had been voted towards an official publication, and asked the help of the Society in finding some lost manuscripts of Arthur Agard's; and on 5 May 1768 announced that the Parliamentary Committee was at work.²

The meetings of the Antiquaries³ were still far from crowded, though they adjourned from the middle of June until the beginning of November. On 4 July 1751 the Secretary recorded: 'A Rainy Day and not Company enough to make a Society'. The 23rd of June 1757 and 6 and 13 November 1760 were entered as 'Blank Meetings'. On 11 February 1762 there were twelve members present, including Stukeley and Horace Walpole, but 'the Weather being very Indifferent, and the President and Vice-Presidents being absent, and no Gentlemen choosing to take the Chair,⁴ the evening was spent in Conversation'. The Secretary often adduced the weather in excuse, as on 12 March 1762; yet though on 2 April 1767 he recorded 'N:B: A dreadful day for Rain and Darkness', fifteen members none the less attended.

On 25 May 1769 the President and all the Vice-Presidents were absent, and all that happened was that Mr. Hollis presented a copy of Piranesi's *Diverse Maniere d'Adornare i Camini* and that part of the will of Henry VII was read.

Sometimes a long meeting of the Royal Society diminished the attendance; on 3 February 1763 only six Fellows were present and no business was done, as many were busy electing the Council of the sister society. When on 3 May 1764 the Royal Society proposed to change its hour of meeting to six o'clock, Stukeley successfully opposed it in the interests of the Antiquaries.⁵ On 27 April 1769, however, the Royal changed its hour, and the Council of the Antiquaries met the difficulty by postponing their own meeting to half-past seven.

On 28 June 1754 Stukeley recorded in his diary the death of that 'most miserable object of dereliction', Martin Folkes.⁶ On 3 July Council was summoned to meet on the 12th to elect a President.

¹ Correspondence in the Public Record Office.

² The edition by Farley published in 1783 seems to have been the first total publication.

³ The Minutes for 19 June, 1766 show that they followed the Law Terms.

⁴ On 9 Apr. 1752 it was agreed that when neither President nor Vice-President was present the Senior Fellow in the Chair should be authorized to admit Fellows. The highest attendance recorded is forty-two on 15 Feb. 1753.

⁵ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 140, fol. 48.

⁶ Ibid. 135, p. 2.

At their meeting they passed an 'Address of Condolance' on Folkes's death. The Secretary, Norris, read from the Chair a recommendation that was to be repeated at many later elections,

'that in their Choice of a fit Person to succeed thereto, they would solely have respect to such Person only, as was most likely to promote the Honour, Business, and Emoluments of the Society, and by his personal Qualifications reflect a Lustre on the Body over which he was to preside. . . . And to render their Election as free, and uninfluenced, as might be, by every other Consideration, he moved that no Person should be publicly put in Nomination; and Proposed as the most unexceptionable Method of giving their Votes, that the same should be done by Ballot. . . .

Each Member took a printed List of the whole Society, and separating the List of the Council from it, privately marked the Person he voted for, by drawing a Line under his Name, and prefixing the Letters PR. to it; and having carefully rolled it up, deposited it in a Hat held out by the Chairman for that Purpose. When the whole were collected, the Chairman proceeded to open them separately in the Presence and under the Inspection of the Members, and gave out the Names, marked as above in the Lists, to the Secretaries, who made a regular Entry thereof. Upon examining the Lists it appeared that Lord Willoughby de Parham was Elected, and he was declared accordingly President of this Society.¹

Lord Willoughby accepted in a most elegant letter,² stressing the fact that another election might be made on the next St. George's Day. In fact when it came he was duly re-elected. He attended more regularly than his noble predecessors, and succeeded, if in rather a colourless fashion, in not being disliked. When he died in January 1765 the Society mourned 'their most accomplished and amiable President'.

Lord Willoughby had need of his amiable qualities, for the Society was far from united. Rawlinson, in particular, as leader of a clique did little for its unity. He disliked Scotsmen so much that he hardly attended so long as Alexander Gordon was Secretary,³ but after 1737 he attended and exhibited regularly. In the spring of 1754 a rival faction endeavoured to get him off the Council; on the eve of the Anniversary Rawlinson wrote to Ballard⁴ to say that if he were not elected he would cancel the bequests he had made to the Society in his will. He was not elected; and in May 1754 he drew up a codicil of exclusion. This he signed, in the Society's chambers and with Ames for witness, on 25 July 1754.⁵

¹ The minutes of the meeting of 18 July reveal that James West was the only other candidate.

² 21 July 1754; *Ants. Corr.*

³ Mr. B. J. Enwright, who has kindly allowed me to read the relevant parts of his thesis on Rawlinson (as yet unpublished), thinks that the clauses against Scotsmen and colonials in Rawlinson's will were inspired by his dislike of Gordon.

⁴ Bodleian, Ballard MS. 2, fol. 257.

⁵ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. B. J. Enwright.

Nor was this all. On 14 December 1754 the *London Evening Post* recorded:

'We hear from the Board of a learned Assembly in Chancery Lane, that there have been many Times clandestinely filch'd away several Papers, of mighty Importance, by some Persons not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, and instigated by the Malice of the Devil: but whether these Purloinments have been made by any of its unworthy Members, or Visitors, being as yet a Secret, it is hereby desired, that such Persons whoever they are, Natives or Foreigners, would read their Catechism and keep their Hands from picking and stealing, lest they should be detected and justly exposed. Proh pudor.'

At the next meeting this was reported to the Society, and it was moved, seconded and passed, that

'the members of the Society present, and all such others as shall be present at every future Meeting till St. Georges Day, be severally, and Publickly, called upon by the Secretary, to answer with respect to their knowledge of the Publication of the said Article; that so every Member who chooses it, may have an opportunity of honorably exculpating himself of the Imputation of so foul an Offence, and that such as shall withdraw without answering, or shall refuse to answer the said Question, be noted down, and reported to the Society. Mr. Ames called over the Members present and reported all solemnly purged themselves of any knowledge of the said Article 'till it appeared in Print. He further reported, That Three, who were on the List of Present for the night, had withdrawn before the Question went round; viz Mr. Umfreville, Mr. Blew, and Dr. Rawlinson; that the two former Gentlemen had retired early, some considerable Time before the Motion relating to the said Question was made; and that Dr. Rawlinson came in while the same was under Consideration, and having heard the Purport thereof, withdrew without waiting to answer for Himself.'

The procedure was again followed on 9 January 1755 and again Rawlinson withdrew; and though it was repeated at every meeting until the Anniversary, he never took occasion to clear himself.

On 6 April Rawlinson died. By his will he had bequeathed to the Society a collection of antiquities and a small estate at Fulham 'on condition that they did not, upon any terms, or by any stratagem, art, means, or contrivance howsoever, increase or add to their (then) present number of 150 members, honorary foreigners only excepted',¹ but by the recent codicil already recorded he not only revoked the bequest but also excluded any Fellow of the Antiquaries or the Royal Society from any benefit from his benefactions to Oxford, including the tenure of the Chair of Anglo-Saxon which he endowed.² The Society had paid dearly for its suspicions.

¹ J. Nichols, *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer*, p. 492.

² This proviso remained in force until 1857 when it was removed on the recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1852. I owe this information to the kindness of the present holder of the Chair, Professor C. L. Wrenn.



Martin Folkes, President 1750-4, by William Hogarth, c. 1745

Royal Society



Outside the Mitre Tavern, by Thomas Shutter Boys, c. 1840

British Museum

Rawlinson was but one of the outstanding Fellows whom death removed from the Society between 1755 and 1765. Maurice Johnson lost his reason and died in 1755. Communications between the Antiquaries and the Spalding Society had ceased two years before,¹ and after Johnson's illness and death the Spalding Society rapidly declined.²

At the end of 1755 the faithful Vertue had to inform the Society that he was too ill to work longer, but would superintend the work of another engraver if the Society would appoint one. The Society was naturally loath to make any change, but on 12 March 1756 Vertue said that he could no longer even superintend. He was much impressed by their 'partial Respect towards him', but must beg them to appoint another engraver. A man named Wood was given a trial, but fell ill and did nothing. On 28 January 1757 the Council resolved (and a subsequent meeting confirmed) that no person appointed Engraver to the Society should be allowed to become or continue a Fellow. The new engraver was balloted for, and James Green was elected.³ He died in February 1759, and James Basire—an admirable choice—was elected in his stead.⁴

At the Anniversary Meeting of 1760 ten deaths were announced from the Chair: they included Joseph Ames and Browne Willis. In June Stukeley read 'an Elogium' on Roger Gale,⁵ who had died in 1744, and Ducarel an account of Browne Willis.⁶

'... During the Course of his long Life he had visited every Cathedral in England and Wales, except Carlisle: which journeys he used to call his Pilgrimages. In his friendships, none more sincere and hearty: always communicative, and ever ready to assist every studious and inquisitive person. This occasioned an Acquaintance and Connexion between him and all his learned Contemporaries. For his mother the University of Oxford, he always expressed the most awful Respect and the warmest Esteem.

... He was strictly Religious, without any mixture of Superstition or Enthusiasm, and quite exemplary in this respect.'

In 1763 eleven deaths were reported, none of them of especially distinguished Fellows. In 1765 the Society lost its President and seven other Fellows. In that year its most engaging and original member, William Stukeley, died on 3 March of a stroke, at the age of seventy-seven. His obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁷

¹ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 6; *Bib. Top. Brit.* iii, p. iii.

² It survived, if with lapses, to celebrate its bicentenary in Oct. 1911, and still meets.

³ Francis Perry was authorized to continue his work on the plates of Folkes's coins.

⁴ 8 Mar. 1759.

⁵ The MS. is bound up with *The Antiquarian Annals* MS. in the collection of Mr. Alexander Keiller.

⁶ This was printed as a pamphlet; a copy was presented to the Society in Nov. 1760.

⁷ xxxv, 1765, p. 211, by Peter Collinson, F.S.A. The plates of Stukeley's *Ancient British Coins* were published, rather badly, by his executor in 1765; yet here for the first time the Roman prototypes are printed alongside the British examples.

described him as 'the arch-druid of his age'. Bishop Warburton wrote to Hurd:¹

'You say true, I have a tenderness in my temper which will make me miss poor Stukeley; for, not to say that he was one of my oldest acquaintance, there was in him such a mixture of simplicity, drollery, absurdity, ingenuity, superstition, and antiquarianism, that he often afforded me that kind of well-seasoned repast, which the French call an *Ambigu*, I suppose from a compound of things never meant to meet together. I have often heard him laughed at by fools, who had neither his sense, his knowledge, nor his honesty: though it must be confessed, that in him they were all strangely travestied.'

The death of George II on 25 October 1760 made little real difference to the Society, but was the occasion of the first 'Address of Condolance and Congratulation' from the Society, which may stand as the type of that still offered on the demise of the Crown.

'To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, the President, Council, and Fellows, of the Society of Antiquaries of London, humbly beg leave to approach Your Majesty with our sincere Condolance, for the Loss, which this Kingdom has sustained, in the Person of your Royal Grandfather, our late Sovereign, of Glorious Memory.

Permit us, Sir, at the same time, to mix our most unfeigned Congratulations with the general Joy of a thankful and united People, who with one Voice, adore the Goodness of Providence, in your Majesty's most auspicious Accession to the Throne of these Kingdoms; and the pleasing prospect of all national Happiness under a Prince, so eminently formed, by Nature and Education, to be the true Delight of his People.

This Society (many of whose Members have contributed to the honour of Your Majesty's native Country, in examining the Records of its Antiquities, and clearing the Evidences of its History) can not, without pleasure, reflect, that the Best of Princes have been our most indulgent Protectors: That this Society was originally formed under the auspicious Reign of that great Princess, Elizabeth; and was first distinguished with the Rights of Civil Incorporation by his late most Excellent Majesty, our Royal Founder and ever honoured Patron and Protector.

Under a Prince who succeeds to all the Titles, and all the Virtues, of these Two very illustrious Monarchs, this Society, in common with many others which are engaged in the Service of Arts and Letters, flatters itself with the hopes of a gracious Continuance of Royal Favour and Patronage. . . .'

On 5 February 'The President reported from the Chair, that the Address of this Society had been presented to His Majesty on Monday last, and that His Majesty was pleased to receive the same

¹ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* ii. 59. Gough, in a letter to his Cambridge correspondent the Rev. Mr. Marten dated 30 Jan. 1769, declared: 'I am as sensible as you can be of all Dr. Stukeley's faults and foibles; but cannot help thinking the public has considerable obligatns. to his industry and application. . . .' Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 4251.

very graciously, and to accept of the Patronage of this Society, and to honour them accordingly with entering His Royal Sign Manual in their Register Book; and that the several Members of the Council, who attended upon this occasion, had the honour of kissing His Majesty's Hand.'

On 5 December 1765 the President reported to Council that the King had inquired after the current work of the Society at a levee. It was at once agreed that a set of the *Monumenta Vetusta* and a copy of Folkes's book on coins, 'elegantly bound in red Morrocco, gilt and border'd, with the King's Arms impress'd thereon, be presented to His Majesty as soon as conveniently may be'.

If the new generation of Antiquaries was less eccentric than their predecessors, it was less original; if more polished, less in touch with reality. Charles Lyttelton, educated at Eton and Oxford, and a barrister before he entered the Church, may stand as the type, since he was elected President on the death of Lord Willoughby de Parham in 1765.¹ He was at that time a man of fifty-one, who had proceeded through a series of rich preferments to the deanery of Exeter and the bishopric of Carlisle. He was a genial and hospitable gentleman, who brought to the study of antiquity good sense and a good memory, but no touch of greatness. Failing health and public duties prevented him from frequent attendance at the Antiquaries' meetings.

In the middle of the eighteenth century most of the notable Fellows were parsons. Philip Morant,² elected in 1755, curate of Great Waltham, might be no more than a compiler of books on Essex history, but his friendship with Edmund Gibson linked him with the early days of the Society. John Taylor, Archdeacon of Buckingham, elected in 1759, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's, Cambridge, and University Librarian and Registry, was almost on his election³ nominated Vice-President and elected Director. He was an excellent classical scholar, but not in the narrower sense an antiquary. He died in 1766, and was succeeded in both offices by Gregory Sharpe,⁴ Master of the Temple, who joined oriental to classical learning but was equally a scholar of a purely literary kind. Samuel Pegge⁵ was an ecclesiastical climber who had picked up a taste for antiquity in the Spalding Club and had cultivated it when he was tutor to the son of Sir Edward Dering at Surrenden. He was elected in February 1751. He was a bad speaker and a clumsy writer, and contributed little, though he remained a Fellow until his death forty-five years later.⁶

¹ He had been elected F.R.S. in 1742/3 and F.S.A. in 1746.

² See Walters, *English Antiquaries*, p. 59.

³ See Brabrook in *Arch.* lxii, 1911, p. 67.

⁴ See Brabrook, loc. cit., p. 68.

⁵ See Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 186.

⁶ His son was elected in the year of his father's death.

The tradition of field work was carried on by a humbler cleric, Bryan Faussett, who had gone to Oxford and been admitted a Fellow of All Souls as Founder's kin. After 1750 he lived at Heppington near Canterbury on his own estate, without a cure, carrying on the tradition of an interest in heraldry and genealogy with a yet stronger interest in the investigation of the sites of the neighbourhood, though few shared in it. He began his investigations¹ late in 1749 at Gilton Town in the parish of Ash near Sandwich, on the site of a Saxon graveyard revealed in the face of a sandpit. He quickly decided against lateral excavation, and prescribed a technique for his chance workmen to follow. 'I . . . advised them . . . to open the ground above, till they should get down to the skeleton, and then carefully to examine the bottom of the grave. This advice, having been used to proceed oven-fashion, if I may so call it, they did not at all relish; but after a little persuasion and a little brandy (without which nothing, in such cases as the present, can be done effectually), they very cheerfully approved and very contentedly followed, so that in a very short time they got to the skeleton. . . .' He left a methodical account of the graves he opened, but it had to wait more than a century for publication.²

There were many doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries, and still more barristers, especially of the Inner Temple. Trade was little represented, but Thomas Wilson, bookseller of Leeds, was elected in 1751.

Another class well represented in the Society at this time was that of the Huguenot families who had established themselves in London after the Revocation. Laurence Echard and Louis de la Haye, elected in 1718, head a list that includes the names of Lethieullier,³ La Motte,⁴ Papillon,⁵ Dubois,⁶ Coltee Ducarel,⁷ Bernard,⁸ Commeline,⁹ Blanshard,¹⁰ Petit,¹⁰ Minet,¹¹ and Tutet.¹² Among these Andrew Coltee Ducarel played the largest part.¹³ He was a Frenchman, born in Normandy, who had been educated at Eton and Oxford. He was a member of Doctors' Commons, and did much ecclesiastical law business, as well as being librarian at Lambeth. He was a stout athletic man, drinking and giving his

¹ See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 1.

² His *Inventorium Sepulchrale* did not appear until 1856, when it was privately printed by C. Roach Smith.

³ 10 Feb. and 17 June 1725.

⁴ 1727.

⁵ 25 Nov. 1735.

⁶ 3 Mar. 1737/8.

⁷ 22 Sept. 1737.

⁸ 10 Dec. 1761.

⁹ 21 Mar. 1765.

¹⁰ 27 Feb. 1766.

¹¹ 9 Apr. 1767.

¹² 26 June 1755. Later admissions of Huguenots represented the families of Vidal, Corbin, Cossart, Le Blanc, Majendie, Motterie, de la Chaumette, Coindet, Fonnereau, Capusac, Levesque, Mercier, Dargent, D'Aubant, Duval, Melieux, and Montolieu.

¹³ See Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 380.

friends much good wine. He worked at the antiquities of Normandy and the coins of Normandy and Aquitaine before his labours at Lambeth turned his interests into the field of the antiquities of the province of Canterbury.¹

If the Antiquaries at this time lacked eccentrics, they at least claimed as Fellow a thorough-paced rogue. Emanuel Mendes da Costa, a Portuguese Jew, was elected F.R.S. in 1747 and F.S.A. in 1751/2. He attended the meetings of both societies very regularly, and kept his own minutes of the proceedings.² In 1764 he instigated an exchange of publications between the two societies.³ By this time he was installed as Clerk and Librarian to the Royal Society. He benefited by his position to appropriate some £1,500 of the Society's funds to his own use.⁴ The Royal Society suspended him on 17 December 1767 and dismissed him a week later. His library and collections were seized and sold, and he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. On 24 March 1768 he was expelled from the Antiquaries for dishonourable conduct.

¹ His memorial tablet was in St. Katherine's-by-the-Tower, and then in St. Katherine's, Regents Park. Its present whereabouts is uncertain.

² B.M. Egerton MS. 2381.

³ 31 May 1764; 21 Mar. 1765.

⁴ See Lyons, p. 169.

IX

THE *ARCHAEOLOGIA*

1769-70

ON the death of the President, Charles Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle, who died in the last days of 1768, the Council met to elect a new President.¹ They unanimously chose his successor in the deanery of Exeter, Dr. Jeremiah Milles, a man of fifty-four. He is the President whose physical aspect is probably most familiar to Fellows. His epicurean countenance gazes at all who enter or leave the Library, in marble only superficially scarred by blasted glass in the last war (Plate XVII).² He may stand as a typical antiquary of the second half of the eighteenth century. Educated at Eton and Oxford, he had spent several years on a Grand Tour. He had been ordained in 1735 and (as nephew of Bishop Pococke) had held several good livings in Ireland until he inherited a fortune in 1750 and returned to England. He had been elected to the Antiquaries in 1751 and had been a member of the Egyptian Society. His marriage to the daughter of Archbishop Potter led to ample preferments, culminating in 1762 in the deanery of Exeter. He contrived, by a system of deputies, to hold all his benefices at once; as he grew older he conveyed the sinecures to his son.

He was, however, more serious and more devoted as an antiquary than as a cleric. His collections on the history of Devon,³ never fully published, are still a mine of information for historians. He was interested in Danish coins, Domesday Book, heraldry, and stained glass; and did only too much to 'improve' his cathedral. A letter from him to Dr. Ducarel, dated 23 July 1763,⁴ records:

'I am now paving the choir of our Cathedral, and adding many decorations to it; a very great undertaking which will employ my time at least for two months to come. In removing the old pavement we met with the lead Coffin of Bp. Burton the immediate Predecessor of Bp. Stapledon in the See of Exeter, who has been

¹ 10 January 1769.

² The Society also owns a portrait in oils said to have been copied by Miss Black from an original in the possession of the family, to the order of the Earl of Leicester. *D.N.B.* xxxvii. 434. Scharf, XLIX.

³ The history, on which he worked from 1754 to at least 1777, was to be on a parochial basis. He sent a printed questionnaire to incumbents and others. His MSS. were bought after his death by the Bodleian Library. See Cresswell in *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, xi. 320.

⁴ Ants. MS. 447, I.

buried about 456 [*sic*]. The top of his lead Coffin being decayd by time, we had an opportunity of seeing the skeleton laying in its proper form, and near the bones of the finger we found a sapphire ring sett in gold: the same no doubt which was given him at his investiture.¹ The stone is considerably large, but not of great value on account of several flaws which are in it. Near this stood a small neat Chalice and Patten of silver gilt, but the damp had destroyed the greatest part of the gilding. A piece of silk or linnen covered the Patten, in the hollow of which was deposited the consecrated hostie wch tho now perished has tinged that part of the cloath with a white circle. In the centre of the patten is engraved a hand with the two fore fingers extended in the attitude of Benediction. I found also the top of the Crozier, which unfortunately being of wood was totally decayd. You will be pleased as an Antiquaryan with the account of these curiosities.²

The Dean was present at the election; and after an elegant eulogy of the deceased President was able, as his executor, to inform the Society that the bishop had left it a large and valuable collection of manuscripts and printed books.³ A motion was thereupon made by Dr. West, and passed unanimously,

‘That in order to manifest and perpetuate their grateful Sense of the many Advantages and Benefits derived to them under the Auspices and Influence of their late most worthy President, and of his very valuable Bequest at his Death; and that the Society might have constantly in View the Semblance of a Personage, so truly and deservedly respected, admired and loved by Them, while living; and bewail’d and honoured by Them at his Death; [cf. Minutes 4 April] an Engraving or Mezzotinto Print of his Lordship, done after the best Painting or Drawing in the Family, be executed at the Society’s expense, and that the ablest Artist in the Kingdom be employed on the Occasion.’³

The election was duly confirmed at the meeting two days later, when Dean Milles repeated his *éloge* on his predecessor.

In 1771 Richard Gough was appointed Director.⁴ He was a Londoner, born in 1735. His mother was a brewer’s heiress; his father had travelled in China and commanded an East Indiaman before becoming a member of Parliament. Richard Gough had begun to write when he was eleven or twelve; his admiring parents had had his work printed for private circulation. At Cambridge his studies had been strictly classical; but in 1756 he began to visit the medieval buildings of East Anglia, beginning at Crowland, and was in consequence converted to the study of English antiquities. Until 1771 he travelled regularly to gain material for a new edition of Camden’s *Britannia*.⁵ He modelled himself, and his itineraries,

¹ It is preserved in the Cathedral Library.

² Printed, *Arch.* i, p. xii.

³ The plate, a mezzotint by James Watson, is the first plate in vol. ii of the *Vetusta Monumenta*. 400 copies were printed (Council, 2 Jan. 1770). Watson was paid fifty guineas, of which Thomas Pitt, Lyttelton’s nephew, paid ten. Council, 4 Apr. 1769.

⁴ See Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 262; Brabrook in *Arch.* lxii, 1911, p. 69; and Walters, *English Antiquaries*, p. 64. He had been elected F.S.A. on 26 Feb. 1767.

⁵ Published in 1789.

on the Stukeleian pattern. He followed him even to Chesterford, and celebrated him and his crop-marks there in verse:

'O Camboritum! On whose ruined walls
No antiquarian ivy ever crawls, . . .
Shouldst thou refuse thy tributary praise
To him who would thy fame from ruin raise;
Perish in deeper gloom thy coins; thy urns
Escape each Antiquary's search, who turns
Thy soil accurst: let scowling East winds blast
The corn, by which alone thy streets are trac'd:
Each feeblest shadow of thy Temple fade,
Involv'd in more impenetrable shade! . . .'¹

Gough was deeply conscious of how much work on the archaeology of England remained to be done. When he published his *Topographical Antiquities* in 1768 he deplored the fact that of forty counties of England eighteen 'have found no Antiquary hardy enough to attempt their general illustration'.²

'Those who have hitherto treated our topographical antiquities [he wrote]³ seem to have trodden only in mazes overgrown with thorns, neglecting the flowery paths with which the wilderness of obscurity is diversified. Incorrect pedigrees, futile etymologies, verbose disquisitions, crowds of epitaphs, lists of landholders, and such farrago, thrown together without method, unanimated by reflections, and delivered in the most uncouth and horrid style, make the bulk of our county histories. Such works bring the study of antiquities into disgrace with the generality and disgust the most candid curiosity. . . .

Among the desiderata therefore of our antiquarian knowledge, must be reckoned a *notitia* of our forts and castles, with faithful representations, from the earliest date to the last century, which levelled so many. . . .

One cannot enough regret the little regard hitherto paid to Gothic architecture of which so many beautiful models are daily crumbling to pieces before our eyes. . . . Had the remains of antient buildings been more attended to we should before now have seen a system of Gothic architecture in its various aeras; we should have had all its parts reduced to rules; their variations and their dates fixed together. . . .⁴

We penetrate the wilds of Europe, and the desarts of Asia and Africa, for the remains of Grecian, Roman, and earlier architecture, while no artist offers himself a candidate for fame in preserving those of our forefathers in their own country. . . .

Our enlightened age laughs at the rudeness of our ancestors, and overlooks

¹ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 334.

² p. ix. He records, however, that in the eighteenth century a number of cities had had their history recorded, and lists Feversham, Lynne, Thetford, York, Halifax, Stamford, Nottingham, Maidstone, Colchester, Waltham, Dunwich, Buckingham, Worcester, Arundel, and Leicester. *Ibid.*, p. xi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

⁴ In 1760 J. H. Muntz offered to make the illustrations that should make this possible, but too few subscribers offered themselves for the plan to be proceeded with.

the manners of that rank of men whose simplicity is the best guardian of antiquity. Innumerable lights may be drawn from local customs and usages, which are generally founded on some antient fact, and serve to guide us back to truth.'

Besides researches into Roman Stations,¹ Gothic architecture, secular and ecclesiastical, the introduction and development of building in brick, sepulchral monuments, and heraldic glass, he also desiderated a detailed study of medieval epigraphy, and systems of dating illuminated manuscripts, and early topographical paintings.

He wrote a 'character' of himself² in which he declared, 'that independence which he gloried in possessing as his inheritance, and which he maintained by a due attention to his income, discovered itself in his opinions and his attachments. As he could not hastily form connexions, he may seem to have indulged strong aversions. But he could not accommodate himself to modern manners and opinions; and he had resources within himself, to make it less needful to seek them from without.'

His friends loved him for his kindness and wit; only the Walpole faction found rudeness in his quickness of mind. Cole wrote to Walpole:³

'I entirely agree with you in your notions of Mr. Gough. Mr. Farmer of Emmanuel, a most sensible, reasonable man, told me three or four months ago that he thought the worse of the Society for making him the Director, who, he said, was noways equal to such a task. I thought as he did, and assure you I never met with a poorer creature or duller mortal. How they came to pitch on such an animal is inconceivable, and yet his book [*British Topography*] is entertaining and useful.'

A man of such broad interests and so inquiring a temperament, comfortably off and full of energy,⁴ was eminently fitted to bring new life into the Society; and with the benign assent and indeed encouragement of Jeremiah Milles he quickly began to do so. Since he held the Directorship for twenty-six years, he had time to bring his projects to full fruition.

The enterprise for which Milles and Gough will always be remembered is the extension of the Society's activities in publication. It had published the *Registrum Honoris de Richmond* as early as 1722, but since then it had printed nothing but the Charter in 1752, various ephemera, and short explanatory texts to accompany some of the plates of *Vetusta Monumenta*. The idea of further literary

¹ See an interesting letter from him to his Cambridge correspondent, the Rev. Mr. Marten, dated 30 Jan. 1769, in Cambridge University Library Add. MS. 4251, in which he also writes of a *corpus* of medieval inscriptions.

² Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 304.

³ 3 May 1773; Lewis, i. 311. See also his letter of 19 May 1774, *ibid.*, p. 327.

⁴ He contributed sixteen papers to *Archaeologia*, ii-xi, and contributed largely to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, often over the initials N. H.

publication had, however, been in the air for a long time. As early as 1753 a *ballon d'essai* had been sent up. At the meeting on 8 March

'The Revd. Mr. Pegge by Mr. Bowyer and Dr. Ducarel presented a Manuscript, relating to the Anglo Saxon Coins, offering it for their acceptance to Print; if they shall think proper.

The thanks of this Society were ordered to be given Mr. Pegge for his kind offer; but that it is not consistant with the Institution of this Society to Print any entire Work of so large a Bulk at their Expence; wch. was accordingly Balloted for and carried in the affirmative.'¹

At the meeting on 10 May a further *démarche* was made:

'Mr. Baker made a Motion again seconded by Mr. Colebrooke That Gentlemen be desired to give some Account or Description in Writing of whatsoever they shall think fitt to communicate to this Society at the time of its Communication whereby a more particular knowledge of each Subject may [be] obtained, the Minutes may be drawn up with more Ease and Exactness by the Secretary, and Materials may be got together, which may hereafter be an Honour to this Society.'

Mr. Baker clearly had in mind the accumulation of learned papers, though he did not mention publication. Gale, however, spiked his guns by declaring that what he proposed had been the Society's usual custom, and carried the meeting with him.

The general feeling of the Society was not so easily quieted. On 28 June a motion was made, seconded and passed, 'That Dr. Ward, Dr. Ducarel, Mr. Collinson, Mr. Locker, Mr. Webb and Mr. Mores be a Committee to Look into the Papers formerly Communicated to the Society; and select out such as they shall think deserving to be Printed at the Societies Expence; and they are to meet from time to time and Report their Opinion from time to time, as they shall think proper, to the Society. And any other Member who shall attend, are to be of the Committee.'

Several of the members were not in favour of any change, and nothing was done until, at the meeting of 10 January 1754, the committee was asked to meet and report. Its report came in on 18 January,² suggesting a number of papers that had already been communicated as suitable for publication. A section of the Society still opposed the scheme, and on 9 May a general order was made at a meeting that no paper read to the Society should be printed without the author's leave.

¹ Cf. a letter from Dr. John Ward to an unnamed peer, dated 22 Nov. 1753, very politely refusing on behalf of the Society to publish his *Journal to Mount Sinai and Remarks on the Origin of Hieroglyphics*. B.M. Add. MS. 6219, fol. 25.

² Ants. Corr. They mention no papers earlier than 1719, i.e. those still in the possession of the Society. A report of the Library Committee of 19 Apr. 1853 suggests that all papers relating to State affairs and private history were to be omitted, even when the private history was that of a historically important family.

At the Council held on 10 January 1755 Dr. Ward presented a further memorial on the subject, in which the difficulties generally felt about such publication were clearly set forth.

‘While this Society consisted only of a number of Gentlemen who met voluntarily to converse together upon Subjects chiefly relating to British Antiquities, their more immediate object seems to have been rather their own entertainment, and mutual advantage arising from these conferences, than any prospect, which they could then have, of communicating their researches to the Publick. And accordingly we find a large number both of Drawings and Discourses relating to those subjects, deposited in the Registers and other books of the Society which have never yet been brought to light. . . .

But as they had no legal right of securing to themselves the Copies of any Discourses published by them, they never attempted anything of that kind, as a Society. And this possibly might be one reason, why our late worthy President, Martin Folkes Esquire, printed his valuable Tables of English Coins at his own Expence, with a copy of which he was afterwards so generous, as to oblige the several Members of the Society.

But since his Majesty has been pleased to shew that regard to the Society, as not only to grant them a Charter of Incorporation, but also to declare himself their Patron; they are now become a more respectable Body, and rendered capable of doing greater service to the Publick, in things relating to their institution, than was before in their Power. This Charter does in the general agree with that of the Royal Society, which was doubtless a very proper pattern to copy after; but in one very material instance they differ greatly, and that is, with regard to the Powers granted to the Council. For by the Charter of the Royal Society the Council is intrusted with the management of the Revenues belonging to the Society; and the application of their Money, as they shall find occasion to employ it. They are also impowered to print any such papers, as have been read before the Society, upon subjects relating to their institution, which upon a review they shall think worthy to be communicated to the Publick . . . whereas the Council of this Society is neither by their Charter, nor Statutes, intrusted with either of these advantages.

But as the Public will now expect to find many new discoveries and improvements made in things relating to our British history and antiquities, from the joynt labours and researches of a Society thus legally formed, and encouraged by the Royal Patronage; these expectations can no otherwise be satisfied, than by appointing some of the Members to select, and order for Publication, such discourses or other matters relating to antiquity, as shall appear to them the most subservient to that end. And who more proper for the management of this important service than the Council of the Society? Tho’ indeed they can no other way be inabled to carry it into execution, than by being intrusted likewise with the management of the revenues. For money will very frequently be wanting to answer the demands of printers, booksellers, engravers and other Persons, with whom they must necessarily be concerned. Nor can the Society possibly run any risk by intrusting the Council with the disposal of their money, since they are not only chosen annually, but their accounts likewise audited within the same time.

The Society have at several of their late Meetings had under consideration

a design of printing and publishing several of those discourses relating to matters of Antiquity, which were read before them, and are copied into their Books, according to the order of time in which they are registered. But as the manner of executing this design had not yet been agreed on, the Council thought it not improper to propose the above method of doing it, which requires nothing more, as they apprehend, to recommend it, than the great success, and general approbation it has met with in the Royal Society.'

The Council returned their thanks for Dr. Ward's 'kind trouble and Condescension' and asked him to lay his considerations before the next meeting of the Society. He did this on 16 January, adding a draft of the Statutes that would be required to put his scheme into effect. The proposal was well received. The Society ordered his paper to be printed and sent to Fellows resident near London.¹ It was read at two subsequent meetings and was finally passed on 13 February, with the proviso that the Committee on Publications should decide by ballot what was to be printed.

After all this, little happened, except that on 20 February 1755 Stukeley presented the Society with Samuel Gale's old paper on the horn of Ulph, read in 1718, and Mr. Bowman expressed a wish to withdraw all the papers he had submitted to the Society as being written for their private entertainment 'with much freedom of Sentiment, and Expression', and therefore 'unfit for a solemn and more publick appearance in so lax a Dress'.

In June 1760, when Stukeley read the second of his accounts of the Society, he was in great hopes of having it printed, together with the obituaries of Browne Willis and Gale, and indeed set a printer's name on the title-page.² Da Costa records:³ 'After which were many Speeches made by the V.P. James Parsons M.D., William Stukeley, M.D., Andrew Coltee Ducarel DLL, myself and others pro and con about printing the Elogiums of Members.' 'The printing was recommended by the meeting to the Council but nothing done', laments Stukeley; 'it was said by some members that it was time after 44 years elapsed since the foundation of the Society, that some public testimony of their meetings shd. appear.'⁴

On 10 June 1762 another committee was appointed, under Stukeley's chairmanship. He found the work a pleasure, and wrote in his diary in July:⁵ 'We are now in a Committee to examine the minute books of the Society, to see what papers are fit to be printed. It is a plesure to me, to read the first Minute book which I wrote myself, Secretary for 9 years. I am the Chairman as oldest Member.'

¹ Copies in the library of the Society of Antiquaries and in Bodleian Misc. Top. Lond. c. 2, fol. 187.

² Keiller MS.: 'Jo. Baillè.' A letter from Cole to Ducarel notes the practice of the French Academy in printing *éloges* as a precedent. B.M. Add. MS. 5830, fol. 201, quoted Jenkins, *Dragon of Whaddon*, p. 215.

³ B.M. Egerton MS. 2381; 12 June 1760.

⁴ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 139, p. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 140, fol. 7.

The committee duly reported on 11 November 1762. The report drawn up by Stukeley¹ is of particular interest as the last contribution to the Society's administrative business of one who had taken part in its refounding in 1717.

'A Report from the Committee appointed by the Antiquarian Society, to inspect thir [*sic*] minutes and papers, made by Dr. Stukeley Chairman of the said Committee.

1. We observe, that in reading over the minutes of the Society, wh. we resolved on, without omitting any thing; that the chief business there done, in its first estate, consisted in *Exhibits*; every member, or whoever was admitted to be present, brought, from time to time, whatever they had of their own, or of their frds. that was curious, and worthy to be produced, before a Society of Antiquarys. Such as coins, medals, books, MSS., seals, intaglias, onyxes, cameos, deeds, rolls, records, genealogys, extracts, memorandums, pictures, drawings, antique instruments, such as those of the Druids, called Celts, sacrificing knives, sketches of old incampments, *lares*, and many more.

2. The Dr. who is the only surviving Founder, observes, the Society sat about a large round Table, in the Miter tavern Fleet Street. Much of the entertainment consisted, in handing round the Table, the several *Exhibits*; whereby every person present had a proper opportunity of viewing, considering and speaking upon each particular, till at length it came round to the president, who restored it to the owner.

The Dr. takes this occasion to mention the great inconvenience, on many accounts, of the present construction of the Tables, in the Society's room; by reason of the break between the President's Table and the others.

3. Your Committee observes, that the minute books of the Society contain a very great treasure of an infinity of curious particulars, in all kind of Antiquitys, there commemorated: with the names of the several possessors, many of them may, at this day, be traced and recovered. But the Minute books must in general, be lookd on only as faithful records of what they contain. The Dr. particularly vouches, for that part wh. was written by his own hand, during the nine years, he was Secretary, and what discourses he is there mentioned to have read, of any consequence, he still has by him, and the Society may command them, or any of them, when they purpose printing, particularly his disc[ourse] on the old Druid Celts: another on a silver Ro. plate found at Risley park Derbyshire.

4. The Dr. takes notice of Mr. Sam. Gale's disc. on *Ulphus's* horn being read before the Society, and was order'd to be printed, but Mr. Gale declin'd printing it, for a particular reason. After Mr. Gale's death, the Dr. found the disc. among his papers, he being executor; and gave it to Dr. Ward, for the use of the Society, and there's no reason now, why it may not be printed.

5. The Dr. observes, in March 1724, the Society resolv'd itself, into a Committee, for collecting accounts, of all antient coins, under the different titles of Brittish, Roman, Saxon, Danish, English coins. Several members gave in thir names, to one or more of these Classes, acc. to their option. The Dr. undertook the affair of the Brittish coins, and pursued it in earnest. He took

¹ The report in the Meetings Minute Book is a good deal shorter than that in Stukeley's hand in the Antiquaries' Library (Green portfolio).

drawings in a book of all the Brittish coins in *Sr. Hans Sloans* cabinet and elsewhere, and ever since, he has not lost sight of the inquiry. Moreover he has now ingrav'd XV plates of Brittish coins, 10 in each plate, wh. together with the MS. disc. thereon, he offers to the Society, to be published, along with their Treatise of English coins. If they think fit to accept of the offer, he reserves to himself ten copies.

6. The Dr. observes, there are in the first Minute book, very many drawings, wh. he made, from time to time, whilst Secretary, of curious antiquitys exhibited. On looking over them again, he thinks them exact enough, and may occasionally be copied, as also some others made in the Books after he left the Town.

7. The Dr. judges, there are many things worthy of being committed to the Press, in the name of the Society, when thir Fund is a little increas'd: he means as to their Finances, but as the committee had no particular directions in that view, we took no general note concerning them. But he apprehends several persons of the Committee most commonly present, did make some particular remarks of that nature; and wil read them before the Society: whence some judgment may be form'd about 'em.'

Unhappily Stukeley died, and the Society chose next to submit the question to the President. Charles Lyttelton was never an active man. On 21 May 1765

'The President was pleased to inform the Council, that, pursuant to his Promise at their last Meeting, he had taken such a general, tho' cursory view of the Papers enter'd on their Register Book, as the Circumstances of the Time and his particular Avocations would allow, and accordingly, his Lordship spoke to the subject of each Article, and gave in a short Note of such casual observations as occur'd to him at the time of reading. But his Lordship conceiving, that so slight a Review being incapable of giving any Idea adequate to the several Subjects there handled, or the method of treating them, and could be neither satisfactory to himself or others, so as to build any Opinion thereon, he recommended, as the safest Method to obtain their purpose, that the Book might be put during the ensuing long Vacation, into the Hands of such Members of the Council more particularly conversant in the Matters there treated of, who should report at large their Opinions to the Council when they resume their Winter Meetings. . . .'

Such dilatory inspections bore little result, but eventually, in February 1768, a selection of papers was put into the Director's hands. He reported a year later¹ that 'the better to methodize the same', he had arranged them in three classes.

'The first Class comprehended such, as he deemed more immediately deserving the consideration of the Council, in order to present Publication.

Under the second Class he ranged such as either from the abstruse Nature of the Subject, inadequate Method of treating it, Inaccuracy or other Defect, required further Discussion and Dilucidation before committing the same to the Press; and therefore might be postponed to the future Consideration of the Council.

¹ Council, 28 Feb. 1769.

Under the third Head, or Class, he placed those, which tho' curious in themselves, and proper to remain in the Hands of the Society, are not however of sufficient Moment to claim a Place in the present Publication.

The Council therefrom proceeded to take into Consideration the several Papers, as they were ranged and classed by the Director; and having read the Titles thereof, as also some of the most curious Papers themselves at large; the Resolutions of the Council with respect thereto were indorsed on each Paper respectively, and such as were directed for immediate Publication were put into the hands of Dr. Morell, who has the care of that Department.'

The project was one after Gough's own heart; already, in his *Topographical Antiquities*, he had pleaded for the establishment of an antiquarian periodical miscellany. Not long after the publication of his book Milles, now President, decided that Gough was to write the introduction to the volume. By June 1769 Milles was grappling with North's unwillingness to disgorge the material in his care, and facing the fact that he admitted the destruction of an important part of it. On 30 June the President wrote to Gough from London:¹

'Dear Sir,

By much solicitation I have procured from Mr. North the enclosed materials relating to the origin and History of our Society. You will see by Mr. North's letter that we have unfortunately been deprived of other valuable informations on the same point. The zeal you have for the honour of the Society, and the abilities wch you can employ in their service, engage me to put these papers into your hands, hoping that you will give yourself the trouble of doing the favour to draw up an introductory Discourse on the History of the Society, for which no one is better qualified, and to which office you are destined by the united voice of all its members. Dr. Morell has Stukeley's acct. in his hands,² which with every kind of materials that can be collected for this purpose shall be delivered to you and the leisure of the summer will I flatter myself give you an opportunity of compleating it before our meetings begin in the winter. Be pleased to consult the Index of the Harleian MSS, it will direct you to an acct. of the Society in 1717. I ran it over but have forgot the reference to the MS. ...'

Gough replied on 13 July:³

'Not having recd. Mr. North's papers till my return, I had not an opportunity of answering it sooner. I cannot sufficiently regret the Loss the public in general and the Society in particular have sustained by yt. unhappy event in our worthy member's life. Since you Sr and the Society are pleas'd to commission me to repair it as far as lies in my power it becomes my duty to execute the Commission to the best of my ability. Sensible how few materials I am possess'd of I can pretend to no other merit than yt. of arranging such as shall be put into my hands. I find the paper about the Founder and Patrons of the Society (the Abps. Parker and Whitgift) was comm'd by Mr. North to Mr. Masters who printed it in his history of Benet C. p. 51 no. 29. Some other memoirs of members may

¹ Ants. MS. 447. I.

² Evidently Ants. MS. II.

³ Ants. MS. 447. I.

be pickt up in Dr. Smith's life of Sr. R. Cotton; and I shd. think it not improbable yt the volume Collns. by the same hand among Hearne's Collections at Oxford wd. furnish more if ever I procure access to them. All I can find in the Index to the Harleian Catalogue is only a list of the Societys prints under the art. of Antiq. Soc. Any material or letters left for me with Mr. Brown bookseller now remov'd to the corner of Essex Street in the Strand will come safely to the hands of

Yr obedient humble
Servant
R. GOUGH.

If it is design'd to fill up the interval between the suppression and revival of the Society by any short memorial of eminent Antiquaris I could wish to receive as many *new* particulars about them as possible.'

On 2 August Gough wrote to Milles again about the people named in Bolton's petitions,¹ and the problem of who might have constituted a Society between that time and Wanley's foundation.² Milles replied³ with elegant expressions of gratitude and a few references to Wood's *Athenae* and Prince's *Worthies*, and a suggestion that Gough has been too charitable in compiling his list of antiquaries.

'I would not admit every person to that honour who pretends to write a county history, and Erdeswicke seems to have been one of that kind, but there are here and there some eminent ones who ought to be taken notice of. Sr. Wm. Pole of this county was at least equal to Carew or Norden, but I would not admit either Risdon or Westcot to this honour, who were chiefly plagiarists and men of moderate abilities. Sr. Wm. lived abt. the beginning of the last century, and his survey of Devon (independent of other works) shows him to have been a good Antiquary. . . .

Have you seen that MS in the British Museum relative to the revival of our Society in 1717? . . .'

On 30 November⁴ Gough wrote to Milles to say that North's papers were being dealt with, but that he had received nothing from Morell. On 18 February 1770⁵ he was able to send the President a draft of the Introduction for his revision before it was submitted to Council. Three days later Milles revealed the whole scheme to that body, and read Gough's manuscript to them.

'The Council thereupon expressed their full Approbation thereof, and the just Sense they had of Mr. Gough's Merit, and their particular Obligation to him for the laudable Industry and Pains he has exerted on this Occasion, and the Judgement he has shewn in this Performance, and recommended it to the President to signify the same to him.

¹ Letter in Ants. MS. 447. 1.

² He provides a longish list alphabetically arranged.

³ Letter in Ants. MS. 447. 1.

⁴ Draft of letter in Ants. MS. 447. 1.

⁵ Ibid. Gough's MS. of the Introduction is Bodleian MS. Misc. Top. Lond. c. 2, fols. 139-95.



Dr. Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, President 1768-84, by
John Bacon, R.A.

Society of Antiquaries



The Houses in the Rolls Yard before their demolition in 1892

By courtesy of R. H. Ellis, Esq., F.S.A.

Order'd.

That Mr. Gough's History of the Origin and Revival of this Society be forthwith printed, and prefixed to the Volume of Archaeologia now in the Press, and that the Method of printing the same, and correcting the Press, be solely under Mr. Gough's direction.'

The minute reveals that the title had already been decided on and that the volume was in an advanced state of preparation. On 1 June 1770 the Council:

'Took into Consideration the Publication of Papers

Agreed, That the Tittle Page to the Volume, now in the Press, be

Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Vol. I.

Price 15^s in Sheets.

Sold at the House of the Society, and by Messrs. Ulleston, White, Robson, Baker, and Leigh, and Brown, Booksellers.

Order'd,

That by way of Embellishment of the Tittle Page, there be inserted a Print of the Common Seal of the Society, from an Engraving made thereof on Copper: And the Secretary was directed to give Orders accordingly for such Engraving to be made.¹

Order'd,

That as soon as the said Volume shall be ready for Publication, the same be forthwith advertized for Sale, and that the allowance to the Booksellers employed in the Sale thereof, be £10 the cent. upon the Books sold by them.

Order'd,

That a copy of the said Work, neatly bound in Red Morocco, with gilt Leaves and Borders, and richly ornamented, be got ready as soon as possible, and presented to His Majesty, and it was recommended to the President to present the same accordingly.

Order'd also,

That copies neatly bound, be presented, viz. one to the Royal Society; one to the British Museum; one to the Manheim Society; one to Mr. Meerman, Counsell of State, and Syndic of Rotterdam; one to Mr. Schmidt Jun^r of Bern; one to the Rev. Mr. Reece, Rector of Codrington Herefordshire. One to the Rev. Mr. North who furnished some usefull Materials towards the History of the Society.

Order'd, that Three copies extra of the said Work be presented to Mr. Gough, in consideration of his kind Assistance and Trouble in the Publication thereof, and thanks were also given him upon the Occasion.

Resolved,

That every present Member of the Society duly paying his annual Contribution money; and every Person who shall be elected a Member before the Publication of the said Work, duly paying his Admission Fee is and shall be, intituled to a Copy thereof *gratis*. . . .'

¹ On 10 Jan. 1771, the Council ordered 'that the Border, or Bendlet, which appears round the Shield of the Common Seal of the Society, be erased in the future Impressions of the Engraving made thereof'.

The volume duly appeared in 1770, prefaced by Gough's account of the Society.¹ This starts with a definition of the provinces of the historian and the antiquary which shows how far aspects of the study of the past were beginning to be differentiated.

'The arrangement and proper use of facts is *HISTORY*;—not a mere narrative taken up at random and embellished with poetic diction, but a regular and elaborate inquiry into every ancient record and proof, that can elucidate or establish them. For want of these, how large a proportion of history from the Creation of the world to the present age, remains yet to be sifted by the sagacity of modern Criticism! To this neglect is owing, that we have no more certainty about the first ages of Rome than of Mexico; and if the same darkness overspreads the early periods of our own history, it is from the same cause. The only security against this and the accidents of time and barbarism is, to record present transactions or gather the more ancient ones from the general wreck. The most indistinct collection has this merit, that it supplies materials to those who have sagacity or leisure to extract from the common mass whatever may answer useful purposes. Here begins the province of the *ANTIQUARY*, who will never be deemed an unserviceable member of the community, whilst curiosity or the love of truth subsists, and least of all, in an age wherein every part of science is advancing to perfection, and in a nation not afraid of penetrating into the remotest periods of their origin, or of deducing from it any thing that may reflect dishonour on them, or affect either their civil or religious rights. Our neighbours, the French, have instituted the like enquiry² but they are indebted to us for the idea of a Society, whose peculiar object was to trace the Antiquities of their country through every branch, to preserve the memory of all who had deserved well of it by their noble actions, prudent counsels, useful inventions, or extensive knowledge. . . .'

The volume thus prefaced was a retrospective and largely commemorative collection of papers, starting with a paper on beacons that Ward had read to the Society in March 1749 and proceeding to other papers given as early as 1736. The most recently delivered paper it included was one on the Wardrobe Account for 1483 read by Dean Milles in March 1770.³ There is an evident attempt to cover the range of the Society's interests, beginning with a paper 'On the first peopling of this Island (by the posterity of the sons of Japhet)', and proceeding through several papers on Roman roads, inscriptions and stations, and on Anglo-Saxon bracteate at Oxford and the horn of Ulph, to the Middle Ages. It is the medieval papers that have worn best: John Loveday's observations on shrines,

¹ A few errors relating to the Elizabethan Society are corrected in the version he produced nineteen years later in the 'Life of Camden' that serves as preface to his edition of the *Britannia*.

² 'The Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres, instituted in the middle of the last century to record the progress of Louis XIV's ambition, when these subjects ceased, extended its plan in 1718 to inquiries after the Antiquities of France and other kingdoms in general; and agreeably to its name, connected Philology with Antiquity, —There was a College of Antiquaries at Upsal in the middle of the last century.'

³ By a printer's error a paper is on p. 292 said to have been read in 1796; it should be 1766.

largely based on the *Rites of Durham*, and the annexed paper by Smart Lethieullier on the shrine of St. Hugh at Lincoln; Vertue's dissertation on the monument of Edward the Confessor and the Westminster Retable; Stukeley on the destroyed church known as the Sanctuary at Worcester, and on Lesnes Abbey; James Theobald on St. Peter's in the East; Daines Barrington on the Welsh castles, to prove that they were built by Edward I; and Milles's paper on the introduction of building in brick into England, can all still be read with profit. The Elizabethan period is well represented, if chiefly by documents. The most recent period studied is the seventeenth century, in an account of the Irish Rebellion of 1641. The foreign interests of the Society are represented by papers on antiquities at Rome and Bordeaux, a paper in French by F. S. Schmidt of Berne on an Egyptian colony at Athens, and another in Latin by the same writer on a passage in Lucian.

The volume concludes with an admirable index.

On 5 July 1770 'The President reported, That he had the honour of presenting to His Majesty, the last Levy Day, the 1st Vol. of the Society's *Archaeologia*, neatly bound in red Morocco, & gilt; and that His Majesty was pleased to receive the same very graciously'.

X

TASTE AND LEARNING

1770-9

THE publication of the *Archaeologia* brought the Society before the public, but did not change its ordinary routine. After 4 May 1769 the Minutes no longer record the names of Fellows attending the meetings; but the number of their Fellowship increased to 173 in 1764 and to 290 in 1774. A distinguished cleric as President continued to attract a considerable number of parsons; four, for example, were elected on 6 April 1769.¹ The increase in numbers made the Council a little anxious lest the standards of suitability for candidature should be lowered. On 31 March 1770 they moved:

‘That it is the Opinion of this Council that no Person for the future ought to be propounded and put in Nomination as a Candidate for Election into this Society, but upon the personal knowledge of the Members subscribing such Nomination, such knowledge being certified in the Body of the Testimonials presented to the Society on these Occasions.’²

In the following January the Council proposed, and the meeting passed, a resolution that the annual subscription should be raised to a guinea and a half, and the composition fee to fifteen guineas, in order to meet ‘the extraordinary Expences incurred of late years by the Publication of the Society’s Works, whereby it appears, that the several Members have received in some Years to the full Amount of, or even more than, the sums they were liable to pay in those Years’.

In November 1775 the death of Josiah Colebrooke, the Treasurer, was announced, and on the 23rd Edward Bridgen, a London merchant, was unanimously elected in his stead. In May 1777 the Council proposed, and the meeting agreed, that a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting should be required for election, instead of a bare majority, and that the admission fee should be raised to five guineas, the annual subscription to two guineas, and a bond entered into for thirty pounds ‘for due and regular payment

¹ Forty-one parsons were elected Fellows between 1755 and 1785, as against twenty-eight doctors and surgeons.

² The matter came up again in June 1773, when the requirements were somewhat relaxed. Letter from Milles to Gough, 12 June 1773 in Ants. MS. 447. 1.

of annual contribution money'. Compounders were to pay twenty-one guineas. Members who were two years in arrears were to be sent three notices of the fact, and then, if they had not paid, be amoved.¹ It was further agreed that only three sponsors should be needed for a candidate's papers, and that these need not sign from personal knowledge if they knew the candidate's works.² On 14 June Dr. Lort wrote to the Rev. William Cole:³ 'This proposal was carried last Thursday sennight, 31 for to 10 against it. It is proposed by the help of this new Assessment not only to print the *Archaeologia*, but to revive the former custom of giving annually an Engraving of some remarkable antiquity.'

Milles felt strongly about the change. When in 1777 Nathaniel Hillier resigned from the Society, the Dean wrote to Gough:⁴ '... Mr. Hillier I remember was a violent opposer of the late rise of the annual contributions. He has no objection to receiving twice the value of it in Prints and books but has no thought of the credit of the Society and of the manner in which the funds for these things are to be supported. I consider this as the effect of a selfish spirit, for he never attends the Society unless it be to vote on some of those points which he thinks affect his pocket. I am glad he has withdrawn his name. The Society receives no honour by continuing such persons on their List.'⁵

The financial results of the amendments were eminently satisfactory. The Society's investments in Consols crept up from £800 in 1772 to £2,400 in 1780, with in both years a balance in the Treasurer's hands of some £270. The Fellows elected were as varied and distinguished and more numerous than before. 'Dr. Benjamin Francklin [*sic*] of Philadelphia, a gentleman well known to the learned world by his ingenious discoveries in Electricity', was elected an ordinary Fellow on 13 May 1773. Joseph Banks, the botanist and traveller, who was from 1778 to rule over the Royal Society until his death in 1820, was elected in 1766. Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., was elected to the Society in 1772,⁶ Valentine Green the mezzotinter in 1775,⁷ and Sir William Chambers the

¹ On 21 Jan. 1773 members were in arrears to the amount of £350. 10s. and the Treasurer was asked to take steps about it.

² On 19 June the privilege of immediate election was extended to the eldest sons of peers.

³ Cited in *Ants.* MS. 270(2) (Henry Ellis).

⁴ *Ants.* MS. 447. I.

⁵ On 26 Jan. 1779 the Council authorized the engraving and printing of a diploma on vellum to be sent to Honorary Fellows, but there is no record of the motion being carried into effect. On 29 Mar. 1791 the question came up again, and on 5 Apr. it was agreed that a diploma was 'to be engraved by Mr. Longmeet in a plain writing hand', and that the first letter should be ornamented.

⁶ 26 Mar.

⁷ 26 Jan. In 1809 he had to write to the Secretary that he could no longer afford to pay his subscription, and was excused his arrears and released from his bond. *Ants.* Corr. and Council, 30 May 1809.

architect in 1776.¹ The Rev. Thomas Warton, the Oxford Professor of Poetry, was elected in 1771.² A considerable number of fine gentlemen likewise joined the Society after 1770, probably with the wish of adding the *Archaeologia* to their libraries.³

Among the Fellows who were more strictly antiquaries, the most eminent county historian was Edward Hasted, who published his *History of Kent* in four volumes between 1778 and 1799. Sir Egerton Bridges described him:⁴ 'He is a little mean-looking man with long face and high nose; quick in his movements and sharp in his manner. He had no imagination or sentiment, nor any extraordinary quality of mind, unless memory.' Another man engaged on a county history was the Rev. Owen Manning, who was elected in 1770.⁵ He began a history of Surrey in 1763, when he was incumbent of Godalming. Unfortunately he went blind and his book was not published in his lifetime.⁶

The old tradition of the parson-antiquary was carried on by the Rev. William Cole, who got his living of Bletchley through the patronage of Browne Willis, and was a correspondent of Walpole's.⁷ He worked at registers and cartularies and heraldry, and studied antiquity in village churches. Though he did not love Milles he was a devoted Fellow of the Society. On 21 June 1772 he wrote to Walpole:⁸ 'On St. George's Day three or four antiquaries in the University [of Cambridge], with myself, were invited by our brother Mr. Farmer of Emmanuel College, to dine with him in his Chambers. . . .' His draft adds 'in honour of our Society and in imitation also'; but since Walpole was beginning to disapprove of the Society he left the phrase out of the finished letter.

The Hon. Daines Barrington, elected in 1767, was a lawyer of some eminence who was also an antiquary and a naturalist. As a naturalist he will always be gratefully remembered as the correspondent of Gilbert White who induced him to write *The Natural History of Selborne*. As an antiquary he was an amateur; Ellis records⁹ that he accepted a watch of the late seventeenth century as having

¹ 7 Mar.

² 10 Jan.

³ In 1770 the Hon. Topham Beauclerk, Sir Edmund Thomas, Bt., Sir Hanson Barney, Bt.; in 1771 Sir Griffith Boynton, Bt.; in 1772 Sir William Wake, the Hon. Thomas Walpole, and Lord Montague; in 1773 the Hon. Henry Cavendish and Sir John Pringle, Bt.; in 1774 Sir Thomas Wynne, Bt., and the Rev. Sir John Cullum, Bt.; in 1774 Sir Walden Hanmer, Bt.; in 1775 Sir Edward Blackett, Bt., the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Stamford and Lord Edgumbe, and so on.

⁴ Quoted Walters, *English Antiquaries*, p. 63. Hasted was elected on 5 Dec. 1763.

⁵ Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁶ William Bray, F.S.A., took over his papers and completed and published it in 1804, 1809, and 1824.

⁷ See W. S. Lewis, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vols. i and ii. Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole, 1937. 114 folio volumes of his papers are in the British Museum.

⁸ Lewis, i. 259.

⁹ Ants. MS. 270(2).

belonged to Robert Bruce. He produced the most varied exhibits at the Society's meetings, ranging from the pibcorn played by the shepherds of the parish of Lansardwrn in Anglesey¹—he left it behind and it is still a cherished possession of the Society—to 'a very curious, splendid and elegant Bird-Cage, executed at his Expence, by Mr. Pantin, Silver Smith in Fleet Street, and formed upon a Design suggested by the two following Lines in Statius, which are engraved upon the Base of it:

At tibi quanta Domus, rutila testudine fulgens,
Connexusque ebori virgarum argenteus ordo . . .²

The papers he communicated to the Society are equally various, and often equally trifling: Samuel Pegge rightly dismissed one of them as 'but flimsy'.³ Pegge was, however, something of a trouble-maker, as is shown in the correspondence of May 1774 between Milles and Gough about his objections to a paper Gough proposed to read.⁴ 'I find it', wrote the President, 'no small undertaking to reconcile the little misunderstandings and jealousies that arise amongst our members. . . .'⁵

A more distinguished Fellow, who took a less active part in the affairs of the Society, was Francis Douce.⁶ He was a Londoner of eccentric looks and manners, much loved by those who knew him well, notably his fellow-collectors Edward Balme⁷ and Thomas Kerrich.⁸ He served for a time as Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, but left its service after a difference of opinion with the Trustees. He inherited a fortune from the sculptor Nollekens in 1823, and was able for the remaining eleven years of his life to indulge his tastes as a collector of curiosities, medieval enamels and ivories, manuscripts, pictures, and books. 'If it is possible', Sir James Mann writes,⁹ 'for the character of an amateur to be judged from his collections, one would guess him to have been of a cynical turn of mind, with a liking for the odd, the sardonic and the macabre rather than the beautiful in any of its classical forms. He labelled his scrapbooks with such headings as "Anachronisms and Absurdities", and pasted in them such prints as amused him by their *naïveté* or shocked his nascent antiquarian conscience.' He collected books of every conceivable kind, from *Old Dame Trot and her Comical Cat* to the Tristan MS., and the Douce Apocalypse, now, like many of his treasures, at Oxford.

¹ 3 May 1770; *Arch.* iii. 30; the name is more correctly spelt Llansadwrn.

² 27 June 1776.

³ Letter to Gough, 19 Jan. 1778. *Ants.* MS. 447. iii.

⁴ *Ants.* MS. 447. i.

⁵ Nov. 1774; *Ants.* MS. 447. i.

⁶ Elected 16 Dec. 1779. On him see the number of the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* commemorating his centenary, vii. no. 81, Oxford, 1934.

⁷ Elected 9 Jan. 1794; d. 1822.

⁸ See below, p. 250.

⁹ *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, loc. cit., p. 361.

Many of the Fellows were also Fellows of the Royal Society;¹ James West, its President from 1768 to 1772, was also a Vice-President of the Antiquaries from 1750 to 1772. Samuel Wegg, who succeeded him in 1768 as Treasurer of the Royal Society, was also a Fellow of the Antiquaries, as was Sir John Pringle, who succeeded him as President. Yet, though none of the officers of the Royal Society were at this time men of science in the modern sense,² the spheres of the two societies were beginning to be more clearly distinguished. In June 1776 'Sir John Pringle laid before this Society a Proposal, addres'd to him as President of the Royal Society; but which relating to Matters of Antiquity solely, the Consideration thereof he deemed more properly to belong to the Antiquaries. . . .' The proposal was a project for excavating Silbury, for which subscriptions were invited. The Antiquaries thanked Sir John, 'but declined being any way concerned in the Adventure'.

The Antiquaries' connexion with the Royal Academy, incorporated in 1768,³ was less close than with the Royal Society, though they had a number of members in common, and the Academy included an Antiquary among its officers.⁴

The Society's links with the Continent were strengthened. In November 1771 Governor Pownall 'out of a laudable desire of extending the Fame and Reputation of this Society, and of opening a new Mart for literary Commerce, and friendly Communications; had taken Occasion, this last Summer, through the Courtesy of the Russian Ambassador, of transmitting the 1st Vol. of the Society's *Archaeologia* to the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg'. The Russian Society replied very politely, welcoming correspondence and the exchange of publications. In June 1778 the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had his own Society of Antiquaries at Hesse over which he sometimes presided, expressed the wish to become an honorary Fellow in order to promote 'literary Communication, and Intercourse of all good Offices' between the London Society and that at Hesse.

¹ Lyons, p. 188.

² George Allan, in his *Reliquiae Galeanae*, published in 1780 used the abbreviation F.R.A.SS. for Roger Gale, who was Fellow of both societies.

³ The project had first been mooted by the Dilettanti in 1753. The first working scheme was sponsored by the Society of Arts in 1759; by 1761 it was independent, 'The Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain'. It owed its Charter to Reynolds's influence with the King.

⁴ These have been:

Richard Dalton	1770-84	Sir Chas. T. Newton, K.C.B.	1881-94
Samuel Lyons	1818-19	Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, K.C.B.	1895-7
Sir Henry Englefield, Bt.	1821-6	Francis Cranmer Penrose	1898-1903
Sir Walter Scott, Bt.	1827-32	The Viscount Dillon, C.H.	1903-32
Sir Robert H. Inglis, Bt.	1850-5	Sir Charles Reed Peers, C.B.E.	1933-52
Earl Stanhope	1855-76	Sir James Mann	1953-
Sir Philip de M. Grey Egerton, Bt.	1876-81		

All but Dalton, Scott, and Egerton have been Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.

The papers read at the meetings of the Antiquaries reflected the interests of a time of great archaeological activity.¹ Almost every age was represented, but Egypt was out of fashion. In July 1770 Governor Pownall read a paper on 'The New Grange Pyramids',² making them the text of a general disquisition on prehistory. The earth, he declared, had been successively inhabited by woodland men and land-workers. The land-workers were in Ireland the Celts. He compared the carvings with the Cadmean characters. He decided that the monument was not Druidical, but was erected by an Eastern people, probably the Phoenicians, who traded with the mouth of the Boyne; and compared it with barrows in Tartary, Denmark, Sweden, Minorca, and Egypt.

The early months of 1775 were occupied with readings describing the views of Pompeii which had been presented to the Society by Sir William Hamilton. In 1779 and 1780 some of the most serious communications laid before the Society were concerned with Romano-British antiquities, especially mosaics and inscriptions.

The colonial interests of Britain were recognized in a considerable number of papers about buildings and inscriptions in India. Travel and exploration, too, had their influence; on 5 February 1778 a paper was read, composed by Governor Pownall, 'Observations arising from an Inquiry into the Nature of the Vases found on the Mosquito Shore in South America. The Account given of these Vases is introduced by some sensible Reflections on the human Mind; its various Resources, and varied Efforts, to supply the increased Demands which the progressive Stages of Civilization bring with them. . . .'

On 25 June 1772,

The V. President in the Chair communicated a Letter address'd to him by our worthy Member J. F. Forster, wherein he says, That being on the Point of setting out on his Voyage,³ with the Ships destin'd for Discoveries towards the South Pole, he cannot leave this Country without acquainting this Society therewith, and returning his most grateful Acknowledgement to those Members of it, who have from time to time favoured him with Marks of their Esteem and Friendship.

He begs Mr. Barrington to assure the Society, that he shall be most happy to execute, as far as lies in his power, any Commands the Gentlemen of the Council may have for him, or those of any Member of this honourable Society, if they will send them to him in writing.

¹ It is noteworthy that in 1777 new editions of Burton's *Description of Leicestershire* and Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* were produced, and George Allan's *Reliquiae Galeanae* were published, selected from papers and letters of Roger Gale, in Ants. MS. 222.

² *Arch.* ii. 236.

³ A naturalist born at Danzig, he assisted Captain Cook in that capacity on his second voyage.

No communications from the South Sea Islands, however, are recorded in the Minutes.

The great field of inquiry at this time lay in the Middle Ages. The 'Gothic Taste' of men such as Walpole, that had begun as an admiration of romantic 'gloomth',¹ was beginning to be as scholarly and creative as the Classical Taste that had preceded and still accompanied it. The year 1771 saw not only the publication by James Bentham, F.S.A., of *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church at Ely*, including a serious general history of medieval architecture, with engravings of plans and details, but also the planning of one of the first large Neo-Gothic churches at Tetbury in Gloucestershire.² Francis Grose's great series of richly illustrated volumes on *The Antiquities of England and Wales*³ was published between 1773 and 1789.

Not many antiquaries, however, had so large a scope as Bentham or Grose. A proposal to publish a set of general queries relating to county antiquities was postponed *sine die* by the Council on 6 May 1772. Men had to learn to understand medieval art through the study of its more datable works of art: tombs.

At the meeting on 6 January 1772 a letter was read from Smart Lethieullier, who had died in 1760, to James West, that only now roused real interest in the Society. It deplored the neglect and destruction of sepulchral effigies, especially in Gloucestershire, and expressed the opinion that 'it would be an entertaining, not to say a meritorious Labour, to recover the Names of the original Owners of those Monuments, and restore them to their proper Place'. In the same year, under Bentham's influence, some of the Chantry Chapels at Ely were repaired.⁴

On 25 January 1770 the question was first raised before the Society of the possibility of opening the tomb of Edward I in Westminster Abbey. It was done on 2 May 1772, in the presence of the officials of the Abbey and a delegation of Fellows. Ten days later, at a crowded meeting with many Fellows and no less than sixteen visitors, Sir Joseph Ayloffe gave an account of the discoveries.⁵ It is clearly the memory of the opening of this tomb that in-

¹ See Walpole's letter of 27 Apr. 1753. Toynbee, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, iii. 151.

² By Francis Hiorn, a Warwick builder; it has a chancel one bay deep, false aisles and external cloister-like passages giving access through doorways in each bay, to the pews. A tablet in the church records that it was finished in 1781.

³ Followed by the *Antiquities of Scotland* in 1789-91.

⁴ Cole was indignant that the Antiquaries were not greatly interested in a figure found there, which he thought represented Henry VII. See Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* viii. 588; Lewis, *Corr. of Horace Walpole*, i. 278.

⁵ Printed in *Arch.* iii, p. 376. The King was interested, and a copy of the paper was sent to him immediately after it was read. Horace Walpole wrote to Cole on 14 Dec. 1775 (Lewis, i. 384) to ridicule the Antiquaries for reburying the finds in the tomb; in fact it was the Dean who insisted on it.

spired Rowlandson's plate of 'Death and the Antiquaries' (Plate XVIII).

Interest in tombs was naturally fostered by the Director, Richard Gough, who was beginning to gather the materials for his own great volumes on *The Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, published between 1786 and 1796. A letter dated 9 January 1777 from Samuel Pegge to Gustavus Brander¹ begins: 'As sepulchral matters seem particularly to attract the Attention of the Literate, especially those of the Society, it will not be improper for me to present you with some cursory observations on several singular stone coffins lately discovered at your seat of Christ Church, Twynham. . . .' By the end of the decade interest was beginning to shift back to an earlier period: the *Sketch of a Tour in Derbyshire and Yorkshire*, published by our Fellow William Bray in 1777, shows that his major interest lay in Romanesque architecture.²

Learning, in fact, was triumphing over Taste. The result of the battle is evident in the embittered remarks which Horace Walpole addressed to Cole in September 1778.³

'The antiquaries will be as ridiculous as they used to be; and since it is impossible to infuse taste into them, they will be as dry and dull as their predecessors. One may revive what perished, but it will perish again, if more life is not breathed into it than it enjoyed originally. Facts, dates and names will never please the multitude, unless there is some style and manner to recommend them, and unless some novelty is struck out from their appearance. The best merit of the Society lies in their prints; for their volumes, no mortal will ever touch them but an antiquary. Their Saxon and Danish discoveries are not worth more than monuments of the Hottentots; and for Roman remains in Britain, they are upon a foot with what ideas we should get of Inigo Jones, if somebody was to publish views of huts and houses that our officers run up at Senegal and Goree. Bishop Lyttelton used to torment me with barrows and Roman camps, and I would as soon have attended to the turf graves in our Churchyards. I have no curiosity to know how awkward and clumsy men have been in the dawn of arts or in their decay.'

That the Antiquaries were recognized as guardians of medieval monuments is testified by a letter sent to them in 1776: it was not franked and they had to pay 5s. 9d. postage on it.⁴

'Gentlemen,

The inclozed letter being about a matter of great importance we do earnestly

¹ Ants. Corr.

² The only major archaeological work of the time not represented in the papers read is the excavations of Bryan Faussett. He worked at Kingston Down near Canterbury (where he had been curate) from 1767 to 1773, and then at Barfriston Down near Sandwich. See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 35. Faussett died in 1776.

³ Lewis, ii. 116.

⁴ Ants. Corr. 'D. A.' may perhaps have been our Fellow Alexander Dalrymple.

beg it may be opened at a *full* meeting of the Society, and hope for the expected support.

Signed by our order

D. A.

North Britain, 31st Aug^t 1776.

(Letter)

The
GROANS

Of the Abbays, Cathedrals, Palaces and other antient buildings of North Britain.

Illustrious Society, Can you tamely look on, and suffer our bodies
To be basely torn, barbarously mangled, and layed in ruins by a selfish race
of

unfeeling Goths:

Can you tamely look on, we say, and not punish these rude offenders?

Many of us are entirely leveled!

Some of us falling down with Gothic irons!

Some of us tumbling down with old age!

Pity our forlorn situation, and procure us necessary aid, by an

Act of Parliament:

Or soon! Too soon alas! None of us will be left to

Groan.'

The first volume of the *Archaeologia* had been produced almost entirely by the President and the Director. The Society clearly did not want this arrangement perpetuated, and on 1 June 1770 resolved: 'That for the better conducting and regulating all future Publications of the Society, a stated Meeting of a Committee of Papers be held on the second Thursday in every Month, during the Winter Season and Meetings of the Society, the first Meeting to be on Thursday the 13th of December next, at 11 o'clock in the Morning, and that such Committee consist of the Members of the Council at large.'

This arrangement was not at all to Milles's taste, and at a Council on 24 January 1771 it was announced that the stated meetings of the Committee of Papers were suspended because the President found it 'too tiresome and incommodious' to attend both them and a meeting on the same day. The correspondence between Milles and Gough¹, shows that the whole management was once more in their hands. On 29 June 1772 Gough writes from his house at Enfield:

'Revd. Sir,

I have desired Mr. Nicholls to wait upon you with all the sheets of the 2nd Vol. now printed yt. you may judge of our progress and determine how many more shd. go to the present Vol. It is not advanced to $\frac{1}{2}$ the size of the first, and

¹ Ants. MS. 447. 1.

when the few papers remaining in my hands are composd it will very little exceed 250 pages. I recd. only 37 dissertations; about a dozen more voted for publication are with Mr. Norris.'

He ended with a hint that it might be well to have a formal committee before the volume appeared. Milles replied a week later thanking him for the hint and adding: 'I am sorry to find that we are run so hard for materials; I thought we should have overflowed.'

At the end of July Gough wrote again: 'May I be allowed to hope yt. when the Committee of papers meets for compiling a 2nd volume of the Archaeologia, they shall have the President with 'em, yt without him no decisive sentence be confirm'd on the many curious memoirs wch. are supposed to be now under a tacit probation. . . .'

On 3 August Milles replied: 'I applaud your hint for a review of the postponed papers, and hope nothing will be done with regard either to them or any more recent ones, till I come to town, wch. will be in the beginning of Decr., I will then set forward the publication of another volume with all proper diligence.'

The preparation of the volume dragged on; in July 1772 Milles was writing to Gough to say that two of the contributors needed to shorten their papers and 'to omitt or at least throw into a note' their quotations from printed books.

When the volume finally appeared in 1773 it contained papers that had been communicated as early as 1755;¹ the most recent paper, however, dated from 1772. It naturally covered a wide range. Bishop Lyttelton's paper on Stone Hatchets, read in 1766, declared: 'There is not the least doubt of these stone instruments having been fabricated in the earliest times, and by barbarous people, before the use of iron or other metals was known.' He compared them with examples from France and Mexico, and decided that they were Ancient British: 'the most antient remains existing at this day of our British ancestors, and probably coeval with the first inhabitants of this island'.²

Josiah Colebrooke—who had been elected Treasurer in 1762—contributed a paper on 'Catigern's Monument', otherwise Kit's Coty House. The Bishop of Meath wrote on antiquities found in Ireland, ranging from very fine Celtic torques and lunulae to a late-seventeenth-century Spanish diamond ring, which he supposed to be of the same date. Pownall's paper on New Grange was also printed. Roman antiquities are represented by papers on the Corbridge altar, the construction of the Roman Wall at Verulam, several short contributions on Caesar's campaign in Britain, and a number of miscellanea.

¹ Lyttelton on the Penrith Cross.

² His paper is followed by a second on Stone Hammers by Samuel Pegge.

Anglo-Saxon studies are represented by a paper by Pegge and Milles on the *Æstel*, read in 1765. Archaeology outside Britain provides the material of only two papers: one by Daniel Wray on a Greek inscription brought from Athens, and another by Paul Demidoff, Honorary Fellow, on antiquities from Tartary. This was graced by many plates and an appendix by J. R. Forster. Both the long papers on a medieval subject are controversial: one a paper against Dr. Percy's views on minstrels, and the other directed against Walpole's *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III*.

Milles wrote to Gough in November 1773¹ hopefully enough: 'I have the pleasure to hear our 2d Vol. much commended in this country. I doubt not but we shall soon sell off the whole impression of both vols; we shall live to see them almost as scarce as Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*.' Walpole was less complacent. He wrote to Cole:² 'It seems all is fish that comes into the net of the Society. Mercy on us! What a cartload of bricks and rubbish and Roman ruins they have piled together! . . .'

The third volume almost merited Walpole's strictures. It begins with papers by various hands on horns as instruments of tenure. This is followed by Daines Barrington on the *crwth* and the *pib-corn*; by papers on horseshoes; the making of wine; cock-fighting; and the plates of the Field of the Cloth of Gold; the Cowdray paintings and Bury St. Edmunds, Ayloffe's report on the opening of the tomb of Edward I, and miscellanea, mostly by Samuel Pegge. A disquisition—still valuable to philologists—on the survival of the ancient Cornish language, by Daines Barrington, particularly provoked Walpole.³

'What diversion might laughers make of the Society! Dolly Pentraeth, the old woman of Mouse-hole, and Mr. Penneck's nurse, v. p. 81, would have furnished Foote with two personages for a farce. The same grave judge's dissertation on patriarchal customs seems to have as much to do with British antiquities, as the Lapland witches that sell wind—and pray what business has the Society with Roman inscriptions in Dalmatia? I am most pleased with the account of Nonsuch, imperfect as it is. . . . Well, I am glad they publish away. The vanity of figuring in these repositories will make many persons contribute their MSS, and every now and then something valuable will come to light, which its own intrinsic merit might not have saved.'

The fourth volume of the *Archaeologia* began under more auspicious omens. On 6 April 1775 the President called a special Council at short notice to tell them he had had a letter from Sir Wm. Hamilton, Fellow, 'wherein he is pleased to grant the Permission, so much wished for by the Society and them, of publishing in the course of their *Archaeologia*, the Drawings and Account of the

¹ Ants. MS. 447. I.

² 17 Apr. 1773; Lewis, i. 304.

³ Lewis, i. 164.

discoveries transmitted by him of the Ruins of Pompei'.¹ This occupied a good deal of space, with twelve plates and a folding plan. It was, however, almost the only classical contribution

Pegge produced a new theory on Kits Coty House,² maintaining that it was British and not funereal. Samuel Pegge's paper on the ring of Ahlstan and Saxon jewellery in general is one that students of the subject must still consult. James Essex's two papers have also worn well: one on brick and stone building in England, with good plates, and one on Lincoln Cathedral, with a good plate and a remarkably bald west elevation of the building. 'If the principles of Gothic architecture', he writes,³ 'are now but little known, the various styles of building, which come under the denomination of Gothic, are pretty well ascertained; and as the first, if well understood and properly applied, would be useful to modern professors of architecture; so the latter may be usefully applied, by the lovers of antiquities, to illustrate or correct the different historical accounts which antient writers have left us of many Elegant Structures which once adorned this kingdom. . . .'

The volume was filled up with short miscellaneous papers that ranged from buried birds' bones to the origin of the word 'Romance', including the Rev. William Norris's remarks on 'The Wisdom of the Ancient Egyptians'.

The 1779 volume was no less miscellaneous and rather less distinguished; the only new fashion was for the 'Pictish' antiquities of Scotland.

The Society considered the possibility of undertaking other publications than the *Archaeologia*, but nothing came of it.⁴ In 1776⁵ the Council devoted much consideration to a possible publication of extracts from the old Minutes, fitted together to form an historical memoir, either separately or as a preface to successive volumes of the *Archaeologia*; but on further investigation Gough was inclined to think that the material was too scrappy. His final report,⁶ however, is rather more favourable, and advises a selection from the Register Book with plates made up of a number of small figures derived from the drawings in it, as 'an idea which corresponds with the primary Institution of this Society and will prove a perpetual Fund of future Research'. He favoured, too, the publication of an alphabetical list of the members of the Society, with the

¹ The Council was so much pleased that they voted Hamilton a coloured as well as a plain print of the Royal Interview. (See below, p. 160.)

² *Archaeologia*, iv. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁴ On 23 Apr. 1774 the Council gave Dr. Treadway Nash leave (under stringent conditions) to print Habington's Worcestershire Collections (Ants. MSS. 143-9) which had come to them from Bishop Lyttelton, at his own expense. His edition appeared in 1781-2.

⁵ 11 Dec. A letter from Gough to Milles on the subject will be found in Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, p. 190.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

dates of their admission and death or resignation,¹ and a list of benefactors and their gifts, and of the Society's purchases, which would in fact provide an inventory of its possessions. He began to make a biographical dictionary of Fellows,² but nothing was printed.

Meanwhile *Vetusta Monumenta* languished; no plate was published between Lyttelton's portrait in 1770 and a new beginning in 1780. The Society, however, in 1770 embarked on a new venture of large separate engravings. At the meeting on 29 March Sir Joseph Ayloffe read an account of a painting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in the royal collection at Windsor. On 5 April he was asked to repeat it, and Dean Milles informed the Society that he had applied to the Lord Chancellor for leave to take a drawing from the picture, to be engraved, and that leave had been granted. The size and shape of the picture made it impossible to reduce it to an engraving of any ordinary format, and by the end of 1772³ the Society was negotiating with Dr. Whatman to produce a special size of paper. He was not anxious to make the experiment.

'The double Elephant [he wrote] w^{ch} I at present make, is 3 ft. 4^{Inch} by 2 ft. 2¹/₂ I. and is as large as any Paper I have ever seen manufactured in Europe. Two sheets of that pasted together would be large enough; but I suppose, the bad Consequences of that is what they wish to avoid, if a single Sheet could be made. My present Conveniences will not permit of my making any larger than the double Elephant, without alteration of most of the Utensils; and even then, it cannot be made by hand. But I have no doubt a contrivance I have thought of will enable me to make it, although that will draw on a certain Expence of at least Fifty Pounds for Things that can not be of use to me on any other occasion. Of this Paper, I suppose the quantity wanted will be but small. I dont wish to get any more than the usual Profit for the Work done at the Vatt in the same time, notwithstanding the very great Trouble I must necessarily have; the Credit such a Work would do me being all the Inducement I can have to undertake it. But I should think I bought such an Addition to my Reputation rather too dear, if I was to be out of Pocket by the Attempt. If therefore the Society think it worth their while to allow this extra Expence, I will endeavour to accommodate them.'

On 6 March a second letter from him was read to the Council, enumerating his extra expenses, and estimating the cost at £15 a ream. The proposal was agreed to, Basire the engraver consulted as to the kind of paper that would give the best results,⁴ and four reams of it ordered. The size—31 by 53 inches—is still called

¹ Such a list was printed in 1798.

² Bodleian MS. Top. Lond. c. 2, fols. 272-87, and Top. Lond. d. 1 and d. 2. The first MS. also contains extracts from the minutes.

³ Council, 7 Dec.

⁴ He 'recommended a Paper of a soft and smooth Texture and good substance, resembling the French *Columbia* and sized with kid-skin glue instead of Parchment'.



'Death and the Antiquaries', from Thomas Rowlandson's *English Dance of Death*, c. 1795

British Museum



The Reception of a new Member at the Society of Antiquaries, 1782

Antiquarian¹ and was for more than a century the largest sheet of drawing or book paper made.

It remained to transfer the paper from the Kent Mills to London.² The cases containing it were too large for a stage coach; no caravan or stage wagon was available, and Whatman feared to trust it to an uncovered hop-wagon. Eventually he sent it up river on the Hoy. The engraving was finally published at the end of the year.

A second large plate—but a great deal smaller than the former one—was published on 1 June 1778. It had originally been planned as a plate in the third volume of the *Archaeologia*, but was later transformed into a separate plate by a narrow majority at a meeting which lasted until eleven o'clock.³ It represented part of the paintings in the Great Parlour at Cowdray, portraying the attack of the French on Portsmouth at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. The drawing was made by Charles Sherwin⁴ and engraved by Basire; the great fire at Cowdray in 1793 destroyed the painting and increased the value of the plate.

The arrangements in the Chancery Lane house continued with little change. In January 1772 a new housekeeper was appointed, to live in the house, with 8s. a week, fire, and candle. Besides the obvious duties, she had 'to tend the Secretary's Tea Kettle and make his Bed'.⁵ At the same time a man was engaged at £5 a year to attend meetings of the Society and its Council, to take round the ballot-box, keep the door, and run errands. In the following year⁶ screens were bought to hang on the backs of the benches in the meeting-room that were uncomfortably near its two fires, and a cover was bought for the model of the Temple at Tivoli.

The inheritance of the Bishop of Carlisle's books and manuscripts entailed a few changes in the Society's rooms. They were received at the end of April 1769, and placed in the room where Dr. Bartholomew's pamphlets had been kept; these in their turn were moved up to the attic. The Council, on 27 April in that year, decided that the Library was to be open on Wednesday and Friday mornings from 9 to 12, 'for the use of such Members as shall have occasion to resort thereto'. It was further agreed that none of the Bishop's books or manuscripts should be lent out for a year, after which time the manuscripts were only to be lent out to members if they gave 'Bond, in the Penalty of One Hundred Pounds, for the due and safe Return thereof within the time limited in the Order of Leave'.⁷

¹ A notice issued on 26 Feb. 1821 offers £10 reward for 25 sheets of Antiquarian plate paper, 24 copper plates from *Arch.* xii, and a bundle of twine stolen from the Society.

² Council, 30 Nov. 1773.

³ Meeting, 15 Feb. 1776.

⁴ See Cole's letter to Walpole, 26 Mar. 1776; Lewis ii. 8.

⁵ Mrs. Grace Haddon, widow of a bankrupt tallow chandler, was recommended by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, and duly elected by ballot of the Council.

⁶ 11 Nov. 1773.

⁷ The Library borrowers' book was instituted on 20 Mar. 1771.

The Society occasionally bought books and manuscripts, including a manuscript of Bolton's *Academy*.¹

Gough took over the rearrangement of the pamphlets, with some help from other members. Milles wrote to him on 5 June 1773,² 'Mr. Lort tells me yt you met on Thursday prepared to encounter the pamphletts, but that you were so overpowered with numbers, that you turned your backs on the engagement determined not to renew it.' Gough replied the next day, making his apologies, and adding: 'Enough however has been done to shew of how little value they are: so yt it was thot, by Mr. Lort and myself more advisable to let them remain above stairs in bundles but placed in a better manner on deal shelves. I cannot but recommend it to you and the Society yt. our Library itself might be kept in better order in some separate room [and not in the Ante chamber to Mr. Norris' apartment]. . . .'³ The next day Gough continued his report: ' . . . As to the Pamphletts I find it is a desperate work. They should be ranged or sold; for at present they are like so much waste paper. . . . I find our County Histories at the Antiq. Society are almost compleat. We want only Chauncy's Hertford and Morants Essex and the Northampton and Dorset counties. . . .' He even suggested exchanging the pamphlets for the four needed books.

Milles, however, was not to be put off, and urged Gough to continue the work. On 23 November 1773 the Dean wrote: ' . . . I am glad to hear so good an account of the progress makeing in Chancery Lane. I suppose Mr. Norris no longer uses the Library as a dressing room. It wanted cleaning, painting and embellishment. It is right to put the Pamphletts in decent order however insignificant they may be.'

In November 1775 'the Widow Vertue' offered the Society twenty-two plates of English antiquities engraved by her husband at his own expense, to join those which he had engraved for the Society, and in January 1776 sold the Antiquaries, for £100, nine larger ones.

In 1776 the Secretary of the East India Company wrote⁴ on behalf of his Directors to offer the Society one gold and twenty other ancient coins found in Bengal. A more surprising gift was the bronze medals of Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau presented by Rudolph de Valtravers, a Swiss Honorary Fellow, in 1772.⁵

The Society was beginning to be conscious of the value of its possessions, and on 21 February 1770 the Council agreed 'that the Books, Prints, Copper-Plates, and other Effects of this Society, be assured at some one of the Publick Fire Offices, to the Amount

¹ Ants. MS. 103; Council, June 1, 1770.

² Ants. MS. 447. I.

⁴ Ants. Corr., 2 Mar.

³ This phrase is crossed out.

⁵ 2 Mar. and 19 Mar.

of 1500*£*.' On 31 March it was reported that the Sun Fire Office refused to assure books and papers upon any terms, but the Royal Exchange Assurance Office would do so for 2*s*. 6*d*. per *£*100 on receipt of an inventory with valuation. The inventory was duly made¹ and the insurance effected.

In the decade between 1770 and 1780 Dean Milles was a very active President and anything but an absentee from the meetings of the Society. Only in 1774-5 was he absent from more than half the meetings: in 1775-6 he was in the Chair on eighteen out of twenty-nine occasions, and in 1777 on twenty-three out of twenty-nine. He liked doing a gracious thing, and on two occasions in 1771,² when first the Treasurer and then the Secretary were absent, took the opportunity to get the Council in the one case to offer a set of the *Vetusta Monumenta* and in the other an addition of *£*20 to his salary.

No one who knows the portrait of the Dean will be surprised to hear that the convivial side of the Antiquaries' life flourished during his presidency. The annual dinners were held every year at the Mitre,³ except in 1771, when Gough's election as Director brought such a concourse of his friends that the dinner was held in the Hall of Clifford's Inn. Furthermore, Milles instituted the first dining club⁴ in the Society, 'The Antiquary'.⁵ It was founded in 1774, limited to twenty-four members who dined together every Monday from the first Monday after Twelfth Night to the Monday preceding St. George's Day, which was a special anniversary feast. The Dean, Daines Barrington, Sir Joseph Ayloffe, and Michael Lort head the list of members;⁶ Richard Gough figures among them.

Jeremiah Milles was the most easy-going of men; indeed early in 1775 Samuel Pegge wrote to Gough⁷ to criticize him for his indulgence to his children.⁸ Yet he came in for a good many

¹ The inventory includes 3 brass chandeliers, 2 branches, 8 candlesticks, 3 mahogany tables (and covers), 11 benches (and cushions), 1 small oak table with leaves and a Time Piece. The pictures include Lord Coleraine, King Henry V, Mr. Vertue, King Edward IV, Mr. Wanley, Mr. Holmes, King Henry VII, Lord Oxford, and the Rev. Mr. Baker of Cambridge.

² 10 Jan. and 22 Aug.

³ A letter from Dr. Lort to Cole, 1 May 1778 (B.M. Add. MS. 5993), says: 'Tyson will have told you in what manner we celebrated St. George's Day, and how he, Edmondson the herald and your humble servant made a Trio of Pipes late in the Evening, and could prevail on no one else of a large company to join us. . . .'

⁴ The Royal Society had had a dining club—the Club of the Royal Philosophers—since 1743. Until 1780 they met at the Mitre; then at the Crown and Anchor; and after 1847 at the Freemasons' Tavern. Weld, i. 491; Lyons, p. 170.

⁵ See Appendix B.

⁶ The list ends with the names of those who resigned when the Club came to an end in 1847. Ants. MS. 261 (Appendix).

⁷ Ants. MS. 447. III.

⁸ ' . . . I love the Dean of Exeter with entire Affection, yet considering him as a Prelate of the Church (as Deans may be esteemed) he does not seem to me to judge rightly, in point of character, to suffer his Children to run to masquerades, to be acting Plays, &c. as they are

quarrels and difficulties during his presidency. Norris was not an easy man to work with; and though Milles had shown him courtesy and kindness, he sent the President no account of the Society's doings during his absence in 1776. Milles wrote to Gough on Christmas Day:¹ '... I think myself much obliged to you for your account of what had passed both at the ordinary meetings and Councils this winter wch is the only intelligence I have recd. Concerning them. I cannot help observing (and I have no objection to his knowing it) that it is at least very uncivil and unfriendly in Mr. Norris our Secretary, not to send me a single line during all this time. Were I in his situation, I should certainly have paid more attention to him, and he has no cause to complain of any want of it from me when I am in London.' Gough had already been infuriated with Norris. In 1770 he had exhibited a drawing of the tomb-slab of a bishop, removed from Old Sarum. Norris wrote in the Minutes:² 'On a Review of the extraordinary Fortunes of this Prelate, and of the incident that gave Birth to them, the human Mind must stand abash'd to see, upon what slight and whimsical Foundations the most important Connexions and Interests in Life are often formed', &c. These pious remarks are heavily crossed out with an impatient quill and the note (in Gough's writing) added in the margin: 'Added by the Secretary as were all the following erasures.'

In February 1775 there was a great fuss over a paragraph in the *Morning Post* of 7 February, which suggested that a general history of the counties of Great Britain and Ireland announced by Peter Muilman, a Fellow of Dutch extraction who was a London merchant, was sponsored by the Society. At a meeting on 9 February, strong steps were taken against him.

'In Vindication therefore of the honour of the Society, thus impudently dealt with, & to disabuse those who might be otherwise misled by the Confidence of such Insertions, while they remain uncontradicted, & to prevent a Repetition thereof for the future; it was become absolutely necessary, he thought, that some publick Mark of their Disapprobation & Displeasure should be passed on this unwarrantable Use of their Name; & that they should also disavow their having at any time had any Connection with Mr. Muilman in the Scheme or Matters mentioned in the said Paragraphs—And Mr. Muilman being present, & confessing that he had with a well meant Design, been the Author of the said Paragraphs, begged Pardon for the Liberty he had taken; & gave Assurances of his Intention not to offend in like manner for the future. And the said Confession & Assurance being order'd to be recognized; & the Society having signified to Mr. Muilman their Displeasure, in the fullest Terms of Disapprobation of his Conduct: It was thereupon moved, that the Sense of the

perpetually doing. In deed he is a good-natured man, but too much so, in my opinion, and considering his station in the church, in regard to them.'

¹ Ants. MS. 447. 1.

² 22 Feb. 1770.

Society upon the Occasion might be made as publick as the Matter of Offence, which gave Occasion to it, & that the same be done in the following Terms viz.

Society of Antiquaries 9th Feb. 1775

Whereas certain Paragraphs have been inserted lately in *The Morning Post* wherein the name of *Peter Muilman Esq^{re}* is made use of, & such Paragraphs are worded, as being drawn up with the Consent of the Society of Antiquaries: This is to inform the Publick, that all such Paragraphs were inserted entirely without the Knowledge & Consent of the said Society, who have no Concern with any of the Matters therein mentioned; and that they have expressed their Disapprobation of the Insertion of such Paragraphs to Peter Muilman Esq^{re}; & that he has acknowledged his Concern on the occasion.'

(To be inserted 'in some of the Publick Papers and authenticated by the Subscription of the Society'.)

In spite of his apology Muilman retaliated with a flysheet¹ which he addressed to the Fellows.

'King Street, Covent Garden

Monday Feb. 14, 1775

Dear Sir,

Having been unexpectedly insulted at the last Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, when offering them to fill their empty Purses from a Plan that undoubtedly would produce them £20,000, instead of their Thanks, two Figures of Men, unknown to me,² abused and threatened to expel, or at least to censure me. Whether they will continue in the same Mind at the next Meeting, or whether finding me a Match for them both, they may drop it, I desire you, as an impartial Judge to attend that Night, and you'll oblige,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

P. MUILMAN.'

At the next meeting Muilman handed in a copy of the letter and resigned, and the Society accepted his resignation. On 2 March, however, he once more attended,

'having gain'd Admission this Evening without Licence, and claimed a Right of Sitting & Voting, wth all other Privileges of a Member; & insisting that he had not resigned, nor intended to resign: a Debate ensued thereupon. In the course of which, the Letter above referr'd to was, at his Instance, read again; & the same being observed to him to be of that illiberal, abusive, disrespectful & contemptuous cast which, were it not for the Mixture of extreme Folly wch. runs throughout it, had merited the highest Indignation & Resentment of the Society, and justified their proceeding to immediate expulsion, instead of acquiescing in a Sense of his having resigned; and it being further observed to him, that his Conduct therein was the more inexcusable, as it was in direct Violation of the Assurances so recently given by him to the Society, when he

¹ A copy is stuck in at the end of Ants. MS. 270.

² 'Sir Joseph Ayloff [added in ink] a Bear
A Mr. King [added in ink] a Tyger.'

begged Pardon for his former Offence, & promised better Behaviour for the future. And the Remonstrance, tho' back'd by the most earnest & repeated Entreaties, wishing him to recollect himself, producing no other Effect, than Replies in still more atrocious, indecent, contemptuous & insulting language, & personal Outrage to the Chair, & other particular Members; accompanied with an absolute Denial, that he either had, or would at any time beg Pardon of the Society, but put them to Defiance: It was judged necessary, as well for the future Quiet of the Society as for the Maintenance of due Order & Decorum, and to prevent the Business of the Society from being interrupted by such unruly and untractable Persons getting in amongst them; that some vigorous & effectual Measure be forthwith entered upon; & carried into Execution, with respect to the Case now before them. Accordingly it was moved: 'That it is the Opinion of this Society, that Peter Muilman Esq. a Member thereof, hath by writing, speaking, and printing publicly defamed this Society.'

After three motions passed, Muilman was expelled by twenty-three votes to two. On 9 March some extenuating circumstances were brought forward and it was voted by twenty-one to ten that the Council reconsider the question. This they did on 4 April, and confirmed the sentence of expulsion.

The Dean's chief worries, however, arose from the touchiness of authors. Early in 1773 Dr. Percy made a protest against a paper published in the second volume of the *Archaeologia* in which certain errors in his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* were indicated. On 24 February Milles wrote to Gough:¹

'Dr. Percy objects that the substance of Mr. Pegge's paper being answered by him in a subsequent edition of the *Reliques of Antient Poetry*, either some notice of this should be taken in our work, or the whole cancelled. He thinks his own and Mr. Pegge's reputation concerned in it, but I own it does not appear to me in that light. We had a right to read, as we have to print, whatever papers are delivered to us: Mr. Pegge's paper was publick to the Society. Dr. Percy as a member might have been inform'd of it and have answerd it by another paper, in which case both would have been printed in the same volume. If he chuses to answer these objections in another channel, the Society neither ought nor can take any notice of them. Besides if we were to garble our papers and weigh the merits of them so nicely, we should very much check the spirit of enquiry and the communications of our members. We answer for no opinions; let the readers judge. . . .'

The second literary squabble was much more serious, for it was with Horace Walpole. It was entirely of his picking. In 1768 he published his *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III*. Dean Milles read a *compte-rendu* on it that was not particularly favourable; it was printed in the first volume of the *Archaeologia*.² Walpole wrote angrily to Cole³ about 'Dean Milles's nonsense'. He wrote an answer to the Dean's criticisms, but only six copies

¹ Ants. MS. 447. I.

² p. 361.

³ 20 Dec. 1770; Lewis, i. 206.

were printed at his private press at Strawberry Hill.¹ On 7 and 14 January 1771, however, a second extremely critical paper was read at the Antiquaries, this time by Robert Masters, Fellow of Ben'et College, Cambridge.² Walpole 'washed his hands' of the Society, but continued to be a Fellow though he never came to a meeting.

In the following December Samuel Pegge read a paper on the life of Sir Richard Whittington, in which he hazarded the ingenious suggestion that his Cat³ may have been a ship of the build known by that name, owned by him.

In the summer of 1772 Samuel Foote had a considerable success at the Haymarket with his comedy *The Nabob*.⁴ Its third act⁵ is set in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries. It runs:

'*Secretary*. Sir Matthew Mite, preceded by his presents, will attend this honourable Society this morning.

1st. Ant. Is he apprised that an inauguration speech is required, in which he is to express his love of virtù, and produce proofs of his antique erudition?

Sec. He has been apprised, and is rightly prepared.

2nd Ant. Are the minutes of our last meeting fairly recorded and entered?

Sec. They are.

1st Ant. And the valuable antiques which have happily escaped the depredations of time ranged and registered rightly?

Sec. All in order.

2nd Ant. As there are new acquisitions to the Society's stock, I think it right that the members should be instructed in their several natures and names.

1st Ant. By all means. Read the list!

Sec. 'Imprimis, In a large glass-case, and in fine preservation, the toe of the slipper of Cardinal Pandulpho, with which he kick'd the breech of King John at Swinstead Abbey, when he gave him absolution and penance.'

2nd Ant. A most noble remains!

1st Ant. An excellent antidote against the progress of Popery, as it proves the Pontiff's insolent abuse of his power!—Proceed.

Sec. 'A pair of nut-crackers presented by Harry the eighth to Anna Bullen the eve of their nuptials; the wood supposed to be walnut.'

1st Ant. Which proves that before the Reformation walnut trees were planted in England.

Sec. 'The cape of Queen Elizabeth's riding-hood which she wore on a solemn festival, when carried behind Burleigh to Paul's; the cloth undoubtedly Kidderminster.'

2nd Ant. A most instructive lesson to us, as it proves that patriotic princess wore nothing but the manufactures of England!

¹ *A Reply to the Observations of the Rev. Dr. Milles . . . on the Wardrobe Account*. See also letter to Cole, 20 Dec. 1770; Toynbee, vii. 427.

² Printed in *Arch.* ii. 198.

³ The *Endeavour*, in which Cook made his voyage in 1768, was a Whitby Collier of the kind called a Cat (H. C. Cameron, *Sir Joseph Banks*, p. 13). Cook returned triumphantly in her in 1771 and the circumstance may have brought the use of the word to Pegge's notice. According to the *O.E.D.* it became obsolete about 1825.

⁴ See M. M. Belden, *The Dramatic Works of Samuel Foote*, 1929, p. 147.

⁵ 1778 edition, p. 51.

Sec. 'A cork-screw presented by Sir John Falstaff to Harry the Fifth, with a tobacco-stopper of Sir Walter Raleighs, made of the stern of the ship in which he first compassed the globe; given to the Society by a clergyman from the North-Riding of Yorkshire.'

1st Ant. A rare instance of generosity, as they must have both been of singular use to the reverend donor himself!

Sec. 'A curious collection, in regular and undoubted succession, of all the tickets of Islington-Turnpike, from its first institution to the twentieth of May.'

2nd Ant. Preserve them with care, as they may hereafter serve to illustrate that part of the English History.

Sec. 'A wooden medal of Shakespeare, made from the mulberry tree he planted himself; with a Queen Anne's farthing; from the Manager of Drury-Lane Playhouse.'

1st Ant. Has he received the Society's thanks?

Sec. They are sent.'

The Beadle then comes to announce Sir Matthew Mite (the Nabob) who enters preceded by four black porters, bearing the twelve lost books of Livy (as purchased in Naples); a green chamber-pot, described as a sarcophagus or Roman urn dug up from the Temple of Concord; a piece of lava from the last eruption of Vesuvius, and a box of petrifications, bones, beetles, and butterflies, carefully catalogued.

Mite then gives a disquisition on Dick Whittington and his Cat, saying (like Sam Pegge) that it was not a pet but a ship of that name.

If Walpole found criticism hard to accept, he found ridicule harder. Two or three weeks after *The Nabob* was produced he wrote to Mason: 'This taste of digging up antiquated relics flourishes abundantly, unless Foote's last new piece blows us up. He has introduced the Learned Society in Chancery Lane, sitting, as they really did, on Whittington and his cat; and as I do not love to be answerable for any fooleries but my own, I think I shall scratch my name out of their books.' This he did.¹

On 28 July 1772, he wrote to Cole:²

'I am anew obliged to you, as I am perpetually, for the notice you gave me of another intended publication against me in the *Archaeologia*, or *Old Women's Logic*. . . . However as there seems to be a willingness to carp at me, and as gnats may on a sudden provoke one to give a slap, I choose to be at liberty to say what I think of the learned Society, and therefore have taken leave of them, having so good an occasion presented as their council on Whittington and his cat, and the ridicule that Foote has thrown on them. They are welcome to say anything of my writings, but that they are the works of a Fellow of so foolish a Society.'

A further comment of a Man of Taste upon the Men of Learning

¹ The resignation was announced on 23 Apr. 1773.

² Lewis, i. 270 (to Cole).

is given in a letter Walpole wrote in 1774.¹ 'If they [the Society of Antiquaries] went beyond taste by poking into barbarous ages when there was no taste one could forgive them—but they catch at the first ugly thing they see, and take it for old because it is new to them, and then usher it pompously into the world as if they had made a discovery, though they have not yet cleared up a single point that is of the least importance or that tends to settle any obscure passage in history.' His final judgement² was: 'I endeavoured to give our antiquaries a little wrench towards taste—but it was in vain.'

¹ Lewis, i. 330.

² Lewis, ii. 245; letter to Cole, 24 Nov. 1780.

XI

SOMERSET HOUSE

1780-93

THE prospect of the Society's moving to more official quarters was first mooted in 1775, at the Council held on 17 January in that year.

'Mr. Blyke having represented, that it is shortly intended to take down Somerset House in the Strand and to erect new Buildings for Publick Offices on the site thereof, in which, he understands the Royal Academicians are to have Chambers assigned them;¹ he therefore submitted it to the Consideration of the Council, whether it might not be adviseable, on this Occasion, to address His Majesty, as their Patron, that he would be graciously pleased to assign Apartments also in the sd. new intended Erections, for the Meetings and other Business of this Society.

The Council, after thanking Mr. Blyke for his kind Attention and Hint, recommended it to the President, before entering further on the Measure, to consult the Surveyor Gen^l M^r. Worsley thereupon, and whether such a Scheme is practicable, and can be comprehended in the general Plan of the intended Erections.'

On 6 April the President reported to Council that he had consulted Mr. Worsley and had been told 'that the numerous publick Offices intended by Govern^{mt} to be erected thereon, would, according to the present Survey and Plan, occupy the whole of the Ground, and leave no Room for other Uses'.

It is easy to guess that a good deal of intrigue went on in the ensuing months. Early in 1776 Dean Milles returned openly to the fray. On 9 January he wrote to Gough:² '... I believe we shall have a Council on Tuesday, not only for the papers, but also to consider of renewing our application for rooms on the rebuilding Somerset House as the Royal Academy and Royal Society are to be accommodated and we have the same Patron, and made an earlier application. . . .' The Council duly met, and resolved 'to petition His Majesty, as their common patron, in favour of this Society, for proper Apartments to be assigned them, for carrying on the Business of this Society in the said new Erections also: and the care of drawing up a Petition accordingly was recommended to Sir Joseph

¹ Since 1771 the Academy had by the King's permission occupied seven rooms in the old Somerset Palace.

² Ants. MS. 447. I.

Ayloff, to be laid before them for their Approbation and signing, at their Meeting on Tuesday next: And Sir Joseph was pleased to undertake the same accordingly'.

This was duly done; and that the result was foregone may be guessed from the fact that Sir William Chambers, the architect of the new building, consented at this moment to stand for election to the Society.¹ While his certificate was still suspended the President was able to report further progress.

'That, being anxious to ensure Success to their Petition, for obtaining a Settlement for the Society in the new Buildings to be erected on the Site of Somerset House; and solicitous, not to omit any thing that might tend to give an Efficacy thereto, he had employed the Interval of their last Meeting in a successful Application to several Noble Lords, their worthy Members, who had kindly engaged to countenance the Petition with their Presence, whenever it should be presented. That, among these, their particular Thanks were more especially due to the Hon^{ble} and Rt. Rever^d. the Lord Bishop of Worcester,² who most courteously interposing his good Offices with his noble Brother, the first Lord of the Treasury etc. etc, not only obtained the Sanction of his Patronage to their intended Application, but likewise an immediate Order to the Director of the Works, that Care be taken that the Society be properly accommodated. That Matters being now in this prosperous Train (on which he congratulated them) nothing remained to be done, but the affixing the Society's Seal to the Petition; and awaiting the King's pleasure, when and in what manner He shall be graciously disposed to receive it; which the Lord Chamberlain has condescendingly undertaken to signify.

The Council, sensible how much they are indebted to the active Zeal, Prudence, and Attention of the Presid^t in all Matters which concern the Interests of the Society, returned him their warmest Thanks for his very essential Services on this important Occasion; and directed that Letters, expressive of their most grateful and respectful Acknowledgements, for the kind Protection and Support, afforded by the R^t Hon^{ble}. the Lord North and his Brother, the Hon^{ble}. and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester, on this interesting Occasion, be sent them by the Secretary.

The Secretary reported, That having received a Note from Sir J. Ayloff, signifying that his Clerks being unaccustomed to write such a fair round Hand, as it was thought proper to present the Petition in, had returned the Copy thereof, and recommended that a Stationer be employed to transcribe it, as was the Rule of his Office to do upon all similar Occasions. And the Secretary having produced a fair Copy accordingly, the same was examined, and the Seal of the Society afterwards affix'd thereto; and then was delivered to the President to be ready for Presentation.'

The President was already planning ahead. On 12 February he wrote to Gough³ suggesting some economy in the matter of print publication,

'when we shall want money so much to furnish our new assigned rooms in

¹ Nominated 1 Feb., elected 7 Mar.

² Brownlow North, 1741-1820, Bishop of Worcester 1774-81.

³ Ants. MS. 447. 1.

the Strand in a manner correspondent to that of the Royal Society and suitable to the Royal munificence.

To be lodged in splendid apartments open to every curious spectator, and not to have proper conveniences and decorations, will disgrace our name, and I suppose that expence will not be less than 4 or 500. . . .'

On 29 February the President proposed for election Lord North, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was forthwith unanimously elected. On 7 March Lord Palmerston, a Lord of the Treasury, was similarly elected.

Everything went according to plan. At the Council of 19 March Lord North reported 'that the King, dispensing with the Formality of presenting their Petition (being acquainted with the Purport thereof) was most graciously pleased to order, That the Society be accommodated with Apartments in the new Erections to be made at Somerset House, pursuant to their Request'. At the same time the President was able to lay before the Council Chambers's 'Plans of the Apartments assigned to the Antiquary Society in the new Erections at Somerset House, in order to their receiving the Sanction of his Approbation, under his Hand, and privy Seal of the Society (as was done in the like Case by the President of the Royal Society) that they might be ready, when called for, to be laid before the Lords of the Treasury; he had set his hand, and privy Seal of the Society, thereto accordingly'.¹ On 15 February the President suggested to Council that the gratitude of the Society to their Royal Patron should be expressed by the purchase of a bust of him by Bacon,² at the cost of a hundred guineas. The proposal came before the meeting on 2 March and was passed unanimously without a ballot.

The spring of 1780 was a time of political storm, when the Gordon Riots seemed the prelude to yet greater troubles. On 8 June, the meetings minutes record,

'The riotous & incendiary Mobs, which with unrestrained Fury, had now subsisted for some Days, committing the most violent Outrages, by forcing open, burning & destroying private Houses & Property, & publick Prisons, & setting the Criminals & Prisoners therein at Liberty, still remaining but partially subdued, & threatening further Mischief & Destruction to Collective Bodies, as well as private Individuals; the Vice President, O. Salusbury Brereton Esq^{re} & the other Members of this Society, who were present at the Meeting this Evening, thought it advisable under these Circumstances to adjourn to Thursday next, without entering upon Business.'

Except for this cancelled meeting the Society continued its work

¹ Ants. Corr.

² Now in the Society's Library. It was done from the model used for busts at the University of Göttingen, the Queen's House, and the Hall at Christ Church, Oxford. A bust had already been ordered by the Royal Society.

with admirable calm. The building of their wing of Somerset House progressed fairly rapidly and on 30 May a committee was appointed, including Chambers, to deal with the removal and the furnishing of the new rooms.¹ At the same Council 'The Question was put, and agitated, whether the old Iron Instrument, w^{ch} had hitherto serv'd as a Mace to lie on the Table before the President, shall be continued to be used as such in the Society's new Apartments; and it was carried on the Ballot for the Continuance thereof', with instructions that the Committee should 'direct the new furnishing and gilding of the same in such manner as they shall think most advisable'.

At the same time it was agreed that the housekeeper should be given notice and an honorarium, that Norris should be allowed £30 a year for a maid to look after the Society's rooms and wait upon him, and that a resident porter should be engaged who should attend meetings, be in the Library to get books for Fellows at stated hours, and keep petty cash accounts. James Cobb, a clerk employed and recommended by Daines Barrington, was appointed at £10 a year, with permission to employ a deputy when he accompanied Barrington on Circuit. In June the committee interviewed Mr. Lyne, a Cheapside mercer recommended by the President, about moreen curtains for the meeting-room, and Mr. Seddon, an Aldersgate cabinet-maker, about the chairs. These, it was decided, should be plain, with elastic seats, covered with hair-cloth fixed with brass nails; twelve were ordered at 20s. each. They also considered the purchase of lustres for the meeting-room.²

On 7 July the committee decided that bells should be hung in both the Society's and the Secretary's rooms. At the same meeting it was agreed 'That the present Timepiece in the Society's Meeting Room, and also the Ballotting Box, are both unsuitable to the Dignity of the Society, and that Sir Wm. Chambers be consulted about a proper Design for both'. He approved a case for the clock supported by two bronze sphinxes, with a Roman lamp (to be selected from Montfaucon) at the top.³ There was some hope that the Treasury might provide the actual clock, and that the handsome case alone would be the Society's responsibility; but when it was found that both clock and case would have to be paid for, and that the case alone (as Chambers planned it) would cost £50, the Society let the matter drop for a time. In 1784⁴ it was suggested that Fellows should see 'whether in the Course of their Walks, they

¹ They first met early in June 1780 at Holyland's Coffee House adjoining Somerset Place.

² These were eventually purchased from Messrs. Shrimpton, Russell & Co. for £70. 9s. They were repaired and relacquered in 1847; Finance Committee, 27 Aug. They are still in the Society's possession; one hangs in the Council Room and one in the Inner Library. In 1805 they were supplemented by two hanging Argand lamps; Council, 21 Feb. and 15 Mar.

³ 13 Dec. 1780.

⁴ Council, 12 Nov.

could not meet with any [clock] that would be suitable for the Room'. Finally a modest timepiece was bought for £8 and set up on a console designed by Chambers to correspond with one he had designed for the bust of George III.¹

On 23 November 1780 Sir William Chambers handed the master-key of the Society's rooms to the Vice-President in the Chair, 'informing them at the same time, that as soon as the Order for delivering up the formal possession of the said apartments shall be completed, & entered in proper Offices, he will wait upon them therewith, & receive their Subscription to the Terms & Conditions that are thought proper to be prescribed and annexed to the Grant'.

On 14 December 'The Society was now adjourned to Thursday the 11th. of January next; as well upon Account of the ensuing Xtmass Holydays, as to give time for the Removal of the Society's Effects to their new Apartments, before the Expiration of their term in the Premises now held by them: And Notice was accordingly given, that the future Meetings of this Society will be holden at the Apartments assigned them in Somerset-House; and like Notice was directed to be given to all Members in, and about London.'

The Royal Society had moved into their quarters before this; their first meeting at Somerset House was held on 30 November.² They were none too well pleased with their accommodation, and complained that their library was too small and that there was no provision for their museum.³ They were, moreover, deeply offended that they were to share a staircase with the Antiquaries: the charming staircase beneath a little dome under a frieze with harps and paterae, with a spiralled iron balustrade and a mahogany rail that is one of the surviving glories of their wing of Somerset House. What was worse, they were to share the ante-room and hall, on to which the main door opened.

Sir William refused to modify his building, and the troubles had to be discussed at a joint meeting of the councils of the two societies held at Somerset House on 20 November 1780.⁴ Nothing was done to salve the Royal Society's injured *amour-propre*, but it was soon arranged that the cost of heating, lighting, and furnishing the hall

¹ 23 Nov. 1780. In 1809 (Meeting 8 June, Council 22 June) Joseph Windham gave the Society a new clock for the Library and Sir Henry Englefield bought the old one for five guineas.

² Weld, ii. 119.

³ In the end their collections were presented to the British Museum.

⁴ Minutes on a loose sheet in the Council Minute Book. Evidently the President's chair did not fit the new table, for on 13 Dec. the Council decided that it should be 'rejoined and beautified in a suitable manner'. The actual date of its acquisition does not seem to be recorded; in style it appears to be about ten years earlier than the move to Somerset House, but may have been chosen to please conservative taste.

and ante-room should be shared. The ante-room was to have two library tables, twelve mahogany chairs, and Scotch carpeting; and the hall and staircase eight lamps like those already installed in the quarters of the Royal Academy.

The next grievance was suffered by the Antiquaries, when they found that the porter's lodge had been entirely appropriated by the Royal Society. A letter to Gough, probably from Daines Barrington, shows that strong feelings were aroused.

'Temple

Jan. 3. 1781.

As I understand that the President means to lay before the Council this day a proposal relative to the dispute between the R. & Ant. Society concerning the porter's lodge at Somerset House, I am very unhappy to say that I totally disagree with him in regard to every fact and ground upon which that proposal is found.

Though I unfortunately thus differ from him in opinion yet I do not mean to attend the Council, because conceiving as I do (perhaps erroneously) that the concessions made thereby to Sr. W. Chambers and the Rl. Socy are inconsistent with the real interest and dignity of the Antiquaries, I could not but oppose with warmth what I must always consider in that light. . . .

Rather more than two months ago Sr. W. Chambers accosted me in Somerset House with the following words: 'Mr. Banks complains much that the Royal Sy. hath not sufficient room in Somerset House.' To this I answered, 'Both Societies are nobly accommodated and we should know when we are well'. To this Sr. Wm. Chambers replied: 'Yes, but Mr. Banks is not satisfied.'

Though this discourse from Sr. W. Chambers had clearly its meaning . . . yet I thought no more about the Conversation for some days when it was rumour'd that the Treasury had order'd the Porter's Lodge to be given *exclusively* to the R. Sy. . . . The R. Sy. hath eight rooms with fire-places above stairs besides other good conveniences for servants.'

He thinks, indeed, it is not for 'the real servants of that Society' but for 'the Miss Robertsons'¹ that extra room is needed. 'Banks is the villain!'

The Antiquaries, however, had to climb down, and the Royal Society retained possession of the lodge.

On 11 January 1781 the Antiquaries held their first meeting in their new rooms. The President delivered a speech (later printed by order of the Society) offering grandiloquent thanks to the munificent George III. The bust was on view.

'It is from the exquisite Workmanship of a Member of this Academy [Mr. Bacon] that the Testimony of Gratitude, which under the Direction of this Society is most humbly dedicated to the King, derives an essential Value as expressive of the high Respect we entertain for our Royal Patron.

To another Member of the same Academy [Sir William Chambers] the

¹ John Robertson was clerk and librarian to the Royal Society, 1768-76, and these were presumably his daughters.

Nation is indebted for this magnificent and noble Structure; in which it is difficult to determine, whether we are most to admire, the Elegance of Design, the Correctness of Taste, or the judicious and happy Union of the Useful and Sublime in the Arrangement and Execution of the Whole. . . .

He has placed us within these Walls to communicate with Freedom, and to contribute with our respective Abilities to the Improvement of Literature, Science and the Arts, which by their present happy and judicious Connection become mutually Handmaids to each other, always resident within the same Pale, and Rivals only in their Attempts to produce, with the greatest Expedition and Effect, Materials for perfecting the Intentions of their Royal Benefactor and Patron. . . .

A striking Similarity of Studies in the Pursuit and Illustration of the various Subjects of Literature and Science, form so natural and close an Alliance between the two Learned Societies that it would perhaps appear impertinent to enlarge upon so obvious a Topic. . . . The Relation which the Study of Antiquities bears to the Academy of arts, although not so obvious, is no less certain. . . . History, Science and Art may claim an equal Share in the Attention and Labour of the Antiquary.

In History, to ascertain particular Facts of remote Antiquity, to collect Materials of the Lives, Habits and Reputation of various Artists and Men of Genius in successive Ages of past Time, will find its Merit with those, whose systematic Line of Study, and of Practice in the Arts is founded upon, and supported by the Authority of Antiquity. But from the judicious Investigation of ancient Science, and Art, a more general and useful Field of Knowledge is opened to the modern Artist. The most valuable Hints for the Direction of his Studies are to be collected from the Works of Antiquaries; and the Repositories of Arts have been enriched with a Variety of necessary Information from the same Source.'

On 15 February the plans and details of construction of the Society's apartments were signed by the Society's officers and the architect.¹ They give a more exact idea of the Society's quarters than can easily be gained at Somerset House at the present time. The resident Secretary was accommodated in the attic, with three rooms with deal dadoes and Siena marble and Sicilian jasper chimney-pieces. He also had three rooms in the garret, in one of which his housemaid slept.

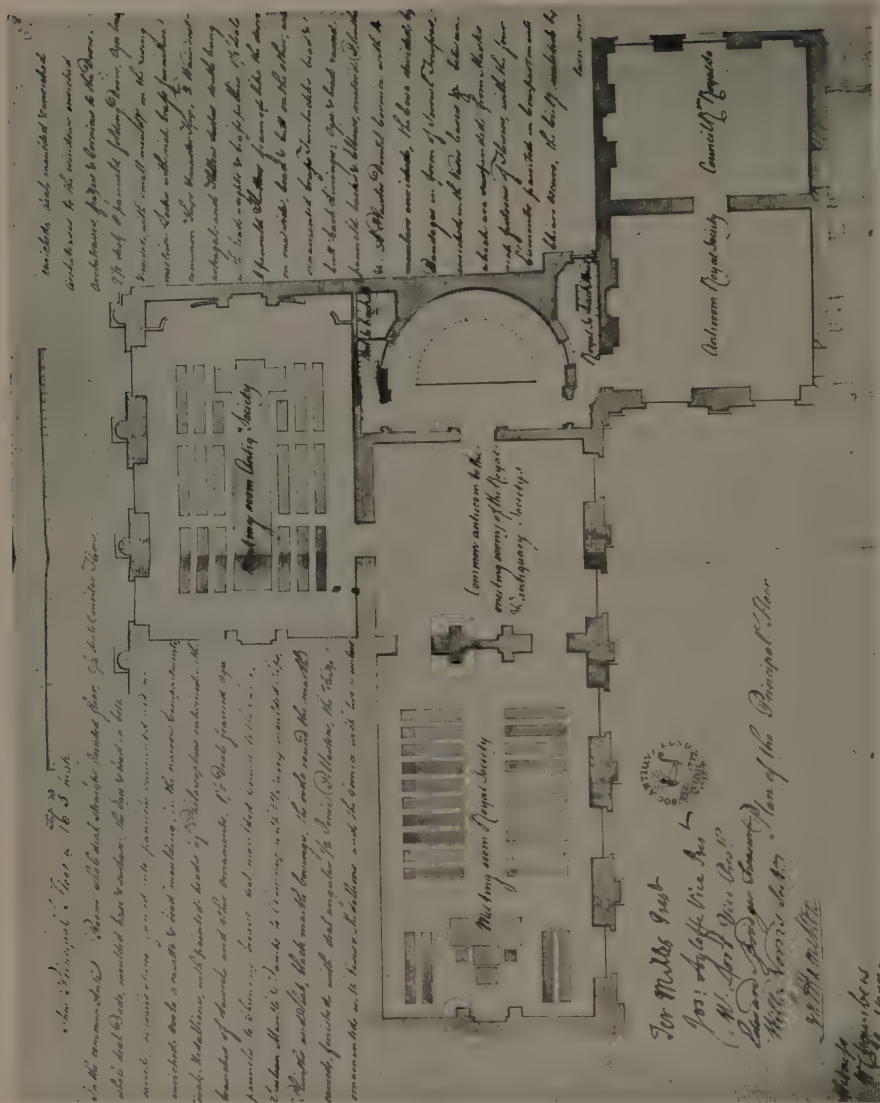
The ante-room, shared with the Royal Society, had 'stucco walls in panels with moulded edges, in narrow compartments oval medallions with heads of Philosophers entwined with branches of Laurel and other Ornaments, rich marbles for chimneypiece, rich cornice, architrave and door tops'.

The Society's meeting-room was on the principal floor (Plate XX). It had a deal dado, stucco walls painted green, a 'Plaster Ionic modillion Cornice, 5 members enriched, other details as in Ante-room; two large Statuary marble Chimney pieces and Slabs, and a coved ceiling with fretts, Roses and Patteras'. The centre was

¹ Copy in Ants. Corr.



Somerset House, from an engraving published by Bowles & Carver, 9 Nov. 1797



Plan of the Antiquaries' Rooms at Somerset House, by Sir William Chambers, 1777

adorned with the 'Cypher of the Society entwined with Branches of Laurel' (Plate XXIII b).

'The room is fitted with a very large Mahogany Table for the members and others for the President Secretary and Treasurer¹ with Drawers Locks &c. to the same, and there are mahogany seats covered with black leather and brass nail'd round the Table for the members. . . . The two Closets of the room are fitted up with mahogany shelves. . . .'²

The ground floor contained the Antiquaries' Library, and was fitted with deal bookshelves with enclosed cupboards beneath, and a wooden chimney-piece, the whole painted stone colour but for the grained mahogany doors. Readers were accommodated at mahogany tables in the windows.

The basement was hotly contested between the Antiquaries and the Royal Society. In the end the Antiquaries were allotted a kitchen, cellar, two vaults, and a privy. The lobby, originally intended for footmen in waiting, had to accommodate their porter, since the Royal Society continued in sole possession of the porter's lodge.

The move provided an opportunity for various necessary minor reforms. In April 1780 the Auditors made a more thorough revision than usual of the lists of Fellows, their bonds and arrears, and the tally of their taking up their allotments of prints. In May the accounts were put on a more businesslike footing by the purchase of a day-book and ledger, and in June a Committee of Accounts was appointed, to check Norris's rather incompetent book-keeping. In January 1782³ Milles wrote to Gough that he had put the Audit 'upon a new plan—it is to be held at the Society's house, the Council are all to be summoned, and the business concluded with an entertainment'.

Not even an Audit Dinner—which long remained an agreeable feature of the Society's calendar—could bring order into the Society's finances. On 10 April 1783 Edward King as Vice-President reported to a meeting

'That the Council having lately under Consideration the State of the Society's Finances, could not observe, but with Concern, the enormous List of Arrears that appeared thereon, and the evil Tendency, and Consequence to the Society of a further Extension thereof. That the ordinary methods hitherto prescribed and pursued for Recovery of these Arrears, had been found ineffectual and insufficient, especially with that Class or Description of Men, who equally regardless

¹ The Royal Society sat then (as now) with a large table in front of the President's desk; and the Antiquaries, as they did until 1929, on three rows of benches on either side of a table. The one arrangement is intended for experiments, the other for exhibitions.

² These seem to have constituted the Society's Museum. Fortunately few antiquities were given to them at this time: the shield from Lugtonrigge Farm, Ayrshire (Way, p. 16), presented by Dr. Ferris in Nov. 1791, and the sword (*ibid.*, p. 26) believed to have belonged to Cromwell, presented by John Hawkins in June 1789. Both are still in the Society's possession.

³ 24 Jan.; *Ants. MS.* 447. 1.

of their own honour, as well as that of their Friends pledged for them, on being proposed as Candidates for Election, could now easily set at nought the Duty they owed, and the Obligations they assumed on becoming Members. That, upon examining into the Nature of the Powers vested in the Council by their Statutes, to see what Remedy might thence be derived, they found the same not only very incompetent and inadequate to the Evil, but so clogged with embarrassing [*sic*] Difficulties, requiring a Series of Years to bring any Suit to Issue, that they may be truly said to be the ministering cause to the Grievances now complained of.'

He proposed that in future that if anyone were more than two years in arrears, the Council should be empowered at their discretion to execute his bond; and that no one in arrears should receive prints and publications. His proposal was carried unanimously; but in fact the Council was never so indiscreet as to take action on the bond, and the want of liaison between the Treasurer and the porter ensured a liberal distribution of the Society's publications.

In June 1780 the Council decided to check the Library catalogue, which was found in order,¹ and to engage a man to make an inventory of the Society's copper plates, prints, publications, and effects. By December 1781 Gough had his way, and the Council voted 'That the collection of old, tatter'd and dirty Pamphlets, presented several years ago to this Society by Dr. Barthelmy of Kent, be sold and disposed of; not being worth the Trouble and Expence of sorting and binding them, and being also full of Vermin'. In April it was reported that Mr. Francis Hill had offered £5 for a selection of the best, and £4 for the rest as 8 cwt. of waste paper. The Council accepted his offer.

At this time² the Council was able to report that the books had been checked and mended and set in presses 'in Proper Classes', with shelf-marks on the back, and that an alphabetical catalogue with shelf-marks had been drawn up and would be kept open on the Library table. Soon, indeed, the new Library began to be a centre of research. Dr. Treadway Russell Nash, in particular, was an habitu  ;³ he was writing a history of Worcestershire and found the Habington, Thomas, and Lyttelton collections invaluable. He was followed by Prattinton (not a Fellow) who ultimately left his Worcestershire collections to the Society.⁴

¹ On 2 Dec. 1784 the Council had to buy back three volumes which had been stolen from the Library and had been rescued from a chandler's shop in White's Alley, Chancery Lane, by Nichols their printer.

² 3 Apr. 1781. Sir Joseph Ayloff seems to have been the moving spirit in this reorganization. After a theft in 1784 another committee was appointed to check the Library. At the Council of 13 Dec. 1784, it was agreed—no doubt to make more room—that the books should be rearranged on the shelves by size, regardless of subject, and listed anew by Cobb the porter. At the same time suggestions for purchase were invited.

³ Walters, *English Antiquaries*, p. 66.

⁴ He died in 1840, leaving the Society over a hundred volumes on Worcestershire and his excellent drawings.

On 16 November 1780 the Royal Society, just installed in Somerset House, changed the hour of their meeting to eight o'clock. It was first proposed¹ that the Antiquaries should change theirs to half-past six, but finally passed that they should meet at seven.² At the same time it was agreed that 'No Stranger shall be permitted to be present during the Meeting of the Society, without Leave obtain'd of the Society upon the Motion of some Member upon the President's taking the Chair; after which Leave obtain'd, & not before, the stranger shall be introduced. And the name of every person so permitted to be present, & of the Fellow who moved for him, shall be enter'd in the Journal Book.' On 13 December the Council further decreed that no Fellow should introduce more than two people to any one meeting. A Fellow³ even proposed 'that it be submitted to the Council to consider of the Propriety of having a Medal struck, for the Use of the Members, with His Majesty's Bust on One Side, and the Northern Elevation of this new Building on the Reverse, with such Inscriptions thereon, as they shall direct. . . .' This was presumably to be used as a tessera for entrance, but the Council did nothing about it.

Rivalry in antiquarian research with the Royal Society was almost at an end; and though the Royal had secured the porter's lodge at Somerset House and set up a bust of Newton over the front door they shared with the Antiquaries, they were as yet in no state to outshine the Antiquaries in public repute. Their Society, indeed, was rent by dissensions caused by the wish of the President, Sir Joseph Banks, to limit the Fellowship to those who had either successfully cultivated the sciences or who were rich enough to become the patrons of those who did.⁴ On the other hand, new rivals were coming into the field.⁵ The Society of Antiquaries which Mr. Conyngham founded in Dublin in 1780⁶ was laughed out of existence by Governor Pownall, but the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, founded in 1780, succeeded in gaining its charter in 1783, although its petition was opposed by the University of Edinburgh, the Philosophical Society, and the Advocates' Library.⁷

The years of the move to Somerset House were not without difficulty for the Society, and much of the difficulty was centred in their President. He made a reasonable number of appearances at meetings, but rarely attended Council, and once the grant of rooms at Somerset House had been achieved, did little to direct the policy

¹ Meeting, 15 June, and Council, 16 Nov. 1780.

² Meeting, 23 Nov. 1780.

³ Mr. Bartlet, 11 Jan. 1781.

⁴ Weld, ii. 152.

⁵ The Spalding Society had almost if not quite disappeared. See Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 125.

⁶ See Nichols, *Ill. of the Lit. Hist. of the 18th Cent.* vi, 1831, p. 430. Conyngham was elected F.S.A. in 1790. His Society was later succeeded by the Royal Irish Academy.

⁷ Toynbee, *Walpole's Letters*, xii. 447.

of the Society. The draft of a letter to him from Gough survives¹ which gives expression to the difficulties of this time.

'You ask me why I desert the S. of A. No man since I have been a member has been [more] constant in attendance or shewn more zeal for its Interests. The S[ociety] and its objects have literally been my Hobby horse, wch. I have pursued till with respect to the S. I am reluctantly compelled to remit my zeal.

I have served the S. as long as it main[tain]d its respect and consequ[ence]. But I have livd to see it decline from its Meridian Glory; to see the Originality of its communica[tio]ns exchanged by remissness and disregard of its members for the gleanings of its early members; innumerable members let in who have no pretence but their contributions which they neglect to pay; its Pres. himself, than whom no one of its body has it in his power to do it [more] honor, neglects its chair; its Councils seldom called and its revenues lavisht on (to say the least of them) expensive engravings to gratify a party while its debts are procrastinated and its other public[atio]ns neglected.

To crown all these marks of decline in this once respectable body wch. seems to have flasht only to set the sooner, the S. of A. are on the point of removing to Apart[ments] magnific[ent] indeed and where their seats and tables may make a figure without Accomodation or [word illegible] dignity and their library wch. is no small orn[ament] to them be hid if not in danger of being lost.

Under these circum[stance]s and conscious of having done all in my power to serve the interests of the S. of A. I beg leave to resign into yr. hands the Office of D[irecto]r which I look upon as the pure effect of yr part[ialit]y for me, but wch. I cannot hold any longer with honor. With every sincere wish for the Revival of the real Prosperity and Dignity of the Soc[iety]

I rem[ain] Sr

With the truest respect
Yr. obt. S.'

In November 1780, ten days before the keys of Somerset House were handed over, Dean Milles had a stroke. His enemies at once began to debate the question of his successor. Walpole wrote to Cole to suggest Daines Barrington,² and Cole replied nominating Robin Masters to hold 'the leaden mace' as 'the most dull, plodding, heavy handed fellow in the Universe'.³ Walpole answered:⁴ 'I can have no objection to Robin Masters being Woodenhead of the Antiquarian Society—but I suppose he is not dignified enough for them. I should prefer the Judge [Daines Barrington], too, because a coif makes him more like an old woman, and I reckon that Society the midwives of superannuated miscarriages.'

Dean Milles neither died nor resigned. He recovered fairly well but lost the power of his right hand. Rowlandson's famous drawing⁵ of him admitting a candidate shows him shaking hands with his left. High blood-pressure seems also to have affected Milles's

¹ Ants. MS. 447. 1.

² Lewis, ii. 245; 24 Nov. 1780.

³ Ibid. 247; 27 Nov. 1780.

⁴ Ibid. 250; 30 Nov. 1780.

⁵ At present in the Society's Hall; it was presented by Mr. Henry Pfungst in 1911.

judgment. Thomas Chatterton had produced his pseudo-medieval poems in the years after 1767. Walpole had refused to help him, and he had poisoned himself in 1770. A first edition of his poems as the work of a medieval writer, Thomas Rowley, had appeared in 1777, and now Milles became the sponsor of a second edition. On 13 December 1781

'The Secretary presented from the President (who was absent, being confined by a severe cold) a Volume in Qto. intitled:

Poems, supposed to have been written at Bristol, in the Fifteenth Century, by Thomas Rowley, Priest, etc. with a Commentary, in which the Antiquity of them is considered, and defended, by Jeremiah Milles, D.D., Dean of Exeter

The Society express'd their Obligations and Thanks to their worthy President for this kind Present.'

Some Fellows, who were qualified to criticize the President's attribution, did not do so in public out of respect for his age and infirmity; not even Walpole entered the fray. John Baynes, however, a barrister in his twenties, had no such scruples, and in 1782 wrote 'an Archaeological Epistle to the Reverend and worshipful Jeremiah Milles, D.D., Dean of Exeter, President of the Society of Antiquaries',¹ partly in sham Middle English. Stanza xvi runs:

'O mighty Milles, who o'er the Realms of Sense
Hast spread that murky antiquarian Cloud,
Which blots out Truth, eclipses Evidence,
And Taste and Judgment veils in Sable Shroud . . .
Expand that Cloud still broader, wond'rous Dean!
In Pity to thy poor Britannia's Fate;
Spread it her past and present State between
Hide from the Memory that she e'er was great.'

The immediate difficulty was solved by Milles's death on 13 February 1784, at the age of seventy.² The Society's meetings were suspended out of respect until 26 February. The Council met on 21 February. After the usual oration, 'It was judged expedient, in order to prevent unnecessary trouble, and the useless casting away of Votes, that every member be severally called upon, to declare his Intention, with respect to the executing the Duties of a President, in case he should be elected to it; and all present acknowledging it incompetent with their particular Avocations, and other

¹ Printed by Nichols, printer to the Antiquaries. A copy in the British Museum is bound with a volume of Chatterton, C. 39. h. 20.

² He was buried in his church of St. Edmund the King, London. His monument states that 'to the cultivation of an elegant and correct taste for Polite Literature, [he] superadded the most judicious researches into the abstruse points and learning of Antiquity'. On 16 June 1785 the Council decided to order a copy in oils of his portrait in the possession of his family, by Miss Black, 'a Lady of Eminence in her Profession'. This is still in the possession of the Society; Scharf, XLIX.

Engagements, to discharge it with either Satisfaction to themselves, or Advantage to the Society, begged leave to decline it, two Gentlemen only excepted, O. Salusbury Brereton, and Edwd. King Esq^r.¹ King was elected by a very large majority. He made it known¹ that he intended 'holding it only till St. George's Day, the Anniversary of the Society, when he proposes to bring forward and recommend the Lord de Ferrars as President, a young Nobleman of great Merit, and who has a passion for the Study of Antiquities'.

Meanwhile King made himself extremely busy. He was a Norwich man, nephew and heir of an Exeter linen-draper, who had been called to the Bar and had become Recorder of Lynn.² He was an absurd writer on theology and a hardly less absurd poet; when he was elected he had lately³ published *Hymns to the Supreme Being: in Imitation of the Eastern Songs*. His *Munimenta Antiqua*⁴ show that he was an indifferent antiquary, but he proved the most assiduous of administrators. At the very meeting at which he was elected President he not only announced the death of Dr. Morell but also brought forward motions to appoint his successor,⁵ and to decide where the officers were to sit.⁶

At the next meeting of Council the new President brought in a motion that the most interesting objects exhibited before the Society without a formal dissertation upon them should at once be drawn on the spot, and the drawings kept by the Society in a special portfolio and used as a stock from which miscellaneous plates might be engraved in an appendix of the *Archaeologia*.⁷ He further recommended, and the Society agreed,⁸ that a draughtsman should be appointed to attend the meetings (though not a Fellow) and to make these drawings. John Carter, draughtsman to the *Builder's Magazine*, was forthwith appointed.⁹

At the next Council the President further moved that no person elected should be admitted without a formal declaration from the Treasurer that he had paid his admission fee, signed the Obligation, and executed his bond, or compounded, for his subscription. A week later¹⁰ he was very busy ordering a new ballot-box, getting an estimate for a velvet cushion for the mace, and changing the venue

¹ Letter of Norris to Hayman Rooke, Ants. Corr. 1 Mar. 1784.

² See Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* viii. 57. He had been elected to the Royal Society in 1767 and to the Antiquaries in 1770.

³ 1780.

⁴ Published in 1796.

⁵ John Topham, F.R.S.

⁶ Both Secretaries were to be at the table, but Norris only was to take minutes; the Treasurer was to sit at the end of the table to the President's right.

⁷ This appendix survived until vol. lvi, 1899.

⁸ Council, 26 Feb.; Meeting, 11 Mar. 1784. A book was bought in which to enter their descriptions. On 20 Feb. 1786 Council decided to invite Fellows to enter any pictures or sculpture they thought worthy of being drawn or engraved in a suggestion book, but little seems to have been done, and the book does not appear to survive.

⁹ On 2 Apr. 1784 John Saunders was appointed his coadjutor.

¹⁰ 19 Mar. 1784.

of the Anniversary Dinner to the Devil Tavern. He had hounded the committee on furnishing Somerset House into coming to a decision on hanging the pictures, and at the meeting they reported that 'having placed the said Pictures and Prints in such manner as they might appear to the greatest Advantage, and having also requested the Opinion of Sir Wm. Chambers upon the Subject, who did the Committee the favour of attending; They are of Opinion that the said Pictures and Prints would tend only to disfigure the Room; and that they ought not to be hung up or placed in the same Room'.¹

At the next meeting the cushion was approved, trays for exhibits purchased, and an accountant to work under the Committee of Accounts appointed, at a fee not exceeding ten guineas a year. It was then agreed² that copies of the annual lists of members should be kept and bound, that all candidates' papers should be preserved, and the minute-books lettered on the back.³

The Society seems to have been a little restive under such efficient administration. When the Anniversary drew near it became apparent that King was not going to retire gracefully in favour of Lord de Ferrars, who was ultimately persuaded to stand against him. Lord de Ferrars (who shortly afterwards was created Earl of Leicester) politely put King on his house-list, presumably with a view to nominating him Vice-President; but King omitted his Lordship and two Vice-Presidents from the printed lists which he circulated. It was the first contested election for the Presidency; Ferrars was elected by 62 votes to King's 37.

King's speech on giving up the Presidency expresses his gratification at having carried out most of his plans and purposes, and then adjures the Society not to grow slack once more.

'In the next place;—it had long been observed, and greatly lamented, that a certain degree of *languor* attended the proceedings, at the weekly meetings of the Society; and that, in consequence thereof, a dark cloud of discontent and reserve obstructed those beams of light, and those lively, animated communications of science, on the supplies of which, not only the *prosperity*, but the *very existence* of such a learned body as this Society does most obviously depend.

And yet all this was occasioned, merely for want of the observance of a *few forms*; and for want of exercising that power, given by our Charter, and our Statutes, of appointing a *sufficient* number of necessary and proper officers for the conducting and carrying on of the business of the meetings, with activity and effect. . . .'

After recounting his reforms, announcing the retirement of

¹ The report was unanimously accepted, but Fairholt's engraving of 1839 shows that pictures were later hung in the Meeting Room.

² 30 Apr. 1784.

³ On 18 Dec. 1784 it was agreed that the minute-books should be kept under lock and key behind a lattice.

Topham from the Treasurership, the election of Edward Bridgen in his stead, and the appointment of the Rev. John Brand as second Secretary, King made the usual eulogy of his successor and concluded:

'Some men, of much learning and discernment, have been estranged from the study of antiquities by observing, what they call, the dull unanimated pursuits of certain Antiquaries, who are continually searching amongst rubbish, and bringing to light, in a wonderful manner, all the blunders of past ages; without aiming at any one useful end. And other men (perhaps of sounder judgement) are equally estranged, on the other hand, by beholding, with deserved indignation, the fastidious, pert conceit of those, who affect a degree of refinement, which they believe and hope, the rest of the world cannot comprehend; and whose only view it is, to be able to look down, with an air of superiority, and contempt, on the want of taste, and of all elegant ideas, which they *fancy* they perceive in all, except themselves; whilst they idolize the works of remote antiquity; and do mankind the honor to suppose, that there are no beings, *now living*, hardly worthy to crawl upon the face of the earth. Yet . . . both these sets of Antiquarians, might become highly useful, if their pursuits were but once rightly modified and directed.—For, as, on the one hand, the diligent researches of the former class, will furnish the world with ample and *useful* materials, to become acquainted with the true and real state of mankind, in different ages, and in different countries; so the *nice* discernment of the latter, will enable the world to select, and to avail themselves, of the benefit of every the *best* exertion of art, and of science, in every age, and in every part of the earth, and nothing will be lost. . . .

Let us therefore strive, in our day, to bring to light every curious work of Antiquity, and to *profit* thereby; but let not a vain admiration of their excellence, depress our spirits; or quench that noble energy of soul, that should lead *us* to *excell.*'

The inexperienced President not only nominated King Vice-President (a reasonable tribute) but also set him first on the list. Samuel Pegge wrote to Major Hayman Rooke:¹ 'This Ed. King, who is pragmatistical enough, got the Earl of Leicr. after the Vice Presidents (among which he was one) were elected on St. George's Day, to appoint him to be, and to stand, the first of them; whereas in the List he was the last. This his Sollicitation the Earl unthinkingly complied with, and it gave Offence, so that the members wish'd matters might continue as they were before; and prevailed with the Earl so to order it. This being done, *King* on his part was offended, and now comes no more to Somerset Place.' Again, on 18 May 1785 Pegge writes: '*King* seems to have a Party, which I am sorry for, being fearful lest the restlessness of such Party should cause a lasting, and not only a temporal Dissension in the Society.'

King, indeed, never again published with the Society and rarely,

¹ 8 Aug. 1784; letter in Ants. MS., Rooke Papers. A long letter from King to Gough on the subject will be found in the beginning of Gough's copy of *Arch.* vii in the Bodleian.

if ever, attended its meetings, although he was a Vice-President.¹ None the less he was resolved to continue in office. In April 1785 he sent a printed letter to all the Fellows, filling in the name of the man he addressed in ink.²

'Mr. King presents his compliments to [Major Rooke]; and having reason to conclude, from very good authority, that he is to be dismissed from his Vice-Presidentship of the Society of Antiquaries, and to be left out of the House List of the Council, on St. George's Day, he takes the liberty to apply to his friends, to request that such open dishonour may not be cast upon him, in return for his unwearied zeal and constant endeavours to be useful to the Society, without their being fully aware what they do, when they give their consent to such a step, by their Votes at the ensuing Election. Mr. King has indeed, in consequence of what he thought undeserved ill treatment, absented himself this winter from the usual Meetings; and if it be the pleasure of the Society to dismiss him entirely in this disgraceful manner, from a Council in which he has had the honour to be constantly placed for so many years, he must rest content; but, if it be not their pleasure so to dismiss him, he hopes they will exert themselves in his support, on the Ballot at Somerset Place, on St. George's Day, the 23rd instant.

April 10, 1785.'

In spite of King's efforts the Anniversary of 1785 proved a good deal less quarrelsome than the last. After it Douglas wrote:³

'We have had much serious business debate at our Society on this last Council election &c. I was honored with a *Scrutatorship* and kept seven hours without my dinner casting up votes 'till my eyes struck fire and the cholic seized my bowels for the want of food. This aerial repast you may say is bad for an hungry antiquary—but what of that, my zeal, my zeal! and O my patience under such affliction of long and fustian speeches amply rewarded my labours—We set down at $\frac{1}{2}$ past eight, I should say 9, to a good dinner and plenty of wine carousing 'till $\frac{1}{2}$ past one at the devil tavern—and as a certain wit replied on the occasion, that the Society *was broke up and gone to the devil.*'

There appears to be no evidence as to the date at which the President of the Antiquaries began to wear a cocked hat as a symbol of his eminence over his bare-headed brethren. The original Statutes of the Royal Society, enacted in 1663, direct⁴ that the President 'being in the chair is to be covered, while speaking unto or hearing particular Fellows, notwithstanding their being uncovered'. There appears to be no evidence that a hat was in fact ever worn by the President of the Royal Society.

¹ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* viii. 57. Nichols concludes: 'Mortality closed upon Mr. King while he was engaged in this pursuit' (his book on Castles) 'and the relaxations of polite *conversations*, in which he bore a principal part.'

² I quote the example in the Rooke Papers, Ants. MS.

³ Ants. MS. 723, p. 63.

⁴ Chapter viii. The Statutes have been reprinted in *The Record of the Royal Society*, 1940, Appendix II, p. 287. My attention was drawn to the Statute by the kindness of Sir Henry Dale. The revision of 1776 does not mention the hat.

The custom of wearing a hat—and in old days a cocked hat—is an old one in Freemasons' Lodges,¹ and our Society, which was in its infancy in close relation with the Grand Lodge of England,² may well have adopted it at that time. Dean Milles, however, would as a cleric have been unlikely to wear one; Rowlandson's caricature of him admitting a Fellow shows him hatless. When Benjamin West in 1792 announced the royal approval of his election as President to the members of the Royal Academy, he ended his speech: 'Therefore, gentlemen, not on account of any personal merits on my part, but to do honour to the office to which you have so kindly elected me, I shall presume in future to wear my hat in this assembly.'³ The painting by H. Singleton, in the collection of the Royal Academy, of the Academicians in 1802, shows Benjamin West alone wearing a cocked hat to distinguish him as President of the Academy.

Dean Milles's successors were both laymen, and wore their own hair. In their time (if not earlier) the President of the Antiquaries, like the President of the Academy, wore a cocked hat as a sign of his presidential office. A ritual grew up by which he solemnly donned it before admitting Fellows, and doffed it to make the three bows—to his officers, the candidate, and the members—before doing so. It is said⁴ that the custom was only brought to an end in the summer of 1829, when cocked hats were no longer in general wear. Lord Prudhoe came up for admission before a Vice-President whom he knew well, and 'no sooner saw the huge cocked-hat placed on the head of the Vice President' than he dissolved into laughter, as did the officiant in the chair.⁵

The Council had perhaps been stirred up by King's efforts, and continued reasonably active. On 12 November 1784 it decided to get an estimate for a modern mace for the Society. On 2 December 'Mr. Pantin,⁶ Silver-Smith, attending, with a Drawing, and Estimate of the Expence of making a new Mace for the Use of the Society, according thereto, the Charge of the same to come within Thirty, or Five and Thirty Pounds, when a Majority of One appear-

¹ Our Fellow, the Hon. W. R. S. Bathurst, refers me to the minutes of the Royal Gloucester Lodge of Gloucester, which on 27 Dec., 1820, decided to purchase the hat usually worn by the Right Worshipful Master; a transaction that seems to reflect the obsolescence of the cocked hat for ordinary wear. He tells me that the Masters of the Lodges of Freemasons in Bristol still enter and leave the meetings bearing a cocked hat, and that up to 1939 they wore it.

² See above, p. 54.

³ Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England*, ii. 161. I owe the reference to the kindness of Sir Walter Lamb.

⁴ N. H. Nicolas in *Westminster Review*, Oct. 1829.

⁵ A cocked hat of about 1800 is still laid before the President's Chair, but is not now ever worn. The Cocked Hat Club was in 1858 presented with what is said to be Martin Folkes's hat. They also own a cocked hat said to have been worn by three Lord Chancellors. These are worn by Praeses and Treasurer when a new member is admitted.

⁶ Presumably Lewis Pantin, who in 1773 was in business at 45 Fleet Street.

ing upon the Ballot against the Measure; the Council order'd Mr. Pantin a Guinea for his Trouble, and for the purchase of the Drawing'.¹

The Society was beginning to be both large and fashionable. In 1784 it had 376 members. A letter from James Douglas to Brian Faussett, dated 4 February 1785,² declares: 'The Antiquarian Society is conducted on a very extensive plan, and it is now become one of our most fashionable weekly *rendés vous's*. Instead of old square toes you now behold smooth faces and dainty thin shoes with ponderous buckles on them. . . .'

Twenty-eight peers were elected between 1778 and 1788,³ and in 1799⁴ the Duke of Clarence expressed a wish to become a Fellow. The Society's more recent Fellows included not only the great collectors such as Richard Payne Knight⁵ and Charles Towneley,⁵ but also soldiers such as Lord Chatham⁶ and Sir George Yonge,⁶ and statesmen such as William Pitt⁷ and Lord Sydney.⁶ The arts were less strongly represented by Dr. Thomas Bowdler, the editor of Shakespeare,⁶ and Josiah Wedgwood.⁸ The most notable antiquaries admitted at this time were Sir Henry Englefield, Bt.,⁹ an even-tempered, cheerful, lively man, who though he collected Greek vases and was Secretary of the Society of Dilettanti,¹⁰ was interested in many other kinds of antiquity than the classical; Major-General Roy¹¹ who was responsible for the Geodetical Survey made under the auspices of the Royal Society, that formed a basis for the later Ordnance Survey;¹² and Samuel Lysons,¹² an excitable and vigorous west-countryman, with a loud voice that made his emphatic statements seem blunter and his views more extreme than they were. He was a barrister with a turn for art; he was a friend of Lawrence, Joseph Farington, and the Smirkes, attended Reynolds's lectures, and annually exhibited drawings at the Academy from 1785 to 1801.

The new President was a good deal less assiduous in attendance than his predecessor had been, but took the Chair at a reasonable number of meetings, if at few councils.¹³ Owen Salusbury Brereton, Vice-President, usually presided in his absence. The business, it must be confessed, was chiefly of a routine character. In March

¹ This no longer figures in the Society's collections.

² Ants. MS. 723, p. 62.

³ Charles, Duke of Norfolk, and John, Earl of Suffolk, both elected 11 Nov. 1779, at last attended, signed, and were admitted on 25 Jan. 1787.

⁴ 3 Feb.

⁵ 30 Mar. 1786.

⁶ 6 May, 1784.

⁷ 29 Apr. 1784.

⁸ 4 May, 1780.

⁹ 25 Feb. 1779.

¹⁰ 1781-95.

¹¹ 21 Mar. 1776; see Weld, ii. 186, and George Macdonald's paper read to the Society on 14 June 1917 and printed in *Arch.* lxxiii. 161.

¹² 9 November 1786. See Walters, *English Antiquaries*, p. 64.

¹³ 8 in 1784-5, 12 in 1785-6, 8 in 1786-7, 7 in 1787-8, 9 in 1788-9, 6 in 1789-90, 10 in 1790-91, 12 in 1791-2, 19 in 1792-3.

1786 the election Statute was revised at the President's request, 'to render the same more clear, regular, consistent and determinate; and obviate any Doubt or Cavil that might arise to interrupt the Harmony and Proceedings of the Day'.¹ As a consequence it was agreed that the eleven members of the old Council officially recommended for re-election, and the ten new official candidates, should have their names indicated by underlining, and that each voter should give his name to the Secretary as he handed in his paper and have it crossed off the list.²

The normal elections of Fellows continued unchanged, but on Christmas Eve, 1789, the first candidate was blackballed. Samuel Ireland, the author, was the victim; his certificate describes him as 'well versed in the History of Antiquities of this Kingdom and also in the Polite arts', but it was rather weakly signed. He was nominated again early in 1790³ in much the same terms and again blackballed. In 1791 a member of Parliament, Paul Benfield, was blackballed,⁴ although his paper was signed by the President and Treasurer, as was John Baker⁵ with less distinguished backing.

These incidents had various repercussions. At the end of 1790⁶ the practice was initiated of giving notice at a meeting of who would come up for election at the next; and at the Anniversary of 1791 the list of those elected during the year was for the first time read from the Chair. An indirect consequence was that the number of signatories to a candidate's paper tended to increase, sometimes to as many as eighteen.

The Anniversary Dinners continued as festive as under Dean Milles. In 1787 they were transferred from the Devil to the Crown and Anchor on the south side of the Strand, a few doors down from Arundel Street, where there was a fine banqueting room.⁷ The scale of the entertainment may be judged by a regulation of 1792:⁸ 'That in future no more than 15 Tickets for so many Bottles of Wine be allowed to the Servants at the Anniversary Dinner of the Society.'

In 1783 the country members complained that they did not get enough offprints of their papers; this was settled without difficulty, on the Royal Society's precedent, by allowing each author twenty copies at cost price. Two years later a formal petition from Pegge

¹ Council, 8 Mar.; Meeting, 9 Mar.

² This second procedure is still followed.

³ 28 Jan. and 4 Mar.

⁴ 17 Feb. He was an India merchant with a poor reputation as a moneylender.

⁵ 7 Apr. Perhaps the flower-painter of that name.

⁶ 2 Dec.

⁷ In 1789 the Anniversary day coincided with that fixed for a service at St. Paul's to celebrate the King's recovery, and the dinner was shifted to 4 May; and in 1795 it was moved to 2 May as both Houses of Parliament were summoned to attend in Westminster Hall on 23 Apr.

⁸ Council, 19 May.

and Rooke, on behalf of the country members, was submitted to the President:¹

'That whereas some members of the So[ciet]y live in the Country and now and then send a paper or memoir up to Town but whether the Paper be read or not they never know. And whereas the Paper when read goes to the Council for Consideration but whether it be ordered to be printed or not the Authors again are totally ignorant; And whereas such neglectfull proceeding in regard to your Country Friends and Correspondents cannot but be very disagreeable and discouraging to such of your Friends: We the underwritten beg leave to request that certain motions may be made in the Council to the following effect.

1. That it be an Injunction to the Secretaries yt one of them after any Country Gentleman's paper is read to notify the Author of it by the next Post or the Post following that, the Reading of the same.

2. That after the Paper has been before the Council information be again sent to the Author signifying to him the event, viz. whether it be orderd to the Press or not.

3. That the rejected Papers after minutes are taken of them as usual may be returned to their respective Authors for them to avail themselves of their own works, and dispose of them some other way if they think proper, or at least to keep them in their Scrutoires.'

Norris—who was said to be growing 'infirm and lazy'²—protested against the petitioners' assumptions and the Council decided³ that the first request was already a standing order, that the second should be granted, the Royal Society formula being used, and that the third should be postponed *sine die*.

The Library gave the Council but little work. At the beginning of 1785 it was recommended⁴ that not more than £200 should be spent on the purchase of books on English history and antiquities for the Library by a committee of three; they reported their purchases a year later.⁵ In 1790 the Treasurer reported the purchase of Stukeley's Minutes from 1718 to 1732 at Mr. Brandon's sale for 19s.⁶ The regulations for borrowing were tightened in 1786,⁷ when it was resolved that no minute-book, manuscript, drawing, or print belonging to the Society might be taken out of the Library without an express order of the Council.⁸ In May 1787 Norris was asked to make an alphabetical catalogue of authors' names, and in

¹ Copy in the beginning of Gough's copy of *Arch.* vii in the Bodleian; dated 25 Dec. 1785.

² Letter from Samuel Pegge Sr. to Hayman Rooke, 14 May, 1785. Ants. MS., Rooke Papers.

³ 8 Mar. 1786; Norris seems to have held up the petition as long as he could.

⁴ Council, 14 Jan.; Meeting, 3 Mar.

⁵ Council, 31 Mar. 1787.

⁶ Council, 19 Feb.

⁷ Council, 20 Feb.

⁸ The regulation still holds. Two years later (Council, 3 July 1789) the presses in which they were kept were fitted with wire doors and locks.

June was given £40 for his work: the shelf-marks were added by the assistant Secretary in the recess.¹

Edward Bridgen, the Treasurer, died during the recess of 1787, and Topham, who had held the office of Secretary for a short time in 1784, was elected.² When he took over he had some £20 in hand and £5,000 in Consols. Unhappily he was an extravagant Treasurer. Under his régime nothing whatever was done to collect arrears or even to discover who owed them. The Council of 11 April 1791 decreed: 'That the rule for hanging up the List of Members in arrear be suspended, and that the Treasurer be desired to make application to such members in default as he shall judge proper.' This he interpreted to mean complete inactivity.

The Society assumed a considerable financial risk in 1791, when it accepted the bequest from Major-General Roy of his unfinished manuscript on 'The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain' and decided to complete and publish it.³ Sections from it provided papers for the meetings from the end of January until the middle of April, with few intermissions, and provided material in an emergency even later. It was duly made ready for the press⁴ and handsomely published in May 1793. Fellows received a copy free, and it was hoped that there would be a large outside sale, but this never materialized. The book⁵ was, and remains, a credit to the Society, but they lost a lot of money over it.

Other expenditure was equally creditable and unremunerative. In the spring of 1790 Norris at last offered to retire on account of his age and infirmities. It had long been recognized that he was both incompetent and lazy, yet the Society unanimously voted him an annuity of £100 a year for life.⁶ The Rev. Thomas William Wrighte, late Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, was appointed in his stead.

In 1780 the Society resumed the issue of the plates of *Vetusta Monumenta* with six engravings of monuments in Westminster Abbey, with a long historical account. The expenses of the move to Somerset House impelled economy, and no more engravings appeared until 1784, when plates of Rahere's monument and architectural details of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, were issued. Two years later a fountain at Rouen, a font at Winchester, and the

¹ Council, Mar. 1792.

² 6 Dec. Bridgen left to the Society 'the Glass in my Parlour, formerly belonging to General Tollemach, who fell under King William'. The legacy, described as a looking-glass in a rich carved frame, was accepted on 19 Jan. 1788 and hung over the chimney-piece in the Library. On 12 Apr. 1788 it was decided that this arrangement was inconvenient and it was hung elsewhere in the library. The mirror is unfortunately no longer among the Society's possessions.

³ Council, 29 Mar., 11 Apr. 1791. For a recent estimate of Roy's work see O. G. S. Crawford, *Archaeology in the Field*, p. 37.

⁴ Council, 22 Feb., 16 Apr. 1793.

⁵ See Macdonald in *Arch.* lxxviii. 161.

⁶ Council, 14 Apr. 1790; Meeting, 15 Apr. He died in 1791.

palace of Beaulieu in Essex were illustrated, followed, between 1788 and 1789, by Roman pavements, monuments in Winchester Cathedral and Little Easton Church, a Limoges reliquary, and the Ruthwell Cross. All these were accompanied by dissertations of considerable length.

The third volume of the *Monumenta* began in 1790, and is noteworthy as being entirely devoted to medieval subjects except for one tessellated pavement from Colchester.

Nor was this all. In June 1785¹ the Council decided to undertake 'some Work of Celebrity' in the summer recess, and authorized Grimm to draw and Basire to engrave a large plate of the painting at Cowdray for the Procession of Edward VI from the Tower to Westminster for his coronation. The choice of Grimm for the work offended Carter, the official draughtsman of the Society,² and he refused to do other work which the Society had requested him to do. There was further difficulty in 1788 when Jacob Schnebbelie, a draughtsman temporarily employed by Gough when Carter refused to work, published a book dedicated to the Society as their draughtsman.³

Gough succeeded in patching up the quarrel with Carter, and on 24 June 1790 the Council engaged him to make the drawings of the Palace of Westminster for which he is still famous.

Such records were felt at the time, as they are now, to be but poor substitutes for the originals. A letter from Gough in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1788⁴ declares:

'The art of engraving, which helps to make ancient buildings known, and preserves their form to a certain degree, contributes, I fear, to their demolition. 'Is such a thing engraved?'—'O, yes'—'Then it is preserved to posterity'. . . . 'The Corporation intend to blow up the castle; but it is engraved! . . . No matter if the engraving be inaccurate—or exhibiting only a *partial view*—. . . when the engraving is made, farewell to the thing engraved! . . .'

He considers that the Society should do more to make owners realize the importance of their possessions, and continues: 'I confess I see no kind of impropriety in the idea of constituting a select Committee, for the express purpose of preserving from mutilation, sacrilege, or even rapid dilapidation, the remains of ancient edifices.' The committee should receive reports, inquire into them, 'and then, with due respect, give notice to the proprietors of reported edifices,

¹ Council and meeting 16 June. Grimm received fifty guineas for his work.

² Council, 19 Dec. 1785.

³ Ants. MS. 267; Schnebbelie's Letters. He was allowed to exhibit some drawings he had made for the Society at the Academy of 1789 (Meeting, 12 Mar.). He died in Feb. 1792 and in May the Society granted his widow £50 and opened a little fund for her benefit (Meeting, May 24).

⁴ Signed D. N.; *Gents. Mag.* lviii, pt. 2, 689.

of the wish of the Society to see them continue, at least, untouched by rapacious hands. . . . 'It does not become me', he wrote, 'to enquire into the state of the Society's finances; but this I will venture to say, that, if its fund could admit of it, the appropriation of a certain sum, annually, to the reparation and restoration of some select objects of antiquity, would not be an unwise expenditure, and would hardly cost more than the engraving of vile drawings of paltry pitchers, and rude masses of Druidical rocks, which bid fair to last as long as the world shall endure. *Waltham Cross*, or *Northampton Cross*—these cry out for repair, and would not stand the Society in a larger sum, individually, than the annual engraving of the intricate involutions of a few tessellated pavements. . . . ' Unhappily the Society did no such thing;¹ *Vetusta Monumenta* flourished and the monuments of medieval England fell into decay.

The papers read before the Society at this time were on the whole less brilliant than they had used to be. Roman antiquities still formed the staple of the communications. Indeed when in November 1781 Daines Barrington sent an Archaeological News Letter to the Society it was only concerned with Roman discoveries. The Portland Vase inspired three communications,² but most of the papers were about Roman finds in Britain.³

Gough felt that the Society should do more to encourage systematic research in the subject. On 27 August 1787, he wrote to Hayman Rooke,⁴ agreeing with him in 'the Preference which the Romans deserve. . . . I agree with you that our Society of Antiquaries might do much in this way but I am sorry to say, I do not find them much disposed to do much. The utmost they seem enclined to, is to publish the Labours of others when transmitted to them, as they have done yours. They seem to think this an Incitement to others to the same Pursuit, and perhaps it is, but I agree with you in thinking they might do more, and might be at some reasonable *expence* about it; which is a Pity, as they can very well afford it. I have tried this ground, but could not succeed.'

Walpole, however, felt that it was not their province. 'I have often thought', he wrote to Lord Buchan,⁵ 'the English Society of Antiquaries have gone out of their way when they meddled with Roman remains, especially if not discovered within our island'; and

¹ Its only activity in preservation was for Weever's monument in the church of St. James, Clerkenwell, which was kept when the church was pulled down and replaced in the new church. Council, 21 Apr. 1787.

² Charles Marsh, 13 May 1784; John Glen King, 30 Nov. 1786; Josiah Wedgwood, 6 May 1792. (*Ants. Corr.*)

³ e.g. Hayman Rooke on two Roman villas near Mansfield Woodhouse, 18 Jan. 1787 (*Arch. viii.* 363); Pownall on antiquities from Sandy, Beds., 25 Jan. 1787 (*Ants. Corr.*); and Lysons on antiquities from Combe End Farm near Cirencester, 8 May 1789 (*Arch. ix.* 319), and many others.

⁴ *Ants. MS.*, Rooke Papers.

⁵ 12 May 1783; Toynbee, xii. 447.



Somerset House. The Entrance, showing the Door to the Rooms of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies



a. Somerset House. Entablature of the Door with bust of Sir Isaac Newton,
by Wilton



b. Detail of the Ceiling of the Meeting Room, with
the Society's monogram

Romano-British antiquities he found of little interest. 'Tombstones erected to legionary officers and their families, now dignified by the title of *inscriptions*; and banks and ditches that surrounded camps, which we understand much better by books and plans, than by such faint fragments, are given with much pomp, and tell us nothing new.'

It was a moment when Gothic architecture was becoming popular; from 1783 the *Gentleman's Magazine* included an article on the subject, if not always a learned one, in almost every number, and John Pinkerton, a Scottish historian, even decided that Stonehenge was Gothic.¹ Yet the Antiquaries had relatively few papers and exhibits on the subject, and those nearly all on small objects. In 1784 Edward King exhibited the Islip Roll,² then belonging to the Bishop of Rochester and ascribed to Holbein, and Dr. Lort showed gilt bronze figures of the soldiers sleeping by the tomb and Christ in Glory,³ which he described as the Pope supported by 'two persons with wings'. Four years later a rubbing of the famous brass of Robert Braunche at Lynne was exhibited as 'the exertion of some Cellini of the 14th century'.

Papers on medieval architecture and its details were rare. On 23 March 1786 the Rev. Edward Ledwich read his 'Observations on our antient Churches'.⁴ 'The sculptural decorations of our antient Churches', he declares, 'and the various shapes of our arches, to which I shall principally confine myself, have been but slightly touched on by those who have written on our religious structures; but seriously to investigate their origin, though a very interesting desideratum, no attempt has hitherto been made.' His own attempt is too much dependent on literary sources and not enough on buildings, but at least he gives a plate of the capitals in the crypt at Canterbury,⁵ which he thought to be of the time of Alfred.⁶ In February 1788 Governor Pownall gave a paper on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture, that for the first time gives a due place to the wooden churches of Scandinavia. More often the architectural papers are extremely general: witness that read by Mr. Noorthouck on 'The Comparative Merit of Arches in Building';⁷ and the 'Fancies concerning the Aboriginal Form of Human Habitations in general and British in particular, founded upon the word "*Burroughs*"', read in December 1782 by the Rev. Conyers Place of Dorchester.

¹ Kendrick, *Druids*, p. 12.

² 4 Mar. 1784; and letter in *Ants. Corr.*

³ The drawing of them by Carter is in the Society's Library. See *Antiquaries Journal*, xvi, 1936, p. 51, and xxi, 1941, p. 161.

⁴ *Arch.* viii. 165.

⁵ It is not original but copied from the *Antiquarian Repertory*.

⁶ In *Arch.* x. 37 is a letter from the Rev. Mr. Denne dated 19 Nov. 1789, to say that the crypt of Canterbury does not date from before 742.

⁷ 15 Mar. 1792.

One reason for the quality of the architectural papers is suggested by a minute of the meeting of 10 June 1790. 'In order to prevent erroneous plans from coming before the Society and the Public, Mr. Lumby suggests to Gentlemen who indulge in antiquities, the necessity of confining themselves, to the labour of measures, particularly on architectural subjects.'

Gough, indeed, seems to have been the only sound medievalist who laid communications before the Society. In 1789¹ he read a sensible paper on the ancient manor-houses of Little Billing and Great Canford. In 1790 he read excellent papers on Easter Sepulchres² and the mosaic pavement of the Prior's Chapel at Ely.³ Moreover, he was able to present the five volumes of his *Sepulchral Monuments* between 1786 and 1796 and his new edition of Camden in three large folio volumes in 1789.⁴

England's colonial interests were represented in the proceedings of the Society by several papers on the caves of Elephanta, Cannara, and Ambola,⁵ one on the Great Pagoda of Madura,⁶ and two notes on an inscription at Narraganset Bay.⁷ Historical papers ranged from a life of Joan of Arc by Gough,⁸ intended to accompany some engraved plates of Rouen, to a document showing the wages paid in Warwickshire in the time of Elizabeth.⁹ Philology was less fashionable than it had been, but two evenings¹⁰ were devoted to the Rev. William Drake's 'Observations on the Derivation of the English Language'.

Druids were still in fashion. Hayman Rooke had a genius for discovering them among any exposed sandstone rocks as at Stanton, Hartle Moor, and Hathersage in Derbyshire, at Harborough Rocks,¹¹ in Cumberland,¹² and best of all at Brimham Rocks in Yorkshire,¹³ where he identified rock idols, dolmens, and oracular stones, all Druidical.

'Whether these are the works of the Druids or of a more remote age, I must leave to the learned Society to determine; but . . . may we not suppose, that, as the Britons had early Communications with the Egyptians and Phoenicians, their arts, and particularly their religious ceremonies, would be handed down to the time of our Druids, who would probably be, from political motives, not inclined to communicate their knowledge to the ignorant Britons . . . ?'

Nor was this all. On 11 November 1784 the Rev. Edward Ledwich read a paper 'On the Religion of the Druids', which was a thoroughgoing attack on Stukeley and sensible enough, in spite of

¹ 3 Dec.; *Arch.* x. 67.

² 25 Feb.

³ 2 Dec.; *Arch.* x. 151.

⁴ 11 June.

⁵ 1785 and 1786; see *Arch.* vii. 286 and viii. 251.

⁶ 21 July 1789; *Arch.* x. 449.

⁷ By Dr. Lort and Col. Vallancey; *Arch.* viii. 291.

⁸ 17 Nov. 1785.

¹⁰ 11 and 18 June 1789; *Arch.* ix. 332.

¹² *Ibid.* x. 105.

⁹ 10 Nov. 1791; *Ants. Corr.*

¹¹ *Arch.* vii. 19, ix. 206.

¹³ *Ibid.* viii. 209.

a florid style. It was, however, so long that after the minute of it had been read at the next meeting, 'the Society declined entering upon any further Business'.¹

The Minutes were at this time very full, and were often a transcription of the paper read. The practice of reading this all over again as minutes at the next meeting must have been extremely boring for the Fellows in attendance. Samuel Pegge was given to communicating immensely long and very dreary papers, based on literary sources, that trailed on for three or four meetings. Each section was duly entered in the minute-book and duly read at the next meeting as well as the portion for the day. The final one of five on the right of asylum² provoked the entry at the following meeting:³ 'The Evening being far advanced, owing to the uncommon Length of the Minutes of the preceding Meeting, Mr. Willis's Essay, towards a Discovery of the great *Ikenold-Street* of the Romans, was suspended to the next Meeting.'

Pegge was quite undismayed, though even the Secretary in the Minutes described his paper on Serjeants-at-Arms as 'Mr. Pegge's diffusive Memoir'. His masterpiece was perhaps a paper on 'Whether the Antediluvians used Animal Food'.⁴

On 19 Dec. 1787 he wrote to Hayman Rooke:⁵ 'I sent the memoir away Monday se'night to the Society, and hardly doubt but it will be acceptable to them, as they complain of a scarcity of Communications, and that they have little or nothing to read at their meetings.' Such was, indeed, sometimes the case.⁶ A letter from Norris to the President⁷ tells him

'... The Communications of the Season have been pretty large, sufficient indeed, with but ordinary Management and Prudence, to have furnished Entertainment for a much longer Period; but my Brother Secretary, improvident of Futurity and under no Apprehensions but that his Wants will be fully supplied, has run through them with a Rapidity that no Remonstrance could check, the ordinary Consumption, for so I find by my Minutes, being from eight to ten Sheets of a Night. The papers I have been obliged to enter *per extensum*, not daring to abridge them, or make an Abstract thereof, because of increasing the Consumption otherwise of new Matter.'

It was a natural consequence that the material for the *Archaeologia* was not very distinguished. Many of the papers read were printed with little discussion, though Craven Ord wrote to Gough, after a Council which Gough had been unable to attend, about Ledwich's

¹ 18 Nov. 1784.

² *Arch.* viii.

³ 17 Feb. 1785.

⁴ 13 Nov. 1788. A copy is in Ants. Corr.

⁵ Ants. MS., Rooke Papers.

⁶ For instance on 19 May 1791 a paper by North on the arabic numerals was read which was written in 1748.

⁷ Undated, but it mentions Ledwich's paper on the Druids read on 11 Nov. 1784. It is at the end of Gough's copy of *Arch.* vii in the Bodleian.

paper: 'A most rhapsodical paper on Druidical worship was ballotted for and carried by Barrington, Astle, Norris and our Treasurer agt. Lort, Topham and myself; so ended our meeting, if you had been in your place as Director this might not have happened.'¹

The sixth volume of the *Archaeologia*, published in 1782, besides its ration of Druids and minor Roman antiquities, especially the pottery from the Pudding Pan Rock between Whitstable and Reculver, has an article, with a plate, on a Saxon inscription in Aldbrough Church, Yorks., a paper on Reading Abbey by Henry Englefield with a plan and sections, and a long and careful paper on castles by Edward King. Its shorter papers are extremely miscellaneous: they range over the pronunciation of Old French, the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the Plague, earthen masks 'from the Musquito Shore', the Sumatran languages, the Red Indian method of picture writing, the origin and antiquity of round churches, and the cubical content of the Roman Congius.

The seventh *Archaeologia*, published in 1785, was hardly less varied if rather duller. It contains the first printed contribution from a woman² in a letter of 1783 from the Countess of Moira on a clothed skeleton found in a bog in Ireland. Barrington wrote on archery and the progress of gardening; Pegge on the chariots of the ancient Britons; Astle on the radical letters of the Pelasgians; Marsdon on the language of the gipsies, and various people on pagodas in India.

The next volume, after one of Pegge's longest papers, gives one by an Honorary Fellow, Francis Philip Gourdin, a Benedictine of St. Ouen de Rouen, on Genii or Lares. There are various papers on card playing, stimulated by the exhibit of a picture of card players, and many short papers, of which Dr. Glass 'On the affinity of certain words in the language of the Sandwich and Friendly Isles in the Pacific Ocean with the Hebrew' should be noted. A fully illustrated account of Roman antiquities discovered in digging a sewer in Lombard Street seems, by contrast, curiously modern.

The ninth and tenth volumes seem to show a growing interest in early medieval antiquities. A paper by Samuel Lysons on Quenington Church, Glos., with three good plates of his own drawing,³ is followed by a letter from John Claxton on a Saxon arch at Dinton Church, Bucks.,⁴ and several papers on medieval fonts, including one by Gough that tries to establish a type-series from Norman to late Gothic. Some sensible papers on Roman antiquities by Lysons and Englefield balance the volume.

¹ In Gough's copy of *Arch.* ix in the Bodleian.

² p. 90. A letter from Lady S. Riddell, of Mains near Dumfries, on the finding of some stone implements, had been read at the meeting on 4 Nov. 1779, but was not printed.

³ Read 13 May 1790.

⁴ Read 10 Mar. 1785.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1788¹ an anonymous contributor, writing to demand the foundation of a Society for National History, sums up the Society of Antiquaries of his time and their publications not unfairly.

'He who looks into the *Archaeologia* for profound researches into the ancient history, laws, poetry, or manners, of Britain, will be entirely disappointed; and will find the whole eight volumes to contain only amusing fugitive papers, on ancient buildings, monuments, medals, etc. with a few indeed of more importance intermixed. The word *Antiquary* is so undefined, even at present, that we more readily understand by it a man who is fond of collecting, and commenting on, antiques, than one who aspires to the important task of illustrating ancient history, laws, or poetry. . . . The Society consists chiefly of men of fortune; exists at the expence of the members and was not intended to serve the publick, but merely for an innocent and laudable amusement to the members themselves.'

¹ lviii, pt. 2, Supplement, p. 1149.

XII

YEARS OF WAR

1793-1815

THE shadow of revolution had already begun to fall upon the students of the past. In the autumn of 1792 Dom François Philippe Gourdin, an Honorary Fellow formerly a monk of Bec, had written to the Society: 'Appointed by the department of the City of Rouen to form a Library out of those of the Religious houses which have been lately suppressed, I have not had a moment to myself for more than two years; but as the administration of that department is going to be changed, perhaps I may lose this employment and the small emoluments that attend it. I shall be obliged to take refuge in England, where I hope to find some occupation suitable to the abilities of a literary man who wishes to pursue some plan of study.'¹ He was soon joined in England by the Abbé de la Rue and the Abbé Mann, who in their turn laid communications before the Society.²

England looked with increasing horror across the Channel at the excesses of the French Revolution, yet English travellers still ventured there. It was not until after the execution of Louis XVI, the occupation of Belgium, and the menace of an attack on Holland that England really expected the war which was declared on 1 February 1793.

That declaration ended an epoch. In the antiquarian world it brought the tradition of the Grand Tour to an end. The courtly connoisseurship of Paris and Rome was swept away; and a young man could no longer be condemned as uncultivated because he had not visited Paris, Venice, Rome, and Florence.

The effect of the war on the Society of Antiquaries was cumulative. The direct impact of the war was slow to fall. No doubt its shadow lent a topical interest to such papers as that on the beacons and alarums prepared in the Isle of Wight against a French invasion in 1586,³ to various papers on naval architecture, or to that on two manuscripts on the most proper method of defence against invasion

¹ *Ants. Corr.*, 19 Oct. 1792.

² The Abbé de la Rue 'On Robert Wace', 4 Dec. 1794; *Arch.* xii. 50. 'On Anglo-Norman Poets', 29 Mar. 1798 (*Arch.* xii. 297), 'On the Bayeux Tapestry', 12 Nov. 1812 (*Arch.* xvii. 85); the Abbé Mann, 'On Religious Establishments made by English Catholics on the Continent of Europe', 24 May 1798 (*Arch.* xiii. 251).

³ By Sir William Musgrave, Bt.; 16 Feb. 1797.

in the time of Elizabeth.¹ It was not until 1 March 1798 that the Society had to make any direct effort in the war. On that day the Council and the subsequent meeting resolved unanimously to pay £500 into the Bank of England as a voluntary contribution to the defence of the country. It was paid that same day.

The time of compulsory contribution quickly came. At the Council held on 15 March 1799 the question of the return to be made by the Treasurer to the Assessor of the Income Bill was considered. A week later it was decided by ballot that the Society's income of £165 from its holding of Consols should be returned, together with the proceeds of the sale of its publications and the £100 a year estimated for the value of its apartments, less tax;² it was decided that the annual subscriptions need not be returned. The assessable income was thus set at £308. 2s. 6d., on which one-tenth was paid according to the Act. A year later³ the Council authorized the Treasurer 'to pay to the Committee appointed for the Relief of the necessitous industrious Poor of the Parish of St. Mary le Strand, the sum of five guineas'.

The Society's share of the spoils of war proved extremely important to the learned world; they held it, however, only on loan and only for a short time. The Rosetta Stone, with inscriptions in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek, was found near Alexandria in 1798 by a member of Napoleon's expeditionary force, and was transferred to the Egyptian Institute which the French founded in Cairo.⁴ The Institute's collection was surrendered to England in 1801 on the evacuation of Egypt. Lord Hobart, Secretary for War, sent the stone to the Society for their inspection. At the meeting of 1 April 1802 Colonel Turner read a description of the stone, 'for the present deposited in the Society's library'. The Rev. Stephen Weston (the Society's chartered bore of the moment)⁵ communicated a letter on it, 'in hopes that some Body will soon come forward with a complete Translation of the whole, with Notes critical and Historical, in order to Illustrate the Language and the Facts of the valuable Morsel of Antiquity'. Discussion continued at the next meeting, almost entirely on the Greek inscription. Akerblad, a Swedish orientalist living in Paris, had already identified the proper names in the demotic text, but his work was not yet known in England. The stone remained in the Society's Library, in order to

¹ By the Rev. Samuel Ayscough; 2 Mar. 1797.

² The Council Minutes of 16 June 1785 show that the Society paid parish rates of £60 a year.

³ 28 Feb. 1800.

⁴ The *Description de l'Égypte* based on the Institute's work was published by the French Academy in 1809-13.

⁵ He was perpetually producing scrappy papers in shaky writing on such subjects as 'Men of Great and Little Stature among the Ancients'. See *Ants. Corr.*

be copied for engraving,¹ through the first half of 1803, and finally returned in June 1803 to the British Museum, to which George III had given his loot from Egypt, undeciphered.²

The Napoleonic Wars might cut England off from the nearer parts of Europe, but it was still possible to travel in Eastern lands.³ Between 1787 and 1820 Claudius James Rich, the British Resident in Baghdad, employed his leisure in visiting ancient sites, in collecting antiquities, and in writing his memoirs on Babylon.⁴ John Lewis Burckhardt, a Swiss protégé of Sir Joseph Banks, in 1809 was able in Arab disguise to visit Palmyra and Petra.

Yet still the chief Eastern interests of archaeology lay in Greece. Lord Elgin, appointed Ambassador to the Porte in 1799, was able to visit Athens and take casts of the sculptures of the Parthenon in 1800,⁵ and in 1801 to get permission to remove 'any pieces of stone with inscriptions or figures'. The masterpieces now known as the Elgin Marbles were first shown at his house in Park Lane in 1807. The Society had a close link with Elgin in William Richard Hamilton,⁶ son of the Archdeacon Hamilton who was one of the Society's Vice-Presidents between 1788 and 1813, and himself elected F.S.A. in 1804.⁷ He went to the East as Elgin's private secretary and was in the vessel laden with his Greek marbles that was wrecked off Cerigo. Yet the Antiquaries, headed by Payne Knight, affected to think little of the Elgin Marbles;⁸ it was to the artists that they opened the gates of a new world. Similarly the Society took no part in Cockerell's excavations of the Temple of Aegina in 1810,⁹ and of Bassae in 1812, although he had been elected a Fellow in 1805.¹⁰ It was the Dilettanti, and not the Anti-

¹ It appeared as plates 5-7 of *Vetusta Monumenta*, iv, in 1803, with notes by Lysons (Council, 4 Mar. 1803). Further notes on it appeared in *Arch.* xvii. 208. A letter in *Gents. Mag.*, Feb. 1803, lxxiii, pt. 1, p. 106, complains that its publication has been delayed by 'the tardy manoeuvres of an Antiquary Society Council—without a leader. What shall we say to that procrastination in submitting the Rosetta inscription to the world at large, when the rest of Europe, from France to Sweden, are in possession of exemplars, and have sent out elucidations?'

² The decipherment of the hieroglyphic inscription was begun by Thomas Young the physicist, who first published his findings in 1819, four years before Champollion published his *Précis du système hiéroglyphique*. For some abortive attempts see *Arch.* xviii. 65 and 70.

³ A relief head, from Persepolis, and four romantic folding plates of the walls of Constantinople, appear in *Arch.* xiv, 1802.

⁴ Published in Vienna in 1812 and in England in 1839; see G. Daniel, *A Century of Archaeology*, p. 70; Seton Lloyd, *Foundations in the Dust*, p. 5. Dr. Nathaniel Hume read a paper on 19 Jan. 1801, on a brick from Babylon bought in Bombay, with further notes in March. *Arch.* ix. 55 and 205.

⁵ See Clarke, *Greek Studies in England, 1700-1830*, p. 191.

⁶ See Brabrook in *Arch.* lxii, 1911, p. 71.

⁷ He came into touch with the Society over the Rosetta Stone which he helped to recover.

⁸ Douce considered that several of the draped figures were Roman. See his letter to Kerrich of 2 Nov. 1814; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxiii, p. 113.

⁹ See letter from Douce to Kerrich, 1 Jan. 1813; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxiii, p. 104.

¹⁰ Cockerell had German colleagues at Aegina, and the spoils of the Temple went to Munich

quaries, that sent an expedition to Ionia in 1812; and that expedition ended a phase in the history of classical archaeology in this country.

The Society, however, flourished during the years of war. If a man could not attend the salons of France or the academies of Italy, nor buy his engravings in Paris or Rome, there was the more reason why he should listen to the papers at Somerset House, turn over the drawings and engravings in the Library, and study the *Archæologia* and the *Vetusta Monumenta*. By 1807 the number of Fellows had risen to 849. At two not particularly interesting meetings in March 1798, eighteen and twelve guests were introduced by Fellows.¹ In 1803 the first volume of the *Archæologia* had to be reprinted² to meet the demands of the new Fellows who wished to complete their sets.

A study of the admission book³ reveals no great change in the standing of new Fellows, although some critics declared them to be an indiscriminate rabble.⁴ A considerable number of artists and architects continued to be elected: Joseph Farington⁵ the landscape painter, George Stubbs the animal painter,⁶ the architect George Dance the younger,⁷ Richard Cosway the miniaturist,⁸ Robert Smirke the painter,⁹ John Soane the architect of the Bank of England,¹⁰ Henry Holland the architect of Carlton House,¹¹ Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.,¹² Osias Humphrey the portraitist,¹³ Sir William Beechey, portrait painter to Queen Charlotte,¹⁴ James Gandon¹⁵ and S. P. Cockerell the architects,¹⁶ Richard Westmacott the sculptor,¹⁷ and Benjamin West the American-born President of the Royal Academy.¹⁸ By a curious convention professional artists, such as Carter and Buckler, who were not Academicians, were the only Fellows to be called Mr., not Esquire, in the Society's lists.¹⁹

To the collectors were added William Beckford of Fonthill, Thomas Hope of Deepdene,²⁰ the Rev. Thomas Kerrich,²¹ and Samuel Rush Meyrick.²² The third of these was the most closely connected with the Antiquaries though he never held office in the Society.²³

through the stupidity of British officials. The Bassae sculptures duly reached the British Museum.

¹ At the Council of 8 Apr. 1802 it was decided that each Fellow present might introduce only one guest.

² Council, 11 Feb.; Meeting, 17 Feb.

³ At the Council of 8 Apr. 1802 a candidates' book in which the results of elections were recorded was instituted.

⁴ *Gent's. Mag.*, Dec. 1802, lxxii, pt. ii, p. 1180.

⁵ 14 Mar. 1793.

⁶ 14 Nov. 1793.

⁷ 21 Nov. 1793.

⁸ 20 Feb. 1793.

⁹ 6 Mar. 1794.

¹⁰ 26 Mar. 1795.

¹¹ 10 Nov. 1796.

¹² 9 Feb. 1797.

¹³ 25 Jan. 1798.

¹⁴ 9 May 1799.

¹⁵ 11 May 1797.

¹⁶ 20 Dec. 1804.

¹⁷ 12 Dec. 1811.

¹⁸ 6 Dec. 1792.

¹⁹ As late as 1834 the list includes Mr. John Landseer.

²⁰ 22 May 1794.

²¹ 21 Feb. 1805.

²² 22 June 1797; his election coincided with his appointment as Principal Librarian of Cambridge University.

²³ 17 May 1810.

His correspondence with Francis Douce and Edward Balme¹ sheds light on several of the Antiquaries' elections, and reveals him as a pertinacious, omnivorous, and well-informed collector.²

Meyrick—himself the son of a Fellow—will always be remembered as one of the first great collectors of armour. He was a friend of Francis Douce, who left him his collection of ivories. His great work, *A Critical Inquiry into antient Armour as it existed in Europe, but particularly in England, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of King Charles II*, appeared in three quarto volumes in 1824.³ Meyrick was employed from 1826 until his death in arranging the Royal collection of armour, and was knighted in 1833.

New professions are represented by John Rennie, civil engineer,⁴ and Samuel Ayscough, Henry Ellis⁵ and Taylor Combe⁶ of the British Museum;⁷ otherwise the members elected continued to be drawn from the Church, the Law, the two Houses of Parliament, Medicine, the City of London, and the country gentry.⁸ The contemporary convention⁹ that the Council should include a peer, a bishop, a lawyer, and a physician was not unreasonable.

The Society's links with the House of Hanover were strengthened by the election of Prince William, Duke of Gloucester,¹⁰ Prince Ernest, Duke of Cumberland,¹¹ and the Prince of Wales.¹² Another Royal Fellow was the Prince of Orange, elected in 1799.¹³

The real effect of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars was to concentrate the interests of the Antiquaries upon the antiquities of their own country. There was little systematic study of its primitive history such as was being initiated in Denmark by Nyerup.¹⁴ Paley's *Natural Theology*, published in 1802, set out to show that man had only inhabited the world for six thousand years, and archaeologists were not yet ready to contradict him.

No one realized, when on 22 June 1797 John Frere¹⁵ read a short

¹ Now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

² See also the volumes of his drawings and notes B.M. Add. MSS. 6728-60.

³ A second edition, revised with the help of Douce, Way, and others, appeared in 1844.

⁴ 2 Dec. 1802.

⁵ 15 Jan. 1807.

⁶ 14 Feb. 1799.

⁷ 12 Mar. 1789. Charles Morton (24 Nov. 1757) and the Rev. Andrew Gifford (16 Mar. 1748/9) had already been elected from its staff.

⁸ Two changes were made in printing the lists of members. On 5 May 1807 the Council decided that no titles should be inserted except membership of the Royal Society of London, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the Royal Irish Academy; and on 4 June 1812 that Fellows who had not been admitted should be distinguished in the list.

⁹ *Gents. Mag.*, April 1803, lxiii, pt. i, p. 316.

¹⁰ 19 Jan. 1797.

¹¹ 8 Nov. 1798.

¹² 9 May 1799. A few months later he was offered, and accepted, a complete set of the Society's publications.

¹³ 9 May.

¹⁴ In 1806; see Daniel, p. 38, and below, p. 230.

¹⁵ See J. Reid Moir in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, ii, 1939, p. 28.

'Account of Flint Weapons discovered at Hoxne in Suffolk',¹ that it was a landmark in the development of prehistory. He presented them modestly enough:

'if not particularly Objects of curiosity in themselves, [they] must, I think, be considered in that light, from the situation in which they were found. . . .

They are, I think, evidently weapons of war, fabricated and used by a people who had not the use of metals. They lay in great numbers at a depth of about twelve feet, in a stratified soil, which was dug into for the purpose of raising clay for bricks.

The strata are as follows:

1. Vegetable earth $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet
2. Argill $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet
3. Sand mixed with shells and other marine substances, 1 foot
4. A gravelly soil, in which the flints are found, generally at the rate of five or six a square yard, 2 feet . . .

In the stratum of sand, (No. 3) were found some extraordinary bones, particularly a jaw-bone of enormous size, of some unknown animal, with the teeth remaining in it. . . .

The situation in which these weapons were found may tempt us to refer them to a very remote period indeed, even beyond that of the present world; but, whatever our conjectures on that head may be, it will be difficult to account for the stratum on which they lie being covered by another stratum, which, on that supposition, may be conjectured to have been once the bottom, or at least the shore, of the sea. The manner in which they lie would lead to the persuasion that it was a place of their manufacture and not of their accidental deposit. . . .'

'Thanks were returned to our worthy Member Mr. Frere for this curious and most interesting communication', but it was soon forgotten.²

Bronze implements, too, were being more intelligently studied. On 7 May 1801 Charles Joseph Harford read a memoir on antiquities discovered in the Quantocks and declared: 'The celt has long been the *Ignis Fatuus* of Antiquaries: much has been written on its *Antiquity, Form, material and uses*: probably we may obtain a Clue respecting the latter from a Consideration of similar Instruments, which have within these few years, been brought into this Country from the South Sea Islands. . . . Our rude Forefathers doubtless attached the Celt by thongs to the handle, in the same Manner as modern Savages do, and like them formed a most useful Implement

¹ *Arch.* xiii. 204.

² It is worth recalling that on 16 Feb. 1764 Stukeley records another find of flint implements *in situ* (Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. e. 140, fol. 43): 'Ld. Dacres sent some antiquitys found in digging in Hartfordsh. Under a bed of gravel, which they broke thro' with pickaxes, was found a human skeleton, with Elf's arrows and stone trinkets of rudest workmanship, possibly antediluvian.'

or destructive Weapon from these simple Materials. . . .¹ In 1813² Payne Knight showed that certain kinds of stone axes were the prototypes of 'celts' of bronze.

Stonehenge was still being studied,³ and a fall of stones there in 1797 provoked an illustrated paper.⁴ Kit's Coty House again received notice in 1792, when William Boys read a paper to show that it was a Saxon grave.⁵

Barrows were, as always, in fashion. In 1793 our Fellow the Rev. James Douglas published his *Nenia Britannica, or Sepulchral History of Great Britain; from the earliest period to its general conversion to Christianity . . . with the contents of several hundred burial places, opened under a careful Inspection of the Author*.⁶ He classifies his barrows by their size and shape: small conic tumuli, which he considers Anglo-Saxon; campaniform barrows in clusters, which he dates to the seventh century; Roman burials; and great barrows, which he does not date but compares with Scythian examples. The earthworks and tumuli of Wiltshire were being studied by Richard Colt Hoare,⁷ who published his *Ancient History of Wiltshire* between 1812 and 1819, and by William Cunnington, who read a paper on those opened by him in 1805.⁸

Roman studies were chiefly represented in the Society by Samuel Lysons, who was busy at the Roman villa at Woodchester between 1793 and 1796,⁹ and excavating the Roman villa at Bignor between 1811 and 1815; his papers on it¹⁰ extended over many meetings. The last important Roman plates for some years appeared in the *Vetusta Monumenta* in 1807.¹¹ Druids were at last going out of fashion; Rooke's last paper on his Derbyshire rocks, complete with druidical idols and augural seats, was read in 1794.¹²

The chief interests of the Society at this time lay in medieval church architecture.¹³ Its study had begun half a century before, and

¹ For a letter from Gell to Rooke, 7 June 1792, on the sites where they are found, see *Ants.* MS., Rooke Papers.

² 29 Apr.; *Arch.* xvii. 220.

³ A very careful survey of it, made by pupils of Sir John Soane in 1806, is in the Soane Museum.

⁴ Letter from William George Maton, *Arch.* xiii. 103.

⁵ 9 Feb.; *Arch.* xi. 38.

⁶ He states in his preface: 'If the study of Antiquity be undertaken in the cause of History, it will rescue itself from a reproach indiscriminately and fastidiously bestowed on works which have been deemed frivolous. . . .'

⁷ Elected F.S.A. 16 Feb. 1792.

⁸ 7 Feb.

⁹ His large folio on the site, with forty plates and text in French and English, appeared in 1797.

¹⁰ Later printed as parts 1 and 2 of the third volume of his *Reliquiae Britannicae Romanae*.

¹¹ Five plates of an antique bronze statue from Suffolk belonging to Lord Ashburnham.

¹² 13 Mar., *Arch.* xii. 41.

¹³ There was also some faint interest in illuminated MSS. Francis Douce's 'Observations on a Calendar' (12 Nov. 1795; *Arch.* xii. 200) was the first paper of the kind in the *Archaeologia*. Five plates of the Isip Roll appeared in *Vet. Mon.* iv, plates 16-20, in 1808. It was lent to the Society in 1791 for these to be drawn, and was not returned until 29 Nov. 1906.

had now become increasingly fruitful; but a fresh emotional impulse was provided by the French Revolution. Men heard of abbeys sequestrated and destroyed, of cathedrals transformed into Temples of Reason, and turned to look with heightened piety and affection at their own abbeys and cathedrals.

This renewal of interest was reflected in a number of major publications. Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* was reprinted in a much enlarged edition in 1797; Bentham and Willis's *History of Gothic and Saxon Architecture in England* and Milner's *History of Winchester* in 1798. Two years later John Briton began his series of the *Beauties of England*, the first of what publishers now call 'County Books', followed in 1805 by his *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* in forty quarterly parts and in 1814 by his *Cathedral Antiquities*, which were issued yearly until 1835. He frankly aimed at popularization, but his text was careful and his engravings good.¹

The year 1809 saw the posthumous publication of the Rev. G. D. Whittington's *Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France*, based on journeys in France made in the months of uneasy truce that had followed the Peace of Amiens. The time had not yet come for a dispassionate view; his aim of proving that Gothic architecture originated not in England but in France was not acceptable. In the next year Charles Stothard, hitherto known as a 'romantic' historical painter, published the first number of his splendid *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.²

A considerable number of papers on the subject of medieval architecture was read to the Society during the years of war, many of the earliest by Richard Gough. Early in 1794³ the Rev. Samuel Denne read a paper on the figures on the porch of Chalk Church, rightly recognizing them to be late Gothic grotesques. A few months later⁴ Craven Ord gave a competent paper on the alabaster relief at Long Melford. In the summer of 1795⁵ there was a long paper by William Wilkins of Norwich⁶ on the castle of that city, 'with Remarks on the Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans'. In 1798 there was a paper on an early Gothic capital in Mucking Church, Essex.⁷ In 1801 Samuel Lysons read an excellent paper on the Tewkesbury tombs, with a coloured plate of one of the knights in the stained glass.⁸ In 1805 there was a discussion between Robert

¹ On his publications see K. Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 94. He was elected F.S.A. early in 1807.

² He died in 1820, killed by a fall from a ladder while drawing a window at Bere Ferrers.

³ 6 Feb.; *Arch.* xii. 10.

⁴ 4 Dec.; *Arch.* xii. 93.

⁵ 21 May and 4 June; *Arch.* xii. 132.

⁶ Father of the architect of King's College, Corpus Christi, and Downing College, Cambridge, and of the National Gallery.

⁷ C. M. Clarke of Gravesend, 6 and 13 Dec.; in *Ants. Corr.*

⁸ 26 Nov.; *Arch.* xiv. 143.

Smirke, jun., and Sir Henry Englefield on Gothic Architecture in Italy and Sicily:¹ a subject which was taken up again in May and June 1809 by the Rev. Thomas Kerrich.² His paper shows a considerable advance. He declares: 'The Pointed Arch alone does not constitute Gothic architecture, though it may be peculiar to it', and divides his subject into Antique, Old Gothic (which we now call Romanesque), and Gothic itself, this subdivided into three periods. In January 1811³ George Saunders read a paper on the origins of Gothic architecture, with especial reference to vaulting systems; this was followed in March 1812⁴ by a long and fairly technical paper on vaulting by Samuel Ware. Besides such papers of a certain importance, the *Archaeologia* of the war years contained many shorter communications and notes on medieval architecture.

The publication of these papers was far from constituting the Society's only contribution to such studies. Their chief enterprise, largely fostered by Sir Henry Englefield, was launched in 1792. On 30 March the Council resolved:

'That it be desireable and useful for the Society to be in possession of Architectural drawings of the different Cathedrals and other religious Houses in the Kingdom; and that the Council be authorized to employ such Artists in making the same as they shall judge fitt and proper. Ordered. That Mr. Thomas Richard Underwood be appointed Draughtsman in Ordinary to the Society of Antiquaries of London and that he have permission as such to attend the Meetings of the said Society; it being at the same time declared by the Council, that this Appointment does not by any means preclude the Society from employing any other Draughtsman as Artist, whom they may at any time think proper to employ.'

This resolution was duly confirmed⁵ and at the Council on 5 June 1793 £100 was authorized to be paid to the artists employed, followed by another £100 in 1794.⁶ At the meeting on the following day Basire was ordered to engrave fifteen drawings of St. Stephen's Chapel that John Carter⁷ had made.⁸

John Carter proceeded to draw and measure the Cathedral of Exeter,⁹ and on 20 April 1795 was paid £100 for his expenses for

¹ 2 May; *Arch.* xv. 367.

² 'Observations on the Gothic Buildings abroad, particularly those of Italy, and on Gothic Architecture in England', *Arch.* xvi. 292.

³ *Arch.* xvii. 1. It is noteworthy that no résumé is entered in the Minutes of the meeting on 24 Jan., when it was read, presumably because it was known it was to be printed.

⁴ *Arch.* xvii. 40.

⁵ Meeting, 19 Apr.

⁶ 26 June and 10 July.

⁷ John Carter was elected to the Fellowship, having resigned his post as draughtsman to the Society, on 5 Mar. 1795.

⁸ Published with descriptions by John Topham and Sir Henry Englefield, 1795 and 1813.

⁹ Engraved by Basire and published with descriptions by Charles Lyttelton, 1754, Henry Englefield and F. Windham, 1797.

152 days.¹ On 17 June 1796 the Council authorized him to proceed with Gloucester² and Tewkesbury with £50 for his expenses in each place. The latter were never published, for Carter became involved in a major quarrel within the Society, which did, and does, him honour.

The Fellows of the Society most devoted to the Middle Ages had long been disquieted by the restorations effected by James Wyatt, a timber-merchant's son who had gone to Rome at the age of fourteen³ as a protégé of Lord Bagot's and had begun to practise architecture in England a little before 1770. In 1780, when he was thirty-four, he started to restore Salisbury Cathedral, with startling thoroughness. A few years later⁴ Schnebbelie was writing to Gough to complain that Wyatt refused to preserve the paintings discovered in the ceiling of the choir, which Schnebbelie had drawn for the Society. In October 1789 an admirably violent letter from Gough on the subject of the Salisbury restorations appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,⁵ to be answered by Wyatt (or his *homme de paille*) in December.⁶

John Carter entered the quarrel on 20 November 1795, when he exhibited his unfinished sketches of Durham Cathedral to the Society⁷ which had commissioned them. His remarks on the occasion were true and provocative.

'The East Front of the Chapel of the nine Altars, Mr. Carter most feelingly laments, is receiving a new Appearance. The gigantic Statues of the Founders and Patrons having been thrown to the Ground, lie confounded with the Fragments of this once august Front. The pavement is to be raised on a level with that of the Church, which will obliterate the whole extraordinary and splendid Range of the Nine Altars. The Choir will change its very Situation, as the Altar Table will be placed against the East Window of the Nine Altars, where, with but few Decorations, it will be dark and obscure. The Seats of the Bishop and the Dean are to be changed from their original Destination—the Stalls, the Feretory of St. Cuthbert, the Altar Screen and Bishop Hatfield's Tomb are to be destroyed.

Mr. Carter concludes with observing that to regret the devastation continually making in our Cathedrals and other sumptuous Buildings connected with them, will in itself be of no avail, unless some Efforts of laudable and animated Zeal be made for the preservation of the remaining ones, and he hints at an Address to a superior Power, meaning it should seem the Royal and Munificent Patron of this Society, to stay in time this innovating Rage and prevent interested persons from effacing the still remaining unaltered Traits of our Ancient Magnificence which are but faintly to be imitated and perhaps never to be equalled.'

¹ Nash (not a Fellow) exhibited drawings of St. David's made while repairing it in 5 Mar. 1795, with a view to engraving, but his offer was not accepted.

² Engraved by Basire with descriptions by John Carter, 1807.

³ See K. Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 99.

⁴ 5 Oct. 1789; Ants. MS. 267.

⁵ lix, pt. ii, p. 873.

⁶ Ibid., p. 1064.

⁷ Engraved by Basire with descriptions by John Carter, 1801.

The Society did nothing, and on 31 January 1797 it was reported that James Wyatt had been appointed Surveyor to Somerset House. On 18 May his paper as a candidate was read to the Society: 'James Wyatt, of Queen Ann's Street East, Esq^{re}. Architect, a gentleman very conversant in the study of English Antiquities', duly signed by the President, Lord Leicester, Lord Hertford, Lord Harcourt, Edmund Ferrers, Robert Greville, and Lord Pepys. On 29 June he was blackballed, with sixteen for and eleven against. On 6 July he was once more recommended for election, with fifteen signatories, for the most part eminent and distinguished.

James Carter wrote a rhyming letter to the Moores in July.¹

'Your fancies I will tickle
With pranks dame Fortune, ever fickle
Has play'd 'mong Antiquaries, grave;
The truth about it, you shall have.
'Twas on the twenty ninth of June,
When the Society were met and soon
In order rang'd around their table
(Some were in blue, and some in sable.)
'Twas then that Wyatt fam'd for knocking
Down our ancient buildings—shocking!
Barb'rous! Alass a well a day!—
But to proceed—ahem!—I say
Wyatt, his ballot then come on,
And thus the weighty business run,
The balls: *sixteen* were white, and smack
Eleven more were found—most *black*.
Of course he was not then *elected*.
The Members: some were much affected,
Some were pleas'd, and 'twixt ourselves
I did not grieve. Discordant elves
Now sees'd upon a furious whight
Who swore, he would for very spight
Propose the mighty man again,
At the next meeting.—When it came,
He was propos'd. Some cried out *No!*
Some wondred! Stair'd! and some cried Oh!
But as the custom is, a certain date
Must hang once more s'certificate.
So how this bus'ness off will go
Some six months hence, we all shall know. . . .

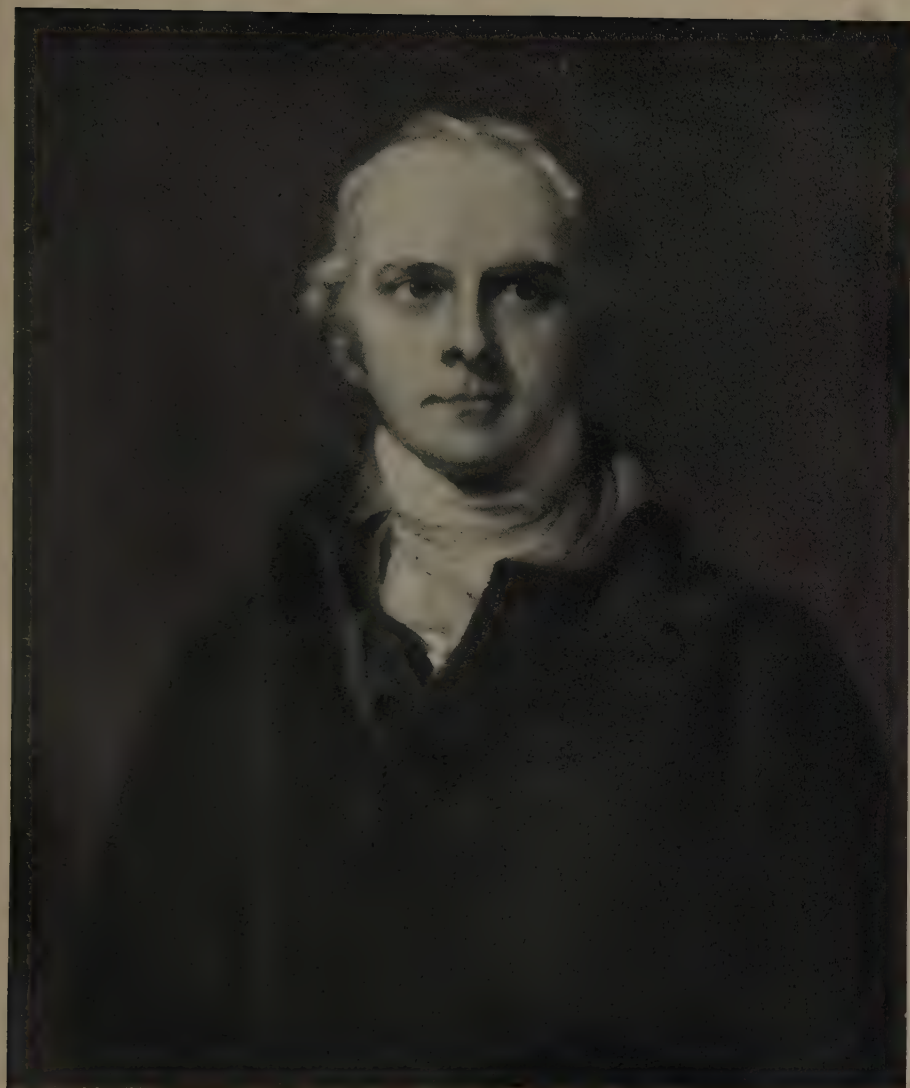
J. Carter

London, July the twenty fourth, the hour eleven
One thousand seven hundred, and ninety seven. . . .'

In the October *Gentleman's Magazine*² Gough, over his familiar

¹ Ashmolean Museum, Dept. of Fine Arts, Moore-Miller papers.

² lxvii, pt. ii, p. 811.



Samuel Lysons, Director 1798–1809, from an engraving after Sir Thomas
Lawrence, 1799

Society of Antiquaries



'An Antiquarian Club', engraved by F. Grose, 1788

British Museum

signature N. H., wrote with some violence in defence of the blackballers, but Wyatt's defenders were no less active. At the meeting on 9 November 1797 John Thomas Groves exhibited a sketch of the Galilee at Durham to prove that it was still standing, and John Carter a drawing to show that it was doomed in order that Wyatt might make a walk round the cathedral. He told the Society that when he was making the drawing men were taking down the upper part, in conformity with Wyatt's plan, drawings of which were shown to him. He had taken occasion to tell the Dean how much the Society regretted its proposed destruction, and his action might have helped to save it.

'Had the Design of destroying this Galilee been the only Effort of Mr. Wyatt's Ideas for new modeling our Religious Structures, I should now have made some Apology for bringing his name in Question, but I call to mind the destroyed chapels and Monuments that rendered the interior of Salisbury Cathedral, to the real Antiquary, an interesting scene . . . and while I know, from undoubted Authority, that a more glorious Building than even this Galilee, has fallen a sacrifice to his new model, I should, from any such concession, judge myself unworthy of the Honour I now hold, of enjoying a seat in this Society; And I congratulate myself in being, by a happy Error, in some degree conducive to the present preservation of the Galilee, and not improbably to the Church itself.'

'On a motion made by Thomas Astle Esqr. and seconded by Samuel Lysons Esqr.¹ it passed in the affirmative, that the Society should be directed *not to return the Thanks of the Society* to Mr. Carter for the above communication.'

At the meeting on 7 December Lysons entered the lists as Wyatt's champion. A letter from him categorically contradicted Carter and said that Wyatt 'positively denies' that the removal of the Galilee was a part of his plan. The Chapter wanted to remove it; he favoured 'a partial demolition and rebuilding'. Carter replied on 21 December, with the statement that the East End of the Chapter House *had* been pulled down, and the size of the whole reduced. 'Supposing', he said, 'this Edifice has undergone but little Alteration, yet it will be allowed that it is not now the original Chapter House of Durham Cathedral, and that the long Train of historic Ideas which lately filled the minds of the Beholders, are now no more.' He wound up his speech with a patriotic peroration, about 'public memorials of Characters, whose heroic Courage in defence of their King and Country, cannot fail to excite Emulation in their posterity, at a moment when the same ancient and implacable Enemy threatens us with Invasion more desolating and ruinous even than those which were repelled by the Spirit of Bishop Hatfield and the gallant Nevils'.

¹ These had backed Wyatt's second nomination.

This time the Society returned the usual thanks for his communication.

Wyatt came up for election a second time early in December, and was elected by 143 votes to 20. Richard Gough took it—as indeed it was—as a personal defeat, and on 12 December wrote¹ to the Secretary returning the key to the Society's Seal which he held as Director and resigning his Fellowship.² His letter was read at the Council on 23 January 1798 and accepted without comment.³ At the same Council Pugin was paid £50 for drawings of St. David's, evidently to avoid giving further employment to Carter.⁴

On 8 February 1798 Carter exhibited further drawings of Durham and pointed out that its 'restoration' was still under way. In the Chapel of the Nine Altars 'as the whole of the Exterior . . . was under the Workmen's hands, for the purpose of giving it a new appearance, while I was taking my Sketches, it was most fortunate that a few of [the] Windows were still in possession of their tracery. . . . If the intended Design of removing the high Altar Screen and of carrying back to this range of the Nine Altars, the present Choir, be put in Execution, the Altars will of course be buried in filling up the Basement part of this Chapel to a level with the Choir. . . .'

On 8 March he showed drawings of two colossal statues of bishops:

'They had been lately thrown down in the progress of the Improvements on the East End of the Church, and their broken Remains were together with other ornamental parts of the Building, lying disregarded in heaps of Rubbish.

Surely some attention might have been bestowed on these memorials of the ancient Benefactors of this noble Fabrick, even though the plan of Repair required their Removal from the distinguished Situation, which they had occupied undisturbed during a period of above six hundred years.'

A fortnight later he showed a drawing of a relief of the site of the cathedral being revealed to its first builders, which had been thrown out by Wyatt and replaced by a deplorable modern version of the legend. On 19 April he continued with an exhibit of drawings of 'Ornaments in the late Chapter House'.

Gough had not been replaced as Director before the Anniversary Meeting; Craven Ord, Astle, and Topham had been mentioned as his successor.⁵ The Council of 2 April resolved that the officers be

¹ Ants. Corr.

² He also asked that various drawings and MSS. of his which the Society had declined to publish should be returned to him.

³ Samuel Pegge, in a letter to Hayman Rooke of 20 Dec. 1797, and another of 3 Mar. 1798, clearly regrets Gough's loss. Ants. MS., Rooke Papers.

⁴ Neither these, nor the eight drawings of Norwich Cathedral for which the Society paid William Wilkins £150 in 1806, were published in the Cathedral series.

⁵ Pegge to Rooke, 13 Mar. 1798. Ants. MS., Rooke Papers.

put up for nomination at the Anniversary *en bloc* 'as it would materially conduce to the advantage and peace of the Society'. Their resolution was read at three meetings before St. George's Day, and all were duly re-elected. Samuel Pegge wrote to tell Hayman Rooke¹ all about it.

'... There were violent contests in the Soc. of Antiq. on St. George's Day. A Set of Gentlemen, Who wish to remove the President and all the Officers, set up a new Candidate (Lord Lewisham)² for the Chair, with an Intent to discard the Secretaries, and every other Officer in the present Establishment who did not accord with their Wishes. The Poll was clos'd at the usual Hour (3 o'clk.) but the Scrutiny lasted (exclusive of a couple of Hours during Dinner) till Midnight. The Majority, however, in favor of the E. of Leicester was *Fifty-Six*. The canvassers on both sides were very active.

As an Individual I was decidedly with Ld. Leicester, with whom I have long been personally acquainted, tho' his Conduct as President has not been quite correct for the last year;—but the Opposition set up Ld. Lewisham solely with a view to get the Administration into their own hands; for he was only a stalking Horse to them, as the Duke of Leedes wou'd have been had he liv'd.

The mal-contents, I hear, are very much disconcerted by their Defeat, of wch. you will hear more if you come to Town.'

John Carter, at least, was not reduced to silence. On 10 May he once more addressed the Society on the subject of the Durham Galilee. All the windows, he declared, had been thrown 'in a confused Heap into a Work Room', and only two left in place. He congratulated himself on having made some record, however modest, of what had been destroyed. 'And however some of the Observations, which I necessarily have made in my progress of describing the drawings, have met with much Disapprobation from a part of this Society; yet I shall ever have the extreme satisfaction to reflect, that I thereby, in strict conformity to the Character of an Antiquary, a Lover of my Country and an Artist (studious in the works of our ancient religious structures) used my best endeavours to preserve these national memorials, the Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom, against the destructive Iron hand of modern Innovation!'

It was his swan-song; and when shortly afterwards his fellow partisan the Rev. John Milner of Winchester³ handed a paper to the Secretary entitled 'A Dissertation on the Merits of the modern Style of altering Ancient Cathedrals, as exemplified in the Cathedral of Salisbury', the Council on a ballot refused to allow it to be read.⁴

Carter had one firm and powerful friend left in Sir Henry Englefield,

¹ 8 May, 1799; Ants. MS., Rooke Papers.

² Lord Lewisham's interests lay chiefly in botany, and some people considered his candidature a plot to make the Antiquaries dependent on the Royal Society. See *Gents. Mag.* Apr. 1803, lxiii, pt. i, p. 316.

³ See his letter in *Gent.'s Mag.* lxviii, June 1798, p. 476.

⁴ 25 May 1798.

Vice-President. At the meeting on 9 May 1799 Sir Henry informed the Society that he had been to Durham and found that Carter's 'fidelity and accuracy' had been needlessly impeached. The Galilee had not technically been destroyed, but its lead roof was off and its wooden ceiling decaying, and there seemed little hope that the roof would be adequately replaced. The apse of the chapter-house and parts of its north and south walls were levelled with the ground;¹ its vaulted ceiling and its ancient pavement were destroyed. A new chapter-house had been built, with sash windows, stuccoed walls with a neat cornice, marble chimney-pieces, and Wyatt's characteristic sham doors, suitably furnished with red curtains, a mahogany table with a satin-wood border, and mahogany chairs with horsehair seats. He considered that Lysons had been dishonest in stating that the chapter-house survived.

Lysons replied a fortnight later, with a suggestion that Wyatt had been hardly treated and that it was the Chapter, not Wyatt, that was to blame. Once more² Englefield expressed his righteous anger; and on 6 June Lysons replied, backing out of his position so far as he could. Already a committee under Englefield had reported to Council³ on the further employment of Carter on the Society's cathedral engravings. They found that (apart from Exeter and Bath⁴ already published, and Durham, ready for the engraver) he had work in hand relating to Gloucester and Wells for which he had received no honorarium. They advised that he should be employed to finish these and that Carter's drawings of Durham should be engraved and published with a description in which 'especial care will be taken to avoid anything which can give offence or be considered as of a personal nature, but the account will be confined to a strict statement of the present state of the buildings described and such alterations as have taken place in the several repairs which have been made at different periods; and that all such descriptions shall be laid before the Council previous to the printing of the same'.⁵

This was done; the book duly appeared in 1801. A Fellow complained in the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁶ that Carter had omitted the

¹ They were excavated and their plan recovered by the Rev. J. T. Fowler in 1874; see *Arch.* xlv. 385.

² 30 May 1799.

³ 10 May 1799; *Ants. Corr.* The report is signed by Englefield and Joseph Windham. At the Council of 22 May 1801 it was reported that the Council had paid Carter £150 and owed him £280. 14s. 6d.

⁴ Engraved by Basire, published 1798.

⁵ It was probably with a view to excluding further contentious drawings from Carter that it was agreed in 1799 (Council, 6 Dec.; Meeting, 12 Dec.) that drawings, like papers, should go before a committee before they were published, and all papers and communications go before the Secretary and at his direction go before the Council before they were read, unless the President or senior member in the Chair directed otherwise.

⁶ Nov. 1801; lxxi, pt. ii, p. 1000.

strictures on Wyatt from his descriptions. Carter's reply¹ suggests that he has fallen out with the Antiquaries and resents having been told from the Chair that they had not time to listen to his 'speechifying'.² The wise medievalist, Francis Douce, took the view: 'This man's zeal has always prejudiced his judgment, and I endure it, as I do a few other oddities for his better parts.'³

Two of his supporters closed the affair with suitable peace-offerings to the Society. Englefield presented a picture of the Fire of London⁴ and Douce a proclamation of the second year of Elizabeth against breaking or defacing monuments of antiquity.⁵

Honours were easy;⁶ and Lysons effectually prevented any further discussion of the subject by starting to read his *History of the Berkeleys* to the Society on any evening not innocuously occupied. He read from it no less than fifteen times between 1799 and 1803.⁷

None the less the division of the Society left an unpleasant tradition of bad-mannered disagreements, even between the officers. On 21 November 1803 Edward Balme wrote⁸ to Kerrich:

'There was a terrible conflict between Sir H. Englefield (in the Chair) and Brand after the last meeting of the Antiquaries. Sir H. wanted to do something which Brand opposed as irregular, upon which the Baronet told the Secretary he was impertinent, who retorted by telling him, in the voice of a Stentor, that a man convicted of adultery by the laws of his country,⁹ was a scandal to that chair, and never ought to be admitted into it. The world calls us old women; if we have some of their more innocent qualifications, we can quarrel too like them.'

The Wyatt war considerably increased the number of candidates blackballed. In 1798 John Charnock of Sydenham, a journalist, was excluded by 21 blackballs against 29 white,¹⁰ but on standing again was elected by 50 votes for and 15 against. William Kinnard was blackballed¹¹ by 24 votes against 23, and, more remarkably, Lord Lansdowne, on the immediate ballot to which he was entitled

¹ *Gent.'s Mag.*, Dec. 1801, lxi, pt. ii, p. 1091.

² In 1800, too, Richard Smirke and not Carter had been employed by the Society to make further drawings of the remains of St. Stephen's Chapel.

³ 13 June 1799; Scharf, XLV.

⁴ Meeting, 7 Nov. 1799. The memory of the quarrel died hard; as late as Feb. 1831 a paper by John Britton on the importance of medieval buildings 'uncontaminated by modern Gothic innovators' was withdrawn. *Ants. Corr.*

⁵ Gough remained outside the Society, but through Carter presented two drawings of Waltham Abbey in Nov. 1807, and through William Bray communicated a paper on St. Albans on 25 Feb. 1808. He died, after a year of failing health, in 1809.

⁶ Carter's paper on Gothic architecture, offered to the Society in 1809, was refused. See letter of 1 July from Douce to Kerrich. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxiii, p. 58.

⁷ The last reading was on 27 Jan. 1803.

⁸ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Kerrich Papers, xviii, p. 123.

⁹ Englefield was a Catholic, and his marriage had been solemnized by a Catholic priest.

¹⁰ 18 Mar.

¹¹ 22 Mar.

as a peer, only scraped in by one vote.¹ Later in the year Arthur William Devis the painter was blackballed,² as was Dr. James Stevenson. Peter Coxe received 43 blackballs to 23 white in May 1801, but as an auctioneer may not have been acceptable to the Society; William Porden, a pupil of Wyatt's, certainly owed it to his master that his candidature received 43 blackballs to 24 white;³ and John Buckler, the recorder of so many ancient churches, doubtless owed to his friendship with Gough and Carter that he was twice blackballed in 1808.⁴ At the first meeting at which his name came up four people were blackballed and only one elected.⁵

On 17 April 1810 Douce wrote to Kerrich:⁶ 'I think this Society is going fast to the D——. When there is a contested election the room is brim-full; at other times a desert. 800 members, and not a paper in the Secretary's hands to read at the next meeting!'

The Society's dissensions had no direct effect on its finances, but its extravagant publications were bringing it into difficulties. A member elected in 1811 who wished to acquire the publications already issued by the Society had to spend over £75. The series of volumes on cathedrals—each a beautifully produced folio—proved extremely expensive. In 1810 the Society faced a printing bill of over £5,000 that could not be met out of income.⁷ An anonymous correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁸ found the format too large, the print too sharp, and the whole production too extravagant. Most of the Fellows, he complained, sold theirs, and the bookshops were full of them. Certainly the booksellers bought far fewer directly from the Society than had been hoped. The volumes of *Archaeologia*, too, followed in quick annual succession, even though they were largely filled with rather scrappy miscellaneous notes and engravings of insignificant objects beautifully executed by Basire.⁹ Reading them, one realizes that a peculiarly English kind of parochialism dates from the Napoleonic Wars.

¹ 22 Mar. 1798: 27 for and 13 against.

² 7 June.

³ 11 Mar. 1802.

⁴ 23 June, 27 for and 28 against; 1 Dec., 24 for and 18 against. He was finally elected on 8 Mar. 1810, 90 for and 23 against, after Englefield had circularized the Society on his behalf. Farington, *Diaries*, vi. 41, 11 Apr. 1810. Balme declared in a letter to Kerrich (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xviii, p. 256, 'Seven Bishops, whose Cathedrals he had published, recommended Buckler. . . .')

⁵ The clergy do not seem to have been particularly popular; two were blackballed on 31 May 1804 and a third on 23 June 1814.

⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxiii, p. 68.

⁷ Accounts read 22 Nov.; Ants. Corr.

⁸ Dec. 1802; lxxi, pt. ii, p. 1180.

⁹ e.g. *Arch.* xiv, 1802. A letter from Lysons to Kerrich of 7 Mar. 1803 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Kerrich Papers, xxii, p. 82), show that the policy was deliberate: 'We are getting on with a nice volume of *Archaeologia* which I think you will like as well as any of them, because there are fewer long Dissertations and a great many curious matters of fact recorded.'

Even the Society, pursuing a *laissez-faire* financial policy, realized that it was being a little extravagant. In 1798¹ the Director was asked to get estimates for printing the *Archaeologia* with a view to employing another and cheaper printer than Nichols. Bensley was duly appointed,² but any economy effected was largely offset by a disastrous fire at his premises in Bolt Court; the Society's losses were only partly covered by insurance.³

On 8 April 1802 the Council unanimously decided that 'taking into Consideration the extraordinary Expences incurred of late years by the publication of the blocks of this Society, whereby it evidently appears, that the Members thereof have for several years past received more than to the amount of the annual subscription; and conceiving it to be the general wish of the Body, that such publications, tending so much in their Opinion to promote the honour and Interest of the Society, should be carried on, if possible, with additional splendour and to a still further extent', the Fellows, both compounders and subscribers, should pay an additional guinea a year to the Society.

On 14 May Edward Balme wrote to Kerrich:⁴

'Last night the Proposal for encreasing the Annual Payment etc. came on at the meeting of the Antiquaries. Sir H. Englefield stated the necessity of doing this or giving up the publication of the Cathedrals. Dr. Combe & many others denied the fact & asserted that the Society were in more opulent circumstances than they had ever been. The question would have been lost by ten to one but some young Barristers got rid of it by moving the previous question namely that the other question should *not* be then put.'

The increase was finally agreed on, but proved insufficient. At the Council on 11 March 1807 it was agreed that all future Fellows were to pay eight guineas admission fee and four guineas subscription by quarterly payments.⁵

The real weakness of the Society's finances lay in the arrears of subscription. After letters had been sent out to all Fellows in arrears in 1807,⁶ £966 was still uncollected. In 1810⁷ the arrears amounted to over £1,300. The Society had to sell £1,500 Consols in 1809⁸ and another £1,500 in 1810;⁹ but in 1812 it was able partly to replace these sums by the purchase of £2,000. The dinners continued to be an expense to the Society;¹⁰ in 1808, for example,

¹ Council, 1 June.

² 8 June 1798.

³ 5 Nov. 1807.

⁴ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Kerrich Papers, xviii, p. 83.

⁵ At the same time the amount of their bond was raised to £60. On 28 Feb. 1805 the Society had decided that the increased stamp duty on bonds should be met by the Fellow.

⁶ Council, 25 June.

⁷ 8 Feb. The list of defaulters was only suspended on 7 June.

⁸ Council, 23 Feb.

⁹ Council, 6 Dec.

¹⁰ They were not, however, always well attended. On 14 June 1794 Samuel Pegge, sen., wrote to Rooke to say that there had been 'but a slender meeting' at the Anniversary Dinner. Ants. MS., Rooke Papers.

the Anniversary Dinner cost the Society £23. 2s. 6d. and the Audit Dinner £14. 12s.,¹ and this in spite of a reform in 1801² that had forbidden the attendance at the dinners of any servants but those of the President, Vice-Presidents, officers, and peers.

The Library was the only one of the Society's activities to benefit by a bequest.³ In April 1796⁴ it was announced that William Benson Earle, F.S.A., had left the Society a bequest of 200 guineas for the purchase of books for the library at their discretion. The Council⁵ decided to spend the capital as occasion arose.

The Library, indeed, was already beginning to overflow. All Fellows presented their works on publication, even the surgeons.⁶ The Minutes abound in such entries as that of 13 March 1800: 'Our worthy Member, George Chalmers Esq. presented to the Society a Copy of a Work just published by him and intitled "An Appendix to the Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the supposititious Shakspeare Papers: being the Documents for the Opinion that Hugh McAuley Boyd wrote Junius' Letters . . ."' The Library's content was further increased by such exchanges as that with the Asiatic Society, which began to operate in 1801,⁷ and the acquisition of the publications of such provincial societies as the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, founded in 1813.

The problem of accommodation soon became acute. In 1797⁸ it was agreed that the 'great kitchen' below the Library should be fitted with shelves to serve as a store. Ten years later this no longer sufficed, and Robert Smirke was invited to submit plans for adding a gallery to the Library.⁹ He first estimated the cost at £300, which was passed,¹⁰ but wrote six weeks later¹¹ to say that 'the price of every material to be employed has much encreased' and that his estimate must go up by some 30 per cent. On 18 August it was finally decided that he was to do it 'with all convenient speed'. The payment of £465 odd was finally authorized in 1809.¹²

The organization of so large a library presented its own problems.

¹ Council, 2 Mar. 1809.

² Council, 22 May.

³ In 1810 Sir George Colebrooke left the Society £150 upon trust to accumulate until the end of the nineteenth century. They were then to have £150 to be reinvested for another hundred years upon a similar trust. Of the money produced in 1900, after the Colebrooke graves had been repaired, half was to be given to the author of the best work in English on religious tolerance and half to the author of the best book in English on the effects of the French Revolution up to that period (Ants. Corr.). On 1 July 1810 the Council ordered that the bequest be laid before the Society at large, with the recommendation that it be not accepted, and this was agreed to. It is interesting to note that Colebrooke recommended his sons in Bengal to vest a part of the fortunes they acquired under his will 'in North America, as a rising Country, and as affording the greatest Security'.

⁴ Letter dated 6 Apr. 1796, in Ants. Corr.

⁵ 12 Dec. 1797.

⁶ e.g. in 1808 James Ware presented his 'Remarks on the Purulent Ophthalmia, which has lately been epidemical in this Country'.

⁷ Ants. Corr., 29 May 1801.

⁸ 31 Jan.

⁹ Letter from Smirke to Lysons, 4 May 1807. Ants. Corr.

¹⁰ 14 May 1807.

¹¹ 27 June 1808, Ants. Corr.

¹² Council, 2 Mar.

In 1794¹ tools were ordered to be prepared for the bookbinder's use with the crest and arms of the Society; by the beginning of 1797 he had stamped, classified, and arranged the books on the shelves.² In the next year³ it was agreed that the regulations for lending out books to Fellows should be severely tightened. Richard Gough did not approve, and penned a set of verses, *On the Society of Antiquaries and their Library*.⁴

'A sage Archdeacon⁵ wondrous man!
More than all other Clergy can
Shut up the fount of Knowledge:
And anxious guard the mighty store
Of antient and of modern lore
More than in many a college.

Forgets he then that there are ranks
Who with good letters play no pranks
On Granta's rummest shore;
The grave A.M. and college fellow
Whose wisdom like their Ale is mellow
In their own rooms may pore.

But London's A.S.S.'s bray
Like Country Asses tied from hay
Beside Bethesda's pool.
Till Chairman or till Council come
Not one poor pamphlet dare take home
Though every shelf is full

While prettier books in press confin'd
Display their merits from behind
For witlings to admire:
As the fond boy of childish age
Admires his Bird in gilded cage
Prisoner within the wire—'

Cetera desunt; perhaps Chairman or member of Council arrived, and Gough got his book.

The Secretary acted as Librarian and found the new regulations as tiresome as Gough did. In 1804⁶ he begged Council to empower him to employ 'a steady and sedate person to attend constantly in the Library as his Assistant and under his direction. That such assistant be stationed in a little desk having the catalogue of the Books in the Library before him and being ready to furnish the

¹ Ibid., 26 June.

³ Ibid., 20 Feb.; Meeting, 22 Feb.

⁴ Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. c. 5, fol. 145.

⁶ Council, 14 Dec.

² Ibid., 31 Jan. 1797.

⁵ Thomas Kerrich.

several members of the Society with such books as they may be desirous of consulting or shall have obtained the Society's permission to borrow.' This was granted. William Martin was engaged at £60 a year¹ and it was agreed that the Library should be shut during his month's holiday in August.²

The thirteenth volume of the *Archaeologia* has a new feature in a list of presents to the Society, chiefly books. In 1799 'Mr. Edmund Fry of Pye Street presented the Society with an aeolopile, dug up from the basin of the Canal at Basingstoke and bought by him from an old Iron shop there, to which it had been sold by one of the labourers. Mr. Fry thought it Saxon, but the Secretary (Brand) recognized it for what it was and compared it with "Jack of Hilton".'³ Two years later Sir William Hamilton presented a Limoges reliquary⁴—then thought to be Russian—that he had bought in Naples. In 1802 the Society received a sculptured head from Merton Abbey.⁵ In 1804 the King sent them four pictures from Windsor: the embarkation of Henry VIII at Dover in 1520 and the meeting at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, which they had already had engraved, the picture of the Battle of the Spurs,⁶ and a fine picture of Henry VIII and Catherine Parr, Prince Edward, Princess Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.⁷ In 1805 the Rev. William Leigh gave the Society an oil painting of Peter le Neve, their first President, in his Herald's dress.⁸ In the following year Sir William Skeffington presented a picture said to be of Lady Jane Grey⁹ and another described as of Sir Walter Raleigh.¹⁰ In the same year the Society received the shield from Eynsham.¹¹ In 1808 Henry Peckett bequeathed to the Society a remarkable astronomical and astrological table clock, made in 1524 by Jacob Zech of Prague.¹² In 1812 William Bray offered an inkstand for the officer's table, of oak, believed to be Roman, from a causeway in Camberwell, found

¹ At the Council, 7 June 1805, he was also appointed messenger. In 1807 he was succeeded by his son John Martin. Council, 30 Jan. 1807.

² *Ibid.*, 7 July 1808.

³ It was engraved, with a note, in *Arch.* xiii. 410. See also Hildburgh in *Arch.* xciv. 27.

⁴ Meeting, 11 June 1801. Way, p. 23; Bicentenary Booklet, plate XXI. A similar reliquary had been exhibited to the Society by Stukeley in 1748 and by Dr. Lort on 10 Jan. 1788.

⁵ Way, p. 29; *Arch.* xiv, plate LVI.

⁶ Added on 14 Feb. 1805.

⁷ Meeting, 29 Nov.; Council, 30 Nov. 1804. See below, p. 246.

⁸ Council, 15 Mar.; Meeting, 28 Mar. It appears in Way's list of 1847 (p. 49), but not in Scharf's catalogue of 1864. It is now at the College of Heralds; see Plate VI. See below, p. 257, note 9.

⁹ Meeting, 6 Feb. 1806. On 14 Feb. Brand stated that as it was dated 1560 and had the 'mark' of Lucas de Heere, it could not be of Lady Jane, beheaded in 1553/4. He thought it might be of her mother. Way, p. 47. It is missing from Scharf's catalogue of 1864. It was inscribed RATHER DEATHE THAN FALSE OF FAYTHE. See below, p. 257, note 9.

¹⁰ Said at the time to be a copy after Zuccherro. Way, p. 48. It does not appear in Scharf's catalogue of 1864.

¹¹ *Ants. Corr.*, 19 Nov. 1806. Way, p. 17.

¹² Meeting, 19 May 1808; Way, p. 26; Bicentenary Booklet, plate XIV b.

when making the Grand Surrey Canal.¹ Exceptionally, the Society handed over some objects in their possession to another institution; in 1814² the six cases and three fragments of ancient paintings from St. Stephen's Chapel, hitherto exhibited in the meeting-room, were presented to the Trustees of the British Museum.

The general organization of the Society continued with little change. The Earl of Leicester³ presided at first over about a third of the meetings, but after 1801-2, in which he attended no meeting at all, his attendances dropped;⁴ in 1809-10 he presided only once, and in the following session only twice. In 1811 he appeared not at all, owing to illness, and died at the end of July.

The Council met on 6 August to elect his successor. The old Norris formula⁵ was read, and they proceeded to an election without nomination. The Rev. Anthony Hamilton, D.D., Archdeacon of London, and Sir Henry Englefield each received six votes. A second ballot was then held, at which Englefield received seven votes and Hamilton five. Englefield duly accepted office and named his Vice-Presidents, Hamilton among them. He was, however, not acceptable to many of the Society, firstly because he was a Roman Catholic and a member of the group working for emancipation known as 'The English Protestant Catholic Dissenters',⁶ secondly because he had taken a strong line in the attack on Wyatt's restorations.

His enemies, headed by Lysons, determined that his election should not go forward, and the Society was once more divided. On 26 September Douce wrote to Kerrich:⁷

'Though you seem to regard the study of the works of nature as somewhat a melancholy pursuit, I cannot help regretting that I had not been early initiated in the subject. I think it better, on the whole, than the study of antiquities. Besides—Naturalists are matter of fact men and cannot quarrel with each other. Antiquaries are men of opinion, and eternally at variance. I scarcely ever know one naturalist abuse another; but your mere antiquaries are cats and dogs, ever barking and spitting. This leads me to say that I and many others think our New President has written a very improvident circular letter, which is likely to create feuds and disturbance at Somerset House. But I am more surprised to hear you wishing for the D[uke] of N[orfolk]. Pray what has he *done* to entitle him to this office? He is doubtless well qualified to fill a chair, and is moreover a very good toast-master, and would make an excellent President on St. George's day at least. Though I respect nobility when joined with talent I would prefer talent to nobility on *all* occasions. Pray let us have no more

¹ Letter of 23 Nov. 1812 in Ants. Corr.; read 26 Nov. 1812.

² Council, 15 Feb.

³ He succeeded his father as Marquess Townshend in 1807.

⁴ A letter from him suggesting his resignation because of his duties as Joint Postmaster-General was read at the meeting on 19 Apr. 1798; the suggestion was not accepted.

⁵ See above, p. 127.

⁶ I owe this information to the kindness of Sir Thomas Kendrick. The Bill for Catholic Relief was thrown out on 24 May 1813.

⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxiii, p. 87.

mere heralds like the last. They are in general the stupidest of all stupid, and the good memories they usually possess are an abominable nuisance in good company.'

The meeting held on 14 November did not accept the Council's choice. Farington recorded in his diary on 22 November:¹ 'Lysons called and told me the result of the Election . . . at the Antiquary Society. There were abt. 100 members present and 92 voted for Lord Aberdeen: Mr. Dallaway, Secretary to the Duke of Norfolk told Lysons that the Duke is not satisfied to have a *Scotchman* elected to be President of the Society, and thinks of proposing Lord Radnor.' Lysons worked hard to collect votes for Aberdeen,² and at the Anniversary of 1812, 435 Fellows voted, 251 of them for Aberdeen.³ Englefield rarely attended the Society's meetings thereafter.⁴

After Gough resigned in 1798 Lysons held the Directorship until 1809, when he refused re-election as being too busy at the Record Office in the Tower.⁵ Farington records⁶ that his real reason was 'the inattention and imbecility of Lord Townshend in the situation of President'. William Richard Hamilton⁷ was elected to succeed him, but refused re-election in 1810 as he had been appointed Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Matthew Raper, a man of small achievement, was therefore elected at the Anniversary.⁸ He resigned in 1812 because he was going to live in the country, but as 250 out of 435 votes were cast for him, continued in office for another year. Taylor Combe,⁹ a numismatist who was Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum, was then elected. He had lately been elected Secretary of the Royal Society, and held both offices; that at the Royal until 1824, and that at the Antiquaries until his death in 1826.

¹ vii. 63. He says that Lord Spencer was approached but declined on grounds of health.

² The proceedings took so long that at 5 o'clock the ballot boxes and the door of the meeting-room were sealed until 7 to allow the Fellows to dine. The Vice-President in the Chair and the Scrutators returned at 7 and went on counting until 11 o'clock. The boxes were again sealed and the counting finished the next morning.

³ He had been appointed Keeper of the Records in 1804.

⁴ *Diaries*, v. 131. Lysons became Treasurer of the Royal Society in 1810. Lyons, p. 200.

⁵ See Brabrook in *Arch.* lxii, 1911, p. 71.

⁶ Cf. a letter from Balme to Kerrich, 28 Dec. 1811 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xix, p. 13): 'I have had a letter out of Gloucestershire from S. Lysons, asking me how Chadwick etc. etc. will vote, and exhorting me to exhort them. From the names I think he has raked up all the Testimonials I have signed. He speaks of the activity of Sir H. Englefield making *ours* necessary. . . . If he succeeds it is said Lysons will come into his old office again.' Balme wrote a few weeks later (18 Feb. 1812, *ibid.* xix, p. 17): 'I am fully convinced that L[yson]s by his violence procures Sr. H. Englefield many friends.'

⁷ He attended, however, at the end of 1812 and made a scene over Aberdeen's non-attendance. See letter of 1 Jan. 1813, from Douce to Kerrich. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxiii, p. 104.

⁸ See Brabrook in *Arch.* lxii, 1911, p. 72.

⁹ See Brabrook, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Topham, who had been Treasurer since 1788, expressed a wish to resign the Treasurership in 1803,¹ but was persuaded to continue in office for a year, with Brand's help. He died, however, in the following November.² William Bray, an official of the Board of Green Cloth, was unanimously elected to succeed him.

The Senior Secretary, the Rev. T. W. Wrighte, elected in 1790, lived at a distance from London and very rarely attended. A letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1803 pointing out his absenteeism suggests that he is so incompetent that it does not greatly matter.³ By 1813 the Society had grown tired of an absentee Senior Secretary, and decided⁴ that he should be paid £100 a year with the obligation of constant attendance at meetings and of assistance in editing the Society's publications. Wrighte then resigned, as he could not hold his living at Boughton and regularly attend, and Henry Ellis, Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, was elected in his stead.⁵ He was an industrious, cheerful, talkative man; his want of strength of character always tended to keep him in the background. Under him the Minutes became more and more summary so far as communications were concerned.

The Resident Secretary, the Rev. John Brand, was an amiable muddler who combined his duties at Somerset House with the tenure of the living of St. Mary at Hill, and entered the churching and burial fees of his parish, the Antiquaries' subscriptions received by him and his own expenses for such things as coals and haircuts, all in one pocket diary.⁶ He was remarkably inactive in the Society's work; apart from the Minutes his only achievement seems to have been a return of the Society's historical manuscripts sent in to the Select Committee on the Public Records of the Kingdom.⁷ Like many inactive people he was always pleading that he was extremely busy.⁸ When he died late in 1800⁹ a Committee of Council had to be appointed to sort out the Society's papers from his own.¹⁰

¹ 1 Apr. On 24 Jan. 1805 Brand told Farington that Topham had entirely changed in temper before his death. 'He had become irritable and morose, and very unpleasant to act with.' Farington, *Diaries*, iii. 50.

² Meeting, 10 Nov.; Council, 12 Nov. At his sale the Society bought their MS. inventory of the jewels of Henry VIII and two rolls of wardrobe accounts of Edward III and the chartulary of Beverley.

³ Feb. 1803; lxxiii, pt. i, p. 124.

⁴ Council, 29 Mar. 1813; Meeting, 6 May.

⁵ Ellis prepared MS. biographies of early F.S.A.s (Ants. MS. 270. 1 and 2) and published the early minutes from Harl. 7055 in his *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, 1843, p. 100. On his work at the Museum, see Esdaile, *British Museum Library*, p. 57.

⁶ A series of them is in the Antiquaries' Library (uncatalogued).

⁷ 24 Mar. 1800.

⁸ e.g. letter to William Stevenson of Norwich, 2 Sept. 1802 (Ants. Corr.): 'I think I told you in a former Letter what a weight of duty and Business would be upon me for some time and I must repeat that though its now vacation I am still under great pressure. Till May next year you may expect the shortest answers possible to the longest epistles you can spin out for me.'

⁹ Meeting, 6 Nov.

¹⁰ Council, 24 Nov. 1806.

There was some competition to succeed him; it was a paid post, with decent living accommodation in a central part of London, and those who had known Brand could guess that the duties were not very onerous.

The first candidate in the field was the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, who came of a family of actors and dramatists and was beginning to make a name for himself as a bibliographer. He has left his own account of his campaign.¹

'Mr. Brand was rather the *acting* Secretary for the *quasi* Secretary; that situation being held by the Rev. Mr. Wright[e]. My eyes were now fixed upon nothing but the *List of Members* of the Society. . . . In every room, and upon every table, *there* was the list. The pen was always in my hand. Letters, notes, mementos, memoranda, promises doubtful and positive, negatives equivocally shaded . . . in short, for many weeks all the anxieties, doubts and fears, which are the attendants upon all candidate's hopes, prevailed. . . . Alas! I had *one* Enemy, or rather, Opponent, more powerful than all my friends united; one, who, in proportion to his support of the *favourite* was as unintermitting in his opposition to myself: an opposition which was never allowed to cool over the morning chocolate or the evening negus. In short, I had to combat the Director of the Society in the person of Samuel Lysons Esq. . . . He was opinionated, dogmatical, and, at times, overbearing. There was only *one* dictum to which he, apparently, deferred—and *that* was the opinion of . . . Sir Joseph Banks. Mr. Lysons could 'bear no rival near his throne'. Few men intrigued so deeply in all matters connected with the Society of Antiquaries, and to oppose him was to seal your own doom. . . . He did not care whose knocker he lifted, or whose chamber he invaded, when an important election was going on; his whisper was about equal to three human voices at full stretch; and his elevated tones would have split *tumblers*.'²

Lysons had been persuaded to back the other strong candidate, Nicholas Carlisle, now a man of thirty-six. He had entered the naval service of the East India Company as a purser and had shaken the pagoda tree with great effect, if little credit to himself, but had lost most of this fortune in speculation. He was lucky in having for half-brother Anthony Carlisle,³ surgeon to Westminster Hospital from 1793 to 1840: a bad surgeon with many friends. Farington⁴ tells of how he came to canvass for his brother.

'Ant. Carlisle called to speak to me respecting His Brother offering Himself for the office of Secretary to the Antiquary Society. He sd. His Brother is younger than Himself and was born of a different mother . . . that he inherited a fortune

¹ T. F. Dibdin, *Reminiscences of a Literary Life*, ii. 751. Dibdin weakened his candidature by wishing to live at Kensington and only to sleep at Somerset House on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays.

² Dibdin goes on to admit him a loyal Antiquary, a good draughtsman, and a decent if superficial scholar.

³ See J. Langdon-Davies, *Westminster Hospital*, p. 111. He became F.S.A. in 1814.

⁴ *Diaries*, iv. 61 and 87; 16 Dec. 1806 and 19 Feb. 1807.

of abt. £16,000, which unfortunately [he had] been induced to engage in *Shipping Speculations* for the Slave Trade, but the connexions He formed proved to be bad, and eventually He lost the whole of His property. He has since been engaged with Mr. R., Secretary to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in estimating the population of Great Britain; which has led Him on to Topographical Studies.'

In due course, Farington attended at Somerset House to vote for him.

'February 19. Society of Antiquaries. I went to it being the night appointed for the Election of a Secretary in the room of the Revd. Mr. Brand. Lord Leicester, President, in the Chair.

The Candidates were:

Nicholas Carlisle Esqr brother to the Surgeon,

The Revd. Mr. Dibdin, Lecturer at the British Institution.

The Revd. Thos. Cox.

The room was extremely crowded. Mr. Ray of the Temple spoke before the balloting began against the practice of having lists scored with the name of a Candidate prepared to be delivered to Members. Lord Leicester rose and said that, in the conduct of the business there was no favor or partiality; but He avowed that He had espoused the opinion of those gentlemen in the Society who were desirous of placing as Secretary Mr. Carlisle, a gentleman perfectly competent to the duties of the Office, and this He did as He shd. ever be disposed to support the opinion of those gentlemen who had for Twenty Three years, given Him their support in the situation He now filled. Another person spoke and seemed to disapprove this open avowal of His Lordship. Lysons in a low tone sd. the custom of *scoring lists* for delivery was usual, and that unscored lists might be had.

The Ballott was then begun, Scrutineers having been appointed. Each Member delivered a List of all the Members having made a *score* under the name of His favorite candidate, and also a piece of paper on which He had *written* the same. The former (the List) was to make Him Secretary, the latter, *to make Him a Member of the Council*.

I was among the first who voted and got home at 20 minutes past 8. The whole of the Council, except Willis, had publickly declared for N. Carlisle . . .

N. Carlisle 125

Dibdin 72

Cox 25.'

It was an unfortunate choice. Carlisle entered the Society's service solely for his own benefit, and never did a hand's turn for the Antiquaries without expecting an honorarium. A memoir of him¹ frankly admits:

'He never did more for the Society of Antiquaries than what was absolutely necessary, He superintended its domestic arrangements (on a scale it could not properly afford), he regularly attended all its meetings, and he duly issued all formal circulars and letters of thanks. Beyond this, he formed, for the sum of

¹ *Gent.'s Mag.*, Aug. 1848, pt. 2, p. 208.

£300 in 1809, the General Index to the first fifteen volumes of *Archaeologia* . . . in 1815 he compiled, for a suitable payment, a Catalogue of the Society's Library and Collection of MSS; and in 1844 he compiled, for a second sum of £300, the index to the second fifteen volumes of *Archaeologia*. His only communications were two. . . .¹

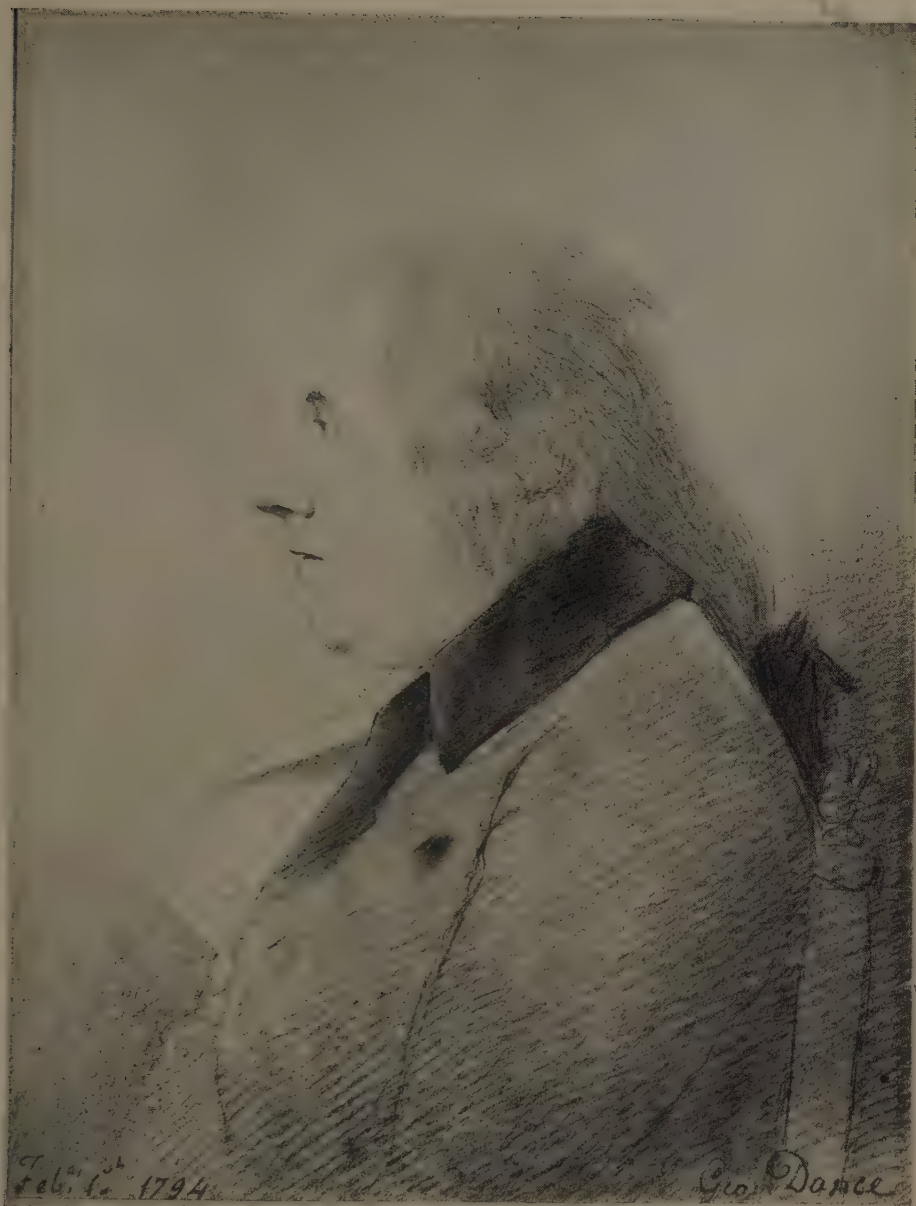
He had scarcely settled himself in the Society's apartments at Somerset House, when he devoted his time to the laborious task of compiling a Topographical Dictionary of England. . . .²

Besides the honoraria listed by his biographer and other minor acquisitions, he succeeded in 1808 in getting his salary and allowances raised from £108. 10s. to £200.³ If he did as much as index three volumes of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, he got a complete set in return. With Gough dead, Englefield absent, Lysons indifferent, and the President's chair occupied by two Laodicean peers, Carlisle was an important figure in the Society, and could do it nothing but harm.

¹ In 1808 and 1813.

² Published (with Supplements for Ireland, Wales, and Scotland) 1808-13. It was followed in 1818 by a *Gazetteer of Grammar Schools* and in 1822 by a family history.

³ Council, 25 Feb. 1808.



Sir Henry Englefield, Bart., President 1811-12, by George Dance, 1794

National Portrait Gallery



“The Antiquarian Society”. Coloured Engraving, 1812. The scene is the Meeting Room, Somerset House. Lord Aberdeen presides; Carlisle and Lysons sit to his left

Society of Antiquaries

XIII

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN

1815-46

ENGLISHMEN thankfully began to travel again in and through France as soon as it was possible¹ and long before it was prudent, but it was not until after Waterloo that the stream of travellers through Dessin's Hotel at Calais became steady. The old tradition of sending young boys abroad with a tutor had been broken by the Revolution; the courts of France and Italy were no longer forcing-houses of good manners. In place of boys, middle-aged men, by no means all aristocrats, travelled alone or with their families along shorter and less romantic routes: to Paris and perhaps to Lyons; to Brussels and the Rhine; or along Ruskin's 'old Road' to the Jura, Switzerland, and Italy. Their eyes were no longer set only on Roman and neo-classical architecture: Amiens and Rheims, Laon and Couci, drew their attention; they came to look with as much interest at Notre Dame de Paris as at Versailles.

England, after Waterloo, was profoundly conscious of the greatness of her destiny. Hallam (at that time a Vice-President) declared in 1818 that 'no unbiased observer who derives pleasure from the welfare of his species can fail to consider the long and uninterruptedly increasing prosperity of England as the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind'.

The old feeling of inferiority before the elegance of France and the richness of Italy was forgotten. With a new feeling of equality the Society could once more elect Frenchmen as Honorary Fellows. The first, elected even before Waterloo,² was the orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy; the second, a year later, was Alexandre Lenoir, who had fought a single-handed battle to save some at least of the medieval monuments of France. Comte Alexandre de la Borde followed in 1819.³ In that year, however, it was agreed that the number of Honorary Fellows should be limited to fifty.⁴

France had now an antiquarian society of her own. The Académie Celtique, founded in 1804, had developed into the Société Royale

¹ The Peace of Amiens had roused false hopes; as early as 15 Oct. 1801 Edward Balme had planned a tour to Paris, Vienna, and Rome. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Kerrich Papers, xviii, p. 61.

² 9 Feb. and 16 Mar. 1815.

³ 11 and 18 Feb. Archduke John of Austria was also elected in this year.

⁴ 25 May and 17 June.

des Antiquaires de France. In May 1819¹ the President of the French Society wrote to invite an exchange of letters and printed transactions; but the first flush of post-war enthusiasm was over, and it was agreed to reply 'that this Society is fully sensible of the honour which the Royal Society of Antiquaries of France propose,—but they regret, that it is not compatible with the nature of the Society to hold a general correspondence in their collective capacity'. It was not until after the foundation of the École des Chartes,² the Commission des Monuments historiques,³ to supervise the maintenance and restoration of the monuments of France, and the Société Française d'Archéologie,⁴ that our Society at last agreed to an exchange with the Antiquaires.⁵

In Scandinavia, too, antiquarian research was beginning to be organized; the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries was founded in 1825. It seems to have been this foundation that roused the Antiquaries to appoint a sub-committee to consider with which foreign societies they should exchange publications.⁶

The years after the Napoleonic Wars were years of great intellectual activity, yet in the archaeological field the Society played a less important part than might have been expected. Individual Fellows fought for the preservation of monuments—John Rokewode Gage,⁷ for example, played a leading part in fighting the proposed destruction of the screen at York,⁸ the rebuilding of the north-west tower at Canterbury, the demolition of the Lady Chapel of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and promoted the restoration of Crosby Hall—but the Society itself did not play an important part in such work.

Ellis, the Senior Secretary, was for ever complaining that he had no paper to read at the meetings. A nadir was reached in November 1845. Ellis wrote to Way:⁹ 'I am all but destitute of materials for reading at Somerset House. Pray let me have a Paper or two as soon as you reach Town. Something even for the first Day. On the first and last Meetings I never wish for any thing superlatively good in quality. Those Meetings being very often thinly attended.' Nothing came in, and on 20 November transcripts of a manuscript account of the wedding of Princess Margaret were read, over two meetings, which had already been read at the Winchester meeting of the Archaeological Institute. On at least four occasions in that

¹ Ants. Corr.; read at Council, 4 May.

² 1821.

³ 1837.

⁴ 1831; the *Bulletin Monumental* was first issued in 1834.

⁵ Council, 4 Dec. 1838. Francisque Michel had been elected an Honorary Fellow on 1 Feb. 1839 and was followed by Guizot on 21 Nov. 1839 and by Adrien de Longpérier in 1843.

⁶ Council, 8 Dec. 1825, 8 Mar. 1826.

⁷ He assumed the surname of Rokewode in 1838. His collections were only finally dispersed in 1952.

⁸ See Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall Deposit 21, vol. 3.

⁹ 15 Nov. : Ants. Corr.

year¹ objects were exhibited after they had been shown at the Institute.

The Royal Society was no longer a serious rival in the field. Sir Joseph Banks's long and tyrannic rule ended with his resignation a month before his death in March 1820; under his successor, Sir Humphry Davy, its aims became less all-embracing and more strictly scientific in the modern sense.² In 1846, however, the Societies still had seventy-nine Fellows in common.³

New organizations were coming into the field. The British Museum was growing vastly in importance. After the gift of George III's Egyptian antiquities, and the purchase of the Hamilton and Towneley collections, a new Department of Antiquities and Art had been founded. As early as 1819 it was recognized that the old buildings were inadequate and the purchase of the Elgin Marbles in 1816 and the acquisition of the King's Library in 1823 brought matters to a head. Between 1823 and 1847 Montague House was pulled down, and the brothers Smirke erected buildings that were then both imposing and spacious. In 1826 the Department of Antiquities was subdivided into the three departments of Oriental Antiquities, Greek and Roman Antiquities, and Coins and Medals. The creation of the Department of Prints and Drawings in 1837 helped to make the Museum a centre to which students of antiquities went for their material. Moreover by the forties the Museum was beginning to finance its own expeditions: in that decade the Trustees sent Newton to Lycia and helped to finance Layard at Nineveh.

Learned societies, too, were on the increase in England. Those of national scope founded before 1830—the Linnaean,⁴ the Geological,⁵ the British Association for the Advancement of Science⁶—were offshoots from the Royal Society rather than the Antiquaries; but when the Numismatic Society was founded in 1838 it was recognized that it drained away interest from the Antiquaries.⁷ Finally, in 1843, the British Archaeological Association was founded out of dissatisfaction with the exclusiveness and lethargy of the Antiquaries; at least five of its founders were themselves Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.⁸

¹ 20 Nov., 4 Dec., 11 Dec., and 18 Dec.

² See Lyons, p. 242. Even in 1812 Dr. Thomas Thomson, analysing the contents of the *Philosophical Transactions* in his *History of the Royal Society*, gave only thirteen pages in a long book to antiquarian subjects (pp. 532-45). Davy, however, was himself elected F.S.A. in 1821 (8 Feb.).

³ List of the Society of Antiquaries, 1 Apr. 1846.

⁴ 1790.

⁵ 1807.

⁶ 1830

⁷ C. Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, i. 119, considers that the Antiquaries should have foreseen the creation of the Numismatic Society and have forestalled it by appointing a Numismatic Committee. The Numismatic Society, however, included dealers among its members as the Antiquaries did not.

⁸ Wright, Roach Smith, Pettigrew, Bromet, and Albert Way. The Society held its first Summer meeting in 1844.

Besides these national societies a number of associations were coming into being outside London. The Yorkshire Philosophical Society was founded in 1822 and acquired the basis of its museum by gift two years later. The year 1839 saw the foundation of the Oxford Architectural Society and 1840 that of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Besides these, more specialist groups were formed, such as the Surtees Society founded in 1834, the Akerman in 1837, and the Cambridge Camden Society founded in 1839 by two undergraduates, J. M. Neale and Benjamin Webb, to reform church architecture and to revive ancient ritual.¹

These foundations were the reflection of a growing and widening interest in archaeology. Progress was being made in nearly all of its recognized branches. Champollion's first account and table of the Egyptian hieroglyphic alphabet, published in 1822, followed by Rosellini's survey in 1831, opened the gates of Egyptology; the comparative popularity of the subject in England is reflected in the publication of Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* in 1837.²

Scholars were hard at work on the decipherment of cuneiform; George Friedrich Grotesend of Göttingen had published his first attempts in 1802. Henry Creswick Rawlinson,³ a typical sporting soldier, found himself at Kermanshah in the spring of 1835, within reach of the Rock of Behistun. Between 1835 and 1837 he busied himself in copying its inscriptions: a dangerous task, involving much risky rock-climbing. By the end of 1837 he had succeeded in translating the first two paragraphs of the cuneiform text in Old Persian; but it was to the Royal Asiatic Society, not to the Antiquaries, that he communicated his discovery.⁴

The first serious exploration in Assyria by Claudius James Rich⁵ had culminated in his description of the site of Nineveh in 1820.⁶ He died in that year; his collections did not reach the British Museum until 1825.

Austen Henry Layard⁷, an inveterate traveller, reached Mosul in April 1840 and made friends with Botta, the French Consul,

¹ Neale was a Fellow from 1840 until he resigned in 1846. In 1843 the two founders published a translation of Durandus with a preface on the place of ecclesiology in architecture.

² Papers read to the Society on Egyptian subjects were few and unimportant: e.g. Pettigrew on 23 Nov. 1837, *Arch.* xxvii. 262, and Samuel Birch, 12 Dec. 1839, *Arch.* xxix. 111.

³ See Seton Lloyd, *Foundations in the Dust*, p. 7; A. J. Booth, *The Discovery and Decipherment of the Trilingual Cuneiform Inscriptions*, 1902.

⁴ The Babylonian and Assyrian texts were not deciphered until 1857.

⁵ On 14 and 21 Dec. 1815 Major Rennell read a paper 'On the Topography of Ancient Babylon: suggested by the recent observations and discoveries of Claudius James Rich, Esq.', *Arch.* xviii, 1817, p. 243, followed on 6 Mar. 1817 by John Landseer on engraved gems from Babylon. *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁶ See Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson, *Century of Exploration at Nineveh*; Daniel, p. 70.

⁷ See Seton Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

who was about to undertake the first formal excavations in Mesopotamia at Nineveh and Khorsabad. In 1845 Layard opened the mound of Nimrud and found the palaces of Ashur-nasir-pal, Sargon, Shalmaneser, and other Assyrian monarchs. Four years later his excavations at Kuyunjik revealed the palace of Sennacherib and the remains of the royal libraries. His were the greatest discoveries of the first half of that century of excavation; yet Layard was never a Fellow of the Antiquaries.

In the classical field a new impetus to archaeological study was given by Siebelis's edition of Pausanias,¹ yet when Millingen visited England in 1826 he was struck by the disregard for classical archaeology in this country.² Only twelve years later, however, Charles Fellows discovered the archaeological treasures of Lycia, and by 1842 he had accomplished the removal of the Harpy Tomb and the Nereid Monument to the British Museum, to challenge the discoveries of the Germans at Delphi.³ None of Fellows' discoveries, however, were communicated by him to the Society.⁴

The Antiquaries' interests, indeed, continued to be focused on their own country;⁵ and here, though advances were being made, they were a good deal less sensational. Evidences of the antiquity of man were beginning to be discovered, but their implications were not yet acceptable. Dr. William Buckland, the first Professor of Geology at Oxford, was still trying to reconcile his geological observations with Archbishop Ussher's chronology by postulating a series of deluges. His *Reliquiae Diluvianae; or, Observations on the Organic Remains contained in Caves, Fissures and diluvial Gravel*, was published in 1823 with a dedication to the Bishop of Durham; its object was to prove that there had been a universal deluge. In the next six years Mr. Northmore, Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, and Father J. MacEnery were excavating Kent's Cavern, at Torquay, and finding flint implements associated with the bones of rhinoceros and other extinct animals under an unbroken stalagmitic

¹ Leipzig, 1822.

² *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, 1826, ii, preface; quoted Daniel, p. 29. The classical papers in the *Archaeologia* at this time are not important: e.g. William Hosking on the Temples at Paestum, 14 Jan. 1830, *Arch.* xxiii. 85; Translation of the Prince of Canino's catalogue of his Etruscan Vases, *ibid.*, p. 130; W. Y. Ottley on the Aratus MS. at Bath, 13 Feb. 1834, *Arch.* xxvi. 47; Samuel Birch on Etruscan Vases, *Arch.* xxix. 139, xxx. 342; Rennell on Jerash, *Arch.* xxi. 138. A paper on a Roman altar from Caervoran by Miss Carlyle was printed in the appendix to *Arch.* xxiv.

³ Excavations began in 1840.

⁴ On 2 Mar. 1843 Samuel Birch read a paper on the Xanthian Marbles recently acquired by the British Museum, *Arch.* xxx. 176. Another by Benjamin Lawson, sculptor, of Rome, was read on 27 Jan. 1848.

⁵ Comparatively few papers on exotic subjects were read at this time; e.g. 8 Jan. 1835, by Robert Schomburgh, 'Observations and Opinions on the Original Descent of the Caribbees or Caraihs' (*Ants. Corr.*); 23 Mar. 1843, C. J. Richardson, 'On the Sandalwood Gates of Somnath', *Arch.* xxx. 174; 15 June 1843, C. A. de Bode on a tumulus near Asterabad, *Arch.* xxx. 248.

floor. MacEnery had the courage to draw the obvious conclusions; but he gained so little support that he did not venture to publish his discoveries.¹ It was not until after the publication of Lyell's *Principles of Geology* between 1830 and 1833 that the idea of the importance of classification began to be held by more than a few eccentrics. In the year of the publication of its last volume the Trustees of the Earl of Bridgwater commissioned authors² chosen by the President of the Royal Society, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, to write treatises to show that the creation narrative of Genesis was literally exact, and that Noah's Ark was indeed history.³

The centre of prehistoric study at this time was Denmark.⁴ In 1806 Rasmus Nyerup advocated the formation of a Danish National Museum of Antiquities, to contain material from which an exact knowledge of the prehistoric past might be derived. 'Everything', he declared, 'which has come down to us from heathendom is wrapped in a thick fog; it belongs to a space of time which we cannot measure. We know that it is older than Christendom, but whether by a couple of years or a couple of centuries, or even by more than a millennium, we can do no more than guess.' A commission was set up in 1807 to investigate the monuments, especially the dolmens and shell mounds; and Nyerup's own collection was acquired in 1810 to form the nucleus of the Royal Danish Museum of Antiquities, opened in 1819, under the curatorship of Christian Jürgensen Thomsen.

The museum for the first time showed a classification of prehistoric objects as of stone, bronze, and iron.⁵ The principles of the classification were first expounded by Thomsen in the preface to the guidebook to his museum published in Copenhagen in 1836.⁶ He had submitted a long communication to the Antiquaries in 1828⁷ on the organization of the study of Northern antiquities in his country, but the old traditions of English archaeology died hard. Thomas Wright expressed 'a firm conviction that not a bit of bronze which has been found in the British Islands belongs to an older date than that at which Caesar wrote that the Britons obtained their bronze from abroad, meaning of course from Gaul'.⁸

Druids, too, had not altogether gone out of fashion. On 15 May 1828 Alfred Kempe communicated an account of 'Druidical

¹ Daniel, p. 35.

² Prout, Whewell, Buckland, and others.

³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴ See Daniel, *Century*, pp. 38 et seqq.; *The Three Ages*, p. 5.

⁵ The idea was generally in the air; see Evans, *Stone Implements*, 1897, pp. 3-4.

⁶ English translation by Lord Ellesmere, 1848.

⁷ *Ants. Corr.*, 20 Nov. 1828.

⁸ *Trans. Ethnological Soc.* iv. 190. A paper by the Rev. John Hodgson on 'the Era when Brass was used in purposes to which Iron is now applied' (*Arch. Aeliana*, i. 1826) is sensible, but more taken up with what men have said rather than what men have found.

vestiges' on Dartmoor, and in 1827 Godfrey Higgins published a book called *The Celtic Druids* to prove that Avebury and Stonehenge were sun temples constructed on the same principle as orreries. It is, however, significant that the great work on Druidical remains in Kent begun by Beale Post in 1841 was never printed.¹

A certain amount of work on early remains was done by Alexander Logan and the Rev. J. B. Deane, who thought they had proved that Carnac was a Serpent Temple;² and John Rickman decided that Avebury and Stonehenge dated from the beginning of the Christian era and were related to the system of the Roman roads.³ Richard Colt Hoare read a paper on a barrow in Somerset;⁴ Lord Albert Conyngham opened a number of tumuli on Breach Downs,⁵ and J. Y. Akerman, rather more carefully, one near Canterbury.⁶ A superb Late Celtic bracelet from Altyre was published as Roman by Henry Ellis.⁷

The study of Roman antiquities was at first still dominated by Samuel Lysons. In 1818 and 1819 he read papers on his work at the villas at Bignor⁸ and Witcombe;⁹ but he died in 1819, and only ten volumes of the great *Magna Britannia* he wrote with his brother were ever published.¹⁰ His studies were continued by younger men: his neighbour, John Lloyd Baker, who wrote on the chain of ancient fortresses in south-west Gloucestershire;¹¹ Richard Colt Hoare, who studied the mosaic pavements of Wiltshire;¹² John Gage, who investigated the burial mounds of the Bartlow Hills;¹³ Charles Roach Smith, who began to collect Roman remains found in London in 1834,¹⁴ and A. J. Kempe, whose identification of a site near his home at Keston in Kent with Noviomagus resulted in the foundation of a social club of the Noviomagians.¹⁵

¹ See J. H. Evans in *Arch. Cant.* lxii, 1949, p. 130. Yet Sir Thomas Kendrick has noted (*Druids*, p. 3) that what was indexed in the *Archaeologia* of 1809 as 'Stones, Circles of' has, by 1844 become 'Stones, Circles of, v. Druids'.

² 14 June 1827; *Arch.* xxii. 190; *Arch.* xxv. 188.

³ 13 June 1839; *Arch.* xxviii. 399.

⁵ 3 Feb. 1842; *Arch.* xxx. 47.

⁷ 22 Nov. 1828; *Arch.* xxii. 285.

⁹ 30 Apr. 1818 and 4 Feb. 1819; *Arch.* xix. 178.

¹⁰ Between 1806 and 1822. The MS. material for the rest is in the British Museum.

¹¹ 4 and 11 June, 1818; *Arch.* xix. 161.

¹² 15 Feb. 1827; *Arch.* xxii. 49.

¹³ 5 Apr. 1832 (*Arch.* xxv. 1); *Arch.* xxvi. 300, 482; 14 June 1838; *Arch.* xxviii. 1; 21 May 1840; *Arch.* xxix. 1.

¹⁴ 17 Mar. 1836, *Arch.* xxvii. 140; 4 May 1837, *Arch.* xxviii. 38; Feb. and Mar. 1841, *Arch.* xxix. 145. The first volume of his *Collectanea Antiqua* began to appear in 1843 although the title-page bears the date 1848.

¹⁵ It was founded in 1828 and continued at least until 1851, with an annual feast at Keston and dinner at Wood's Hotel, Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. It appears to have been revived in the 1880's and to have continued until 1908. See S. C. Hall, *Life and Death of Llewellyn Jewitt*, 1889, p. 542; Bicentenary Booklet, p. 52; C. Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, i. 115. The President's Chair was given to the Antiquaries by Thomas Francis Dillon Croker in 1910.

⁴ *Arch.* xix. p. 43.

⁶ 9 Feb. 1843; *Arch.* xxx. 176.

⁸ 4 Feb. 1818; *Arch.* xix. 176.

Papers on Saxon subjects were less numerous but no less important: Taylor Combe's excellent account of the finds at Halton Moor¹ and Roach Smith's on those from near Sandwich² may stand as examples. Runic inscriptions provoked much interest;³ one was even published by a lady.⁴

The increasing interest in numismatics has already been alluded to. Its basis was the catalogue of coins of cities and princes preserved in the British Museum, published by Taylor Combe in 1814.⁵ In June 1836 the first number of the quarterly *Numismatic Journal* appeared, under the editorship of J. Y. Akerman.⁶ In 1841 Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England* appeared, to become the bible of contemporary collectors. Since Taylor Combe and Akerman were both closely connected with the Society of Antiquaries,⁷ it is not surprising that numismatic interests were reflected in a number of papers and notes. One of the most important was John Adamson's on a great hoard of Stycas found at Hexham.⁸

The main staple of the Society's interests, as of English archaeologists in general, continued to be medieval. Albert Way summed it up in his preface to the first volume of the *Archaeological Journal* in 1844:

'The general impulse which, of late years, throughout almost all Europe, has caused an increasing attention to be paid to ancient memorials of a national and mediaeval character, in place of the exclusive admiration of objects of more remote antiquity, and more pure and classical taste, but of foreign origin, has now attained a great degree of popular favour. . . . The characteristic distinctions of every period are now in great measure understood, and Archaeology, even as regards mediaeval relics, assumes the position of a defined science.'

It was the time when Scott's novels of medieval life⁹ made the Middle Ages more popular than ever; and this romantic interest was soon succeeded by the religious devotion that culminated in 1841 in the publication of Tract XC. Ecclesiology became a passion among ritualists,¹⁰ and no secession to Rome could shake it.

¹ 6 Apr. 1815, *Arch.* xviii. 199.

² 10 Mar. 1482; *Arch.* xxx. 132.

³ e.g. *Arch.* xxviii. 327.

⁴ In 1833; Council, 8 Jan.; *Arch.* xxv, Appendix.

⁵ *Veterum Populorum et Regum Nummi qui in Museo Britannico conservantur.*

⁶ In 1838 it became the *Numismatic Chronicle* under the auspices of the Numismatic Society. Akerman was editor for twenty volumes.

⁷ Taylor Combe was Director from 1813 until his death in 1826, and J. Y. Akerman Secretary from 1848 to 1861.

⁸ 2 May 1833, *Arch.* xxv. 279; xxvi. 346.

⁹ *Ivanhoe*, 1819; *The Abbot* and *The Monastery*, 1819. Sir Walter Scott was appointed Antiquary to the Royal Academy in 1827 and served until 1832.

¹⁰ The files of the *Ecclesiologist* begin in 1841. The Cambridge Camden Society was wrecked in 1845 by the secession of a large number of its members because of severe criticisms of new churches in the *Ecclesiologist*. It was reconstructed as the Ecclesiological Society, which issued the *Ecclesiologist* until the end of 1868.

A solid background of learning to these enthusiasms was provided by the great new edition of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* produced between 1817 and 1830,¹ and by a shoal of county histories² of which Richard Colt Hoare's *Wiltshire* is perhaps the most memorable and the most beautifully produced³ and certainly that by the author in closest touch with the Society.⁴

Not only was the documentary material made more easily available, but also the actual study of medieval architecture was facilitated. Artists such as Charles Stothard and John Sell Cotman were drawing its details with accuracy and feeling, and the comparative study of French and English work progressed with their aid. In the autumn of 1817 Cotman wrote to Kerrich:⁵ 'I was in Normandy last summer for about ten weeks making drawings of the Architecture of that beautiful country. My chief object to collect specimens of their circular style—which is in no respect better than that of our own—I believe I may say, not so good. But their pointed architecture is very superior in a great many of their churches. . . .'

Charles Alfred Stothard made his name as a medieval antiquary with the appearance of the first number of his *Monumental Effigies* in 1811.⁶ In 1816⁷ he was appointed to make drawings for the Society of the Bayeux Tapestry. His work produced not only some exquisitely accurate drawings, reproduced in *Vetusta Monumenta*, but also a paper⁸ to show that the Tapestry could be but little later than the events it commemorated.⁹

In his *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, published in 1819, Rickman established the nomenclature of the subject, and in his *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*,¹⁰ which began to appear two years later, Pugin supplied detailed sections and geometrical drawings of all its elements. Its study by professional architects was encouraged by the incorporation of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1837.

In the study of medieval architecture between 1820 and 1844 the Society of Antiquaries can claim to have played no inconsiderable

¹ Under the editorship of John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel. For a severe criticism of it see Douglas, *English Scholars*, p. 43.

² R. Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, 1822-37; George Baker, *History of Northamptonshire*, 1822-41 (unfinished); R. Clutterbuck, *History of Hertfordshire*, 1815-27; R. Surtees, *History of Durham*, 1816-40; G. Ormerod, *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1819; and John Rokewode Gage's *Suffolk histories*.

³ Its elaborate and beautiful illustrations are drawn by Buckler and engraved by Basire.

⁴ More popular needs were met by such publications as Winkles's *Cathedrals* (1838-42), T. D. Fosbrook's *Encyclopedia of Antiquities and Elements of Archaeology*, 1822, 1823, and 1825, and the articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* after John Mitford became editor in 1824.

⁵ 21 Nov. 1817; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxvi, p. 12.

⁶ Ten parts appeared in his lifetime, with a text by his brother-in-law A. J. Kempe.

⁷ 8 July 1816.

⁸ *Arch.* xix. 184; The Abbé de la Rue had recently given it a date later in the twelfth century.

⁹ He was a Fellow. ¹⁰ Pugin and Willson, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, 1821-31.

part. In 1820¹ the Rev. Thomas Kerrich communicated a paper on the *Vesica Piscis* in Gothic architecture; he endeavoured to find in it a norm of proportion.² In 1826³ the architect Sydney Smirke read a paper in which he tried to prove that the pointed arch originated in Saracenic Sicily. In 1829⁴ Hudson Gurney laid the results of his study of the round church towers of Norfolk and Suffolk before the Society, and in 1832,⁵ 1835,⁶ and 1837⁷ Smirke communicated his researches on the Palace of Whitehall. In 1832 and 1833⁸ Thomas Rickman contributed four important letters on the relation of the English Decorated Style and French Flamboyant, followed in 1834⁹ by a paper on the architecture of England and France before 1000 that is a landmark in such studies. An intelligent paper by John Gage Rokewode on the sculptures at Kilpeck dates them soon after 1134.¹⁰

The systematic investigation of medieval sites was beginning; in 1836 Samuel Woodward contributed an account of his excavation of the foundations of Wymondham Abbey.¹¹ The theory of medieval building was represented by Smirke's paper¹² on the various ways of forming a straight head over an aperture. The study of secular architecture provided papers on Orford Castle,¹³ and on buildings in moulded brick in Prussia.¹⁴ Edward Blore's paper on the refectory of Great Malvern Priory,¹⁵ with two excellent plates, is a valuable record of a destroyed monument; he had studied and drawn it in 1837, and two years later found it totally demolished.

These architectural papers were accompanied by others on other aspects of medieval art—the Bayeux Tapestry,¹⁶ funeral effigies,¹⁷ paintings,¹⁸ illuminated manuscripts,¹⁹ heraldry,²⁰ goldwork,²¹ and

¹ 20 Jan.; *Arch.* xix. 353, with fourteen full-page engraved plates.

² On 21 Jan. 1824 he wrote to Edward Balme: 'I feel a kind of inclination to tell what I fancy myself to have made out concerning some rules followed by the Gothic architects to our brethren of the Antiquaries. Now I hardly know how to set about it. I take it, neither rules nor principles (if they could be discovered) are directly their object. Accounts of some *individual ancient things now existing*, are more properly what they attend to and publish. . . .'
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxviii, p. 55.

³ 1 June 1826; *Arch.* xxi. 521.

⁴ 28 May 1829; *Arch.* xxiii. 7.

⁵ 26 Jan. 1832; *Arch.* xxv. 113.

⁶ 28 May 1835; *Arch.* xxvi. 406 and 415.

⁷ 2 Feb. 1837; *Arch.* xxvii. 135.

⁸ Nov. 1832 and Jan 1833; *Arch.* xxv. 159.

⁹ 9 Jan. 1834; *Arch.* xxvi. 26.

¹⁰ 14 Apr. 1842; *Arch.* xxx. 62. He had plaster casts made of them.

¹¹ *Arch.* xxvi. 287.

¹² 1 Feb. 1838; *Arch.* xxvii. 381.

¹³ C. H. Hartshorne, 6 Feb. 1840; *Arch.* xxix. 60.

¹⁴ By J. A. Repton, 12 Feb. 1824; *Arch.* xxi. 158.

¹⁵ 18 Apr. 1844; *Arch.* xxx. 514.

¹⁶ 26 Feb. 1818; 25 Feb. 1819; 11 Mar. 1819, *Arch.* xix. 88, 184 and 192.

¹⁷ *Arch.* xxi. 499, coloured plate by Stothard; xxv. 122, coloured plate; xxix. 202, plain and coloured plates.

¹⁸ 4 Mar. and 1 Apr. 1830; 20 May 1830. *Arch.* xxiii. 309, coloured plates.

¹⁹ *Arch.* xxiv. 1, Benediction of St. Aethelwold, with 1 coloured and 32 plain plates; *Arch.* xxiv. 329, Bodleian MS. of Caedmon; xxv. 235, Rouen Pontifical.

²⁰ J. G. Nichols on the heraldic devices on the effigies of Richard II and his Queen, 4 June, 1840; *Arch.* xxix. 32.

²¹ C. Roach Smith on the Dowgate Brooch, 3 Dec. 1840, *Arch.* xxix. 70, coloured plate; Albert Way on the Basle altar frontal, 6 Apr. 1843, *Arch.* xxx. 144, folding plate.

costume.¹ Samuel Rush Meyrick contributed several important papers on arms and armour.²

It is not easy for us to remember that the study of the ecclesiastical remains of the Middle Ages was still hampered by Protestant prejudice. When Gage (a Catholic) published the *Benedictional* of St. Æthelwold in 1832 Lingard wrote to him:³ 'I admire much the research and judgment which you display in your preliminary dissertation, but still more (without disparagement to you) that extraordinary change in the disposition of the public mind, which has permitted the Antiquarian Society to publish under its auspices so papistical a treatise. Soon I hope religious bigotry will be entirely extinguished.'

It seems unfair that Albert Way,⁴ himself a Fellow, should have considered that the apathy of the Antiquaries towards medieval studies was a justification for the foundation of the British Archaeological Association. The numerous papers on medieval archaeology in the *Archaeologia* were accompanied and sometimes swamped by others, also medieval, of documentary and literary interest.⁵

A certain number of these were purely historical, such as the table of the movements of the Court of King John from 1199 to 1216, communicated in 1827,⁶ or the transcript of a chronicle of the end of the reign of Edward III.⁷ A few were philological, such as Robert Willan's 'List of Ancient Words at present used in the mountainous district of the West Riding of Yorkshire',⁸ but most were publications of texts. Professor J. J. Conybeare published endless Anglo-Saxon texts;⁹ Joseph Brooks Yates published (for the first time) Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Prick of Conscience*;¹⁰ Sir Thomas Phillipps the *Life of Sir Peter Carew*;¹¹ and George Stephens the *Lay of the Phoenix*.¹² Besides these (and many shorter extracts from literary texts) there were translations¹³ and articles on

¹ John Adey Repton, 19 May 1831, *Arch.* xxiv. 168; four meetings between 7 May 1835 and 14 Jan. 1836, *Arch.* xxvii. 29.

² 22 Feb. 1827, 'On the History of Hand Fire-Arms and their Appurtenances', *Arch.* xxii. 59; 22 Mar. 1827, 'On the Engravings on a German Suit of Armour in the Tower, made for Henry VIII', *ibid.*, p. 106; 5 Mar. 1829, 'On Two Ancient British Shields in the Armoury at Goodrich Court', *Arch.* xxiii. 92.

³ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall Deposit, 21, vol. 4. Letter dated 24 May 1832.

⁴ Introduction of *Arch. Journ.* i, 1844.

⁵ This is particularly evident in vol. xx, published in 1824.

⁶ 24 May 1827; *Arch.* xxii. 124.

⁷ 31 Jan. 1828; *Arch.* xxii. 204. Cf. *Arch.* xxviii. 207; *Arch.* xxx. 205.

⁸ 27 June 1811; *Arch.* xvii. 138.

⁹ e.g. 5 Nov. 1812; 4 Feb. 1813; 25 Feb. 1813; 9 Dec. 1813; *Arch.* xvii. 180, 193, 257, 267.

¹⁰ 14 Dec. 1820; *Arch.* xix. 314.

¹¹ 29 Nov. 1838; *Arch.* xxviii. 96.

¹² *Arch.* xxx. 322. In the same volume, p. 349, he publishes extracts from an old English medical MS. at Stockholm.

¹³ e.g. that of Gilbert de Lannoy's 'Survey of Egypt and Syria, 1422', which occupies pp. 281-444 of *Arch.* xxi; and 'The Metrical History of the Deposition of Richard II', *Arch.* xxi. 443.

literary history and criticism¹ such as the Rev. Lancelot Sparke's observations on the Towneley mysteries, which had lately been published by the Surtees Society.²

It seems supererogatory that the Society at this time undertook the publication of a whole series of Anglo-Saxon texts. Henry Ellis was the official editor of the Society's publications, and his own interests lay in that field.³ In 1826 he persuaded the Society to publish Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. In February 1831⁴ a sub-committee was set up 'to examine a Proposal for publishing Anglo-Saxon and Early English Literary Remains at the expense of the Society'. It duly reported on 1 March, and on 3 March a resolution was read to the meeting from the Council: 'That it appears highly desirable, that this measure be undertaken by The Society of Antiquaries—But, as its Funds are inadequate to defray the whole expense without interfering with its other Publications on the ordinary terms of distribution among its members, it appears expedient that Copies of the intended Publication be sold to the Fellows of the Society at half price, and that an adequate price be fixed on Copies for general sale, by which it is expected that a great proportion of the expense would be reimbursed to the Society.'

The resolution was passed on 17 March, by thirty votes to nine, and the work undertaken. Caedmon's *Metrical Paraphrase*, edited by Benjamin Thorpe, appeared in 1832; the *Codex Oxoniensis*, also edited by him, in 1842, and Layamon's *Brut*, translated and edited by Sir Frederic Madden, in three volumes in 1847.⁵

The series never enjoyed any success. On 9 April 1840 the Treasurer reported that the subscriptions to the series had been nearly exhausted in preparing the manuscript of the Layamon and the Exeter Book for the press.

Joseph Hunter was, as usual, deeply indignant about it all.⁶

'Had the Auditors done what I say they ought to have done they would year by year have called our attention to the case of the Layamon. There has been an expenditure of many hundred pounds with no apparent results, going on for seven or eight years, and such was the state of health of the gentleman to whom the work had been committed that in [spite of] eight hundred pounds that the work has cost none has been completed. Had the Auditors called the Society's attention to it, and not merely stated that such and such bills had been paid, but told us how the matter stood, there is no doubt that the work could have been completed a long time ago.'

¹ The fashion had begun in 1797 with Francis Douce's paper on Marie de France. *Arch.* xiii. 35.

² 16 Mar. 1837; *Arch.* xxvii. 251.

³ He had contributed a series of papers on Anglo-Saxon literature in 1810.

⁴ Council, 15 Feb.

⁵ Madden withdrew from the Society before his final volume was out.

⁶ B.M. Add. MS. 24881, fol. 31.

Over £520 had already been taken from the general fund and more would be needed.¹ By 1844 the Anglo-Saxon texts had cost £1,135 against sales of £712, and the series was suspended.²

The other publications of the Society continued in undiminished splendour. The historical series was continued in 1840 by two volumes of *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, edited by Thomas Stapleton. The *Archaeologia* continued to appear about every other year: vol. xvii came out in 1814 and vol. xxx in 1844. The Society's engraver, James Basire the younger,³ went from strength to strength; his plate of an Attic red-figured kylix in the 1842 volume is a masterpiece, and that of the Dowgate Brooch in the same volume is no less admirable. In 1844 the volume was adorned with elegant vignettes of sites and details, set in the text, as well as the usual plates.

The *Vetusta Monumenta* continued to appear regularly. Its fifth volume, running from 1816 to 1835, contains sixty-nine plates of the most varied kind;⁴ thirty-nine plates of the sixth volume appeared between 1821 and 1839, including the Bayeux Tapestry, the Luttrell Psalter,⁵ and the Painted Chamber of the Palace of Westminster.⁶ Then, in 1842, it suddenly stopped, and did not appear again for nearly thirty years. Instead, the Council decided to publish the Minutes of their proceedings, doubtless in answer to the many criticisms of their work that were flying about. The first issue of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* was made immediately after the Anniversary of 1843, and was put on a permanent footing early in the following year.

It was doubtless to acquire these handsome sets of books and engravings that many artists and architects continued to join the Society. Francis Chantrey the sculptor⁷ and Charles Alfred Stothard⁸ the draughtsman were elected in 1819; Edward Blore⁹

¹ A letter from Sir Henry Ellis to Way (Ants. Corr., 5 Nov. 1845, reflects on the printer of the series, Mr. Taylor, who was himself a Fellow. 'We really should revert to our ancient practice, much inculcated in the early Minute Books, not to take our Tradesmen from Members of the Society.'

² Further heavy payments to transcribers and editors were reported on 28 May 1846.

³ Lithographs were introduced into the *Archaeologia* in 1827, after a sub-committee had been appointed by Council, 8 Dec. 1825.

⁴ Plans, elevations, and sections of Malmesbury Abbey, the Castle at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Tewkesbury, St. Mary's, York, and St. Mary-le-Bow, a plan of the Palace of Westminster, a Roman helmet; gold ornaments from Ireland and Mexico; an ivory diptych; the Chester swords of state; and antiquities found in excavations at the abbey of Evesham.

⁵ Exhibited to the Society 6 June 1839.

⁶ At the meeting of 7 May 1835 a set coloured by Mr. Douce was exhibited, and members were informed they could have theirs coloured by him for £5.

⁷ 25 Feb. 1819.

⁸ 20 May 1819. On 1 Apr. Thomas Windus of Stoke Newington, the friend of Turner, was nominated.

⁹ 29 May. He not only designed Abbotsford for Sir Walter Scott but also Goodrich Court for his fellow antiquary Sir Samuel Meyrick. His *Monumental Remains of Noble and*

the architect and artist, and James Basire, the engraver to whom William Blake was apprenticed, in 1823; the architects Anthony Salvin¹ in 1824; John Nash² and Charles Robert Cockerell³ in 1827; Decimus Burton⁴ in 1828; the painters Samuel Prout in 1829 and C. L. Eastlake, R.A., in 1841.⁵ The Society's literary activities brought in such men as Isaac d'Israeli⁶ and Joseph Bosworth⁷ in 1821; John Galt the novelist in 1826;⁸ Henry Crabb Robinson in 1828⁹ and John Payne Collier in 1830.¹⁰ Comparatively few other men of mark were elected,¹¹ though a great number of parsons joined the Society: indeed almost a quarter of the candidates in 1823 were in Orders. 'Until lately', Nicolas declared in 1830,¹² 'care was taken that the candidate should hold the rank of a gentleman but the desire to increase the number, if not the reputation of the Society, has been so great, that it was publicly said that amongst those recently elected, were a confectioner, an ex-patten maker, and a petty country bookseller, without either of them having the slightest claims of a literary nature to be admitted. . . .'

A letter of 1836¹³ suggests that members organized their own election, and that the Resident Secretary provided the necessary backers.

'Windsor-place, Shrewsbury
26th February 1836.

Mr. Dukes presents his Respectful Compliments to Mr. Carlisle and inclosed has taken the liberty of sending him the usual Testimonial, as his passport for the Honour of being inrolled a Member of the Society of Antiquaries, and shall be glad to avail himself of Mr. Carlisle's obliging offer to present his Testimonial and of making Mr. Dukes's Request to have the honour of being admitted a Fellow of the Society conferred upon him.'

It was, indeed, easy enough to be elected.¹⁴ Nine people were black-balled between 1818 and 1824,¹⁵ but after that no one until April 1840. None the less, by 1844 the numbers had dropped to 568.¹⁶

The tradition of royal patronage was maintained. On 6 March 1820 George IV received an address from the Society and became its patron in succession to George III. In 1819¹⁷ Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was elected a Royal Fellow. In 1830 the Duke of Sussex was elected Fellow and in 1836 to the Council, of which he

Eminent Persons was published in 1824, but he only once contributed a letter to the Society's publications.

¹ 22 Jan.

² 3 May.

³ 6 Dec.

⁴ 19 June.

⁵ 25 Nov.

⁶ 31 May; he is nominated as John.

⁷ 14 Nov.

⁸ 2 Mar.

⁹ 11 Dec.

¹⁰ 10 June.

¹¹ *Ants. Corr.* includes a number of election certificates 1811-40, which show that no printed form and no standardized formula was employed.

¹² *Observations on the State of Historical Literature*, p. 30.

¹³ *Ants. Corr.*

¹⁴ Dukes himself duly became a Fellow.

¹⁵ On 29 Nov. 1821 Charles Tweedie was moved as 'a Public Defaulter'.

¹⁶ Hume, p. 26.

¹⁷ 20 May.

remained an absentee member for four years. In 1840 Prince Albert¹ and in 1844 Frederick Augustus King of Saxony² were elected Royal Fellows. The Society continued most punctilious in shutting for royal funerals³ and in presenting addresses on royal deaths, marriages, and 'providential escapes'. In 1845,⁴ however, it gave up its ancient custom of regarding King Charles's Day as *non legibilis*, as the Royal Society had already done.

One of the great difficulties of the Society lay in the fact that its meetings were frequently extremely dull, and that their dullness was widely recognized. In 1823, for example, there were rarely more than three or four visitors admitted to any meeting. Few exhibitions were made and few long papers read, other than transcriptions of documents. Whenever Ellis was short of a paper—as he often was—he threw in a document from the British Museum to fill the gap. A letter from him to Gage of 7 March 1841,⁵ about a paper of Joseph Hunter's which he had forgotten, and which most inconveniently materialized, explains his situation.

'The truth, as you must know, is that there is scarcely a Thursday Evening upon which one or other of our Members does not promise me a Communication for the Society: and not one in ten redeems his promise at the time he names for the production of his Paper. The main readings for four successive Evenings of our present Session have been provided by myself (not as *Secretary* but) out of zeal for the Society, which must otherwise have had blank sittings, in consequence of these very disappointments. . . .'

Joseph Hunter⁶ wrote with some bitterness:

'... He talks of Blank meetings and Blank meetings lead to Blank Archaeologias: for what purpose then does the Society exist? When we have reached this point, to which we seem to me we are fast hastening, the Society must be dissolved, and some eminent Calculators must be called in, to divide the large financial property so bringing it in just proportion among those who have contributed it.

Do I wish to see this catastrophe? Neither you nor any man will for a moment suppose it. But I warn you and the Society at large, the Communications will cease, if the present system be allowed to continue.'

Even when there were papers they were not always interesting. On 28 April 1831, for example, Richard Duppa communicated to the Society 'Observations on the English definite Article, *The*,

¹ He attended a meeting on 25 May to enrol himself a Fellow.

² 18 June.

³ Meetings, 20 Feb. and 27 February; Council, 5 Mar.

⁴ It even cancelled a meeting on 13 Mar. 1845 because John Frederick Daniell (not a Fellow) had died that day while attending a meeting of the Royal Society.

⁵ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall Deposit, 21, vol. 13. Joseph Hunter's letters on the subject will be found in B.M. Add. MS. 24881, fols. 19 et seqq.

⁶ B.M. Add. MS. 24881, fols. 19-25.

and on the gender of Nouns'.¹ When this was over 'The Secretary then resumed the Reading of a Treatise on some points of Classical Chronology, communicated by the Revd. Henry S. Grover, a part of which being read, the remainder was postponed to a future meeting.'

Nicholas Harris Nicolas was no friend to the Antiquaries, but he had a measure of public opinion behind him when he declared:² '... Its proceedings have tended to render the name of an antiquary almost synonymous with Boeotian dulness; a dulness, indeed, which has been hitherto equally impenetrable to the remonstrances of wisdom and the sarcasms of wit....'

At the Council of 3 April 1829 a petition signed by many Fellows was read asking that the hour of meeting should be altered, 'owing to the great change which has taken place in the hours of business and relaxation'. As it was, they complained, no time was given to the discussion of exhibits and not enough to the reading of papers, so that most Fellows felt it was not worth their while to come. The petitioners asked that the night of meeting should be changed to one not coincident with a meeting of the Royal Society, and that after the session a conversazione, with tea and coffee, should be held in the Library, on the model of that instituted by Sir Humphry Davy at the Royal Society. The Council refused to change the day of meeting, but agreed that tea and coffee should be served after the meeting, and the Library kept open until ten o'clock.³

The Intelligence of 31 October 1830 has: 'A Droll description of a Meeting of that most respectable body of Gentlemen who belong to the Antiquarian Society',⁴ droll enough; indeed, but too long to be cited here in full.⁵

The President, George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, was an able and enigmatic Scot. He had travelled through France with a tutor in 1802 and 1803, and with him had studied Gothic architecture. He had gone on to the Balkans and Greece, and had founded the short-lived Athenian Society. He was a long-nosed plain man, who gave the impression of being cold and reserved, even at his own dinner-table.

¹ The paper is preserved in Ants. Corr.

² *Retrospective Review*, 1827.

³ An article by Nicolas in the *Westminster Review* for Oct. 1829 speaks bitterly 'about tea and coffee "and their usual companions, buttered toast and muffins"'. The most amiable of Vice-Presidents... munificently presented the Society with a set of cups, saucers, spoons, and bread and butter plates, not, however, as one of the newspapers has said, "modelled after the most improved specimen of the antique", but closely resembling those used generally by old women....' Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, p. 117, identifies the benefactor as Hudson Gurney. The Society's silver spoons were in 1893 increased from 47 to 84; Council, 22 Nov. 1893.

⁴ A copy of it made by A. J. Kempe, F.S.A., has been kindly communicated to me by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. (Dorothy) Gardiner, F.S.A.

⁵ It is printed in Appendix C.



A FEW OF THE F.S.A.s.

Engraved by James Thomas Blomfield

'A Few of the F.S.A.s.' Engraved after D. Maclise, 1832

Society of Antiquaries



A POINT OF ANTIQUITY.

Paid to Karl of Saxon for his worship's hood off mail
with the blessed sign on the forehead ~~interior~~ re

'A Point of Antiquity.' Lithograph, 1833, signed O.P., and published by Thos. Maclean of 26 Haymarket. Nicholas Carlisle holds the leg-piece of a suit of armour, and Frederic Madden the helmet. The third figure is Sir Henry Ellis

When he was elected President in 1812 he was a man of twenty-eight at the outset of a political career. In 1813 he was sent as envoy to Austria, and for two or three years the Society saw little of him.¹ When he returned he had more leisure for his antiquarian interests, and published a bland and general *Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture* in 1822.²

He presided between nine and twenty times in each of the sessions between 1818-19 and 1823-4. After that he became more and more absorbed in politics, and after he became Foreign Secretary under Wellington in 1828 he only attended one meeting in two sessions. His attendances continued almost equally rare; twice in 1830-1, six times in 1832-3 and 1835-6, not at all in 1831-2 and 1834-5. He came a little more often in 1836-7 and 1837-8, when he was out of office,³ attended twice in 1838-9, and then never attended again.

The Society put up with his absence until March 1845, though at the Anniversary of 1840 five Fellows scratched out his name on the voting paper and substituted that of W. R. Hamilton.⁴ Dr. Lee then submitted a memorandum to the Council suggesting:

'That the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London be requested to attend at the next Anniversary Meeting of the Society, and to deliver an address to the Members, which may comprehend the Names of the Members deceased during the past year,—the Number of new Members,—the state of the Finances,—the state of the Arrears due to the Society—the Advances made by Antiquarian Research and Science in Great Britain during the past year,—and such information as may be available respecting the progress of Science in other parts of the World, together with such Remarks as he may be pleased to combine with them. Such Addresses being delivered by the Presidents of the Royal Society, the Geological, the Geographical, the Astronomical and the Presidents of other enlightened modern Societies of London. . . .

That a general Opinion having been expressed, that the Office of President should not always be filled by the same Individual,—no person be allowed, in future, to hold the Office of President beyond the term of four years.'

The Council asked for further time to consider the first proposition, and declared the second contrary to the Statutes. Aberdeen, however, took the hint, and did not stand for re-election at the Anniversary of 1846.⁵

¹ As early as 3 Nov. 1813 Douce wrote to Kerrich to complain. 'The antiquarian Campaign opens to-morrow, the President being engaged in other campaigns. If I cared a great deal about these antiquaries and this Society I should not be satisfied with a leader who thus deserts his post. It is impossible that any Society will ever flourish where a president has not an almost exclusive interest in its welfare and direction. In this respect Sir J. Banks is a model for all Presidents.' Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kerrich Papers, xxiii, p. 105.

² It seems originally to have been written as a preface to a translation of Vitruvius.

³ When the Soane Museum was constituted after the death of Sir John Soane, by an Act that gave the Society the right of electing a Trustee, he was chosen. Council, 24 Apr. 1837.

⁴ B.M. Add. MS. 36653 (8), fol. 29 (Ellis Papers).

⁵ Council, 25 Mar.; Meeting, 26 Mar.

Aberdeen showed little consideration for the Society; a letter of 13 April 1826 excusing himself from attending a Council¹ has been indignantly endorsed by the Secretary as received only at five o'clock on the day of the meeting. What was far worse, he did not take the aims of the Society seriously. A letter from him to his Vice-President, Hudson Gurney, written on 14 December 1833²—twelve years before he resigned the presidency—reads:

'Your account of the 'worshipful' (i.e. the Antiquarian Society) may be considered good and prosperous. I see no drawback except that you appear to be more strongly impressed with the moderate folly of their pursuits. In this respect I cannot help you, for there is nothing to be said. But, their folly is innocent and we may rather be permitted to laugh than to scold. After all, what is the great difference on the score of wisdom between the laborious trifling of our worthy colleagues and the employments of that busy world whom doubtless we ought to call idlers too?'

As Prime Minister of England he showed noble qualities, though he was not astute enough to evade the Crimean War; but as President of the Society of Antiquaries he was a failure. Gladstone, after Aberdeen's death, lauded his 'unselfishness, his mental calmness' and 'most of all, an entire absence of suspicion';³ these qualities might shine in Downing Street, but a little assiduity and shrewdness might have been more useful at Somerset House.

Aberdeen's absence gave an unusual influence to his Vice-Presidents, Samuel Lysons,⁴ Matthew Raper, Hudson Gurney, William Hamilton, and Henry Hallam; they played far more important a part in the Society's affairs than Aberdeen did.⁵ Yet no Vice-President can have quite a President's authority, and constant delegation brought weakness and a lack of continuity into the conduct of the Society's affairs.

The Directors of the time were not men who could play a great part. Taylor Combe was ill for a long time before his death in 1826, and his duties as Editor were carried out by Ellis. After Combe's death Ellis's work as Editor was made permanent, with an annual fee of £100. William Richard Hamilton, who had served as Director for a few months in 1809, was appointed to hold the office until the Anniversary. James Heywood Markland was then appointed; he was a London solicitor, a member of the Roxburghe Club, and chiefly interested in medieval texts. He held office for nearly twenty years, and was succeeded by John Gage (later Rokewode),

¹ Ants. Corr.

² Balfour, *Life of . . . Aberdeen*, ii. 10.

³ Quoted, Algernon Cecil, *Queen Victoria and Her Prime Ministers*, p. 163.

⁴ He died in 1819.

⁵ Not even the Vice-Presidents were always present. It was unanimously passed at the Council of 2 June 1826 that the Treasurer and Director should likewise have power to hold elections, admit Fellows, and do any other business lawful for the President or Vice-President to transact. The rule was confirmed at the meeting of 16 Nov.

a Roman Catholic, who chiefly worked at the county history of Suffolk. His correspondence¹ shows him to have been a man of courtesy, kindness, and good learning. When he died Albert Way was appointed.

The Treasurer, William Bray, was a quiet, gentle, charming man, much beloved by those who knew him well. He had neither the strength nor the drive to be a reformer, or even a leader in difficult times. He must have faced the immediate post-war period with an easy mind. At the end of the financial year of 1815 he had only a few pounds in hand, but £8,000 in Consols. In 1816² £1,000 of these were sold; in 1823³ £1,000 more; in 1827⁴ £500. The composition fee was raised to forty guineas in 1819.⁵ The Society's expenses were increasing in every direction, especially in that of publications. Their stocks, indeed, became so large that a warehouse had to be taken to store them.⁶

In February 1823 William Bray, in a charming letter,⁷ offered his resignation; he had been Treasurer for nineteen years and was now eighty-six. He was duly thanked, and Thomas Amyot, a Civil Servant, was elected Treasurer at the Anniversary. Bray gave his successor a good start by moving on 12 May:

'That, in future, a List of such Members as are more than three years in arrear be made out annually within one month after Christmas, and sent to the Solicitors for the Society—and such Solicitors are directed to send a written Letter to each Member so in Arrear, in the form of the first Letter inserted below, and if the money be not paid within one month, that they would write a second Letter in the form after mentioned.—

That the Solicitor do report to the next Council of the Society, what Arrears shall have been received,—

That the Clerk to the Society do deliver such written Letters to the Houses of such Members, as have Houses in London.'

The motion was duly passed, but no action seems to have been taken upon it.

The next criticism of the Society's finances was offered by Nicolas in 1827.⁸ 'The entire management of the funds of the Society is intrusted to the Council; and of the way in which it exercises its trust, it is highly necessary the Fellows should be informed. Upon the president or Vice president taking the Chair, the accounts in a bundle are placed before him, who, holding them in his hand, asks, "Is it your pleasure, gentlemen, to confirm these

¹ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall Deposit 21, vols. 1-14.

² Council, 26 Mar.

³ Ibid., 13 Feb.

⁴ Ibid., 30 July.

⁵ Ibid., 25 May; Meetings 27 May and 17 June.

⁶ Council, 2 May 1815. 17 Swan Yard was taken at £27 per annum plus taxes and rates. At the Council of 2 Apr. 1816 it was agreed to insure the stock there for £4,000.

⁷ Ants. Corr.

⁸ *Retrospective Review*, and series, i, 1827, p. 161.

accounts?" The balloting box is handed round, and they are instantly passed without a single individual having opened, much less examined them; and even without a remark being made.' He criticized the subsidy to the Anniversary Dinner, which he estimated as 14s. paid by the Society as against 7s. paid by the Fellow, and the £40 or so a year spent on the Audit Dinner;¹ and remarks that no attempt was made to recover arrears of subscription. The immediate result was that the Council² ordered the Clerk to call at the houses of all the London members for their subscriptions and arrears, he to receive 5 per cent. commission on all moneys collected.

In the following year the Society at large made a protest.³ 'Having learnt from the Report of the Auditors that a sum exceeding £800 has been expended in the publications of the Society, it is the opinion of the Society that three or five Fellows not members of the present Council be appointed to examine the Accounts in order that the Society may learn whether the Statute which provides that no greater sum than fifty pounds shall be paid by the Council has been complied with.' The Council explained it all away on 17 April, and pacified the malcontents by a slight revision of the Statutes.⁴

The system of collecting subscriptions and arrears on commission brought in a little money, and £500 Consols were purchased in 1829.⁵ None the less between February 1830 and February 1847 no less than £3,100 of the Society's investments had to be sold,⁶ chiefly to meet the cost of publications. At the final demand for £800 the Council at last protested, but the sale had to be made.

Thanks to these sales, the routine income and expenditure accounts balanced fairly well, though those of 1832, printed in the appendix to the twenty-fourth volume of the *Archaeologia*, reveal that all composition fees received were treated as income. In 1843 Council once more woke up to the fact that many members were in arrears of subscription and appointed a sub-committee. For once something was done; the usual letter of reminder was followed by a solicitor's letter and eventually the defaulters were removed.⁷ Forty-two had to be expelled: one was thirty years behind in his

¹ At the Council of 12 Feb. 1823 it was reported that the Anniversary and Audit Dinners had cost the Society £36. 5s. 6d. In 1824 they cost £42. 6s. and in 1825 £52. 19s. 6d. In 1829 the payment of Fellows for the Anniversary Dinner was raised to 10s. After 1817 the Anniversary Dinners were held at the Freemasons' Tavern. A little before 1830 the Audit Dinner began to be given by the President or Vice-President at his own home; see Nicolas, *Observations on the State of Historical Literature*, chap. iii.

² 13 June 1827.

³ Ants. Corr.; the letter was read at meetings on 27 Mar. and 17 Apr. 1828.

⁴ Council, 17 June 1828; Meeting, 21 May 1829.

⁵ Ibid., 26 Mar.

⁶ 2 Feb. 1830, £500; 5 Mar. 1833, £200; 8 Apr. 1834, £500; 30 Mar. 1843, £500; 18 June 1846, £600; 16 Feb. 1847, £800.

⁷ Meetings 10 Apr. and 17 Apr. 1845. See a letter from Ellis to Way, 28 Feb. 1845, in Ants. Corr., and another (draft) from Joseph Hunter in B.M. Add. MS. 24881, fol. 28.

payments, one twenty-eight, one twenty-five, one twenty-one, and twenty-two were more than ten years in arrears.¹

With an absentee President and an inactive Treasurer, a great weight of responsibility fell upon the Resident Secretary, Nicholas Carlisle. Unfortunately he was not fitted to bear it. He had one aim in life: money. He counted on the Antiquaries to provide him with lodgings and a salary; his main work lay in the British Museum, to which he had moved with the Royal Library in 1823.² He there acted as senior assistant. There was some justice in Joseph Hunter's contention³ that 'this office is the root of all the evil in the Society'.

Carlisle was one of the Society's most gifted exponents of the art of inactivity. In March 1839 John Adey Repton wrote an indignant letter⁴ to the Director to complain that two of his papers on architectural subjects had remained in Carlisle's hands for twenty-seven years without being published.

It has already been said that in spite of a respectable salary and agreeable quarters, Carlisle in fact did nothing for the Society without being paid for it. In 1817 he made a catalogue of the printed books and was given £100;⁵ and so it went on until in 1844 he received £300 for indexing fifteen volumes of the *Archaeologia*.⁶ By this time the tide was beginning to turn; the payment was only authorized at the meeting by thirty-six votes to twenty-three. In 1845⁷ Dr. Lee demanded, and the Council conceded, that the Auditors should explain in detail the £447. 10s. paid in salaries, nearly all of which went to Carlisle.

The Library received little of his attention. On 4 May 1815 the Council decided that no book should be lent out of it. Nicolas wrote of it in 1829:⁸ 'The Library room is too confined and incommodious for the number of valuable books which it contains, and for the members to resort to it generally, as a place of study; a beautiful model of the Temple of Vesta, at Tivoli, occupies at least one sixth part of the area and much of the remainder is *ex necessitate* made a sort of warehouse for the Society's publications. The Society want

¹ An amusing letter on the Meeting from Henry Ellis to Hudson Gurney, dated 18 Apr. 1845, will be found in B.M. Add. MS. 36653 (11), fol. 18v.

² He had been an assistant in it since 1812. Esdaile, *British Museum Library*, p. 76.

³ B.M. Add. MS. 24881, fols. 19 et seqq.

⁴ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall Deposit 21, vol. 11.

⁵ Council, 11 Feb.; Meetings, 13 and 20 Feb. Ellis, who catalogued the MSS., was also given £100.

⁶ Council, 19 Nov.; Meeting, 28 Nov.

⁷ Council, 5 Mar. Joseph Hunter took a gloomy view of the Auditors in general (B.M. Add. MS. 24881, fol. 33): 'Auditors have been very civil gentlemen content to see that the totals corresponded with the Bills produced . . . not likely to put inconvenient questions, in the most part never coming near the Society . . . and actually nominated by those persons whose doings they are to review. It is quite notorious that an Auditor not many years ago was in the year of his Audit seven years in arrear in his own contribution. . . .'

⁸ See below, p. 248.

space in their apartments before they can effect any material improvements, and their funds are totally inadequate to the purposes of building. . . .'

Carlisle's Library clerk, Martin, had to be tipped half-a-crown by each member who took away his copy of *Archaeologia*, until in 1845 it was agreed that a regular payment should be made to him instead.¹ Martin, too, besides his salary, received such honoraria as fifteen guineas in 1820² for making up six perfect volumes of the *Archaeologia* from waste, with a promise of £12 for making up more.

The Council was not of a calibre to keep any check on its officers. It was rent by such quarrels as those between Hamilton and Carlisle, Meyrick and Ellis, and many others. For most of the time it occupied itself with routine business and such innovations as acquiring a pew for the Secretary in St. Mary-le-Strand;³ fixing the sessions to run from the third Thursday in November to the third in June;⁴ deciding that the Council should meet monthly,⁵ and putting the hall porter into livery⁶ and buying him a chair. Too often their sole business was to confirm the Minutes of the previous meetings and to accept resignations from the Society.⁷ By the session of 1841 they were beginning to meet more rarely, in fact only five times. In 1842-3 they met four times, and in the two subsequent years only five.

The Council was in many respects curiously inactive. They allowed the Royal Society to get hold of the rooms vacated by the Lottery Office in 1826,⁸ and seem to have done nothing to secure further accommodation when the National Gallery moved to Trafalgar Square in 1836.

In 1828⁹ the King asked for the return of the three pictures he had given the Society,¹⁰ that they might hang in 'the gallery of Windsor Castle, which Palace had recently been prepared for his Majesty's reception'. In return he offered the Society two gold medals annually, each of the value of fifty guineas, 'to be conferred in such manner as should appear to the Council to be best calculated to promote the objects of the Society'.

The matter was superficially considered at a Council six months later,⁵ though no decision was come to. The medals, however, aroused the most violent emotions in some Fellows' breasts. On 1 July 1829 Hudson Gurney wrote to Gage:¹¹

'We had a Council at the Antiquaries yesterday—and Ellis to his great Dismay

¹ Council, 5 Mar.

² Ibid., 22 Feb.

³ £15 paid, Council, 22 Feb. 1820.

⁴ 25 Feb. 1824.

⁵ 19 May 1829.

⁶ 5 Mar. 1845; the Antiquaries shared the expense with the Royal Society.

⁷ These increased; in 1845, for example, eight Fellows withdrew.

⁸ Weld, ii. 425.

⁹ Council, 25 Nov.

¹⁰ See above, p. 218.

¹¹ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall Deposit 21 (2), fol. 118.

—had a Letter from *Douce withdrawing* from the Society. It was agreed that no notice should be taken of it in the *Minutes* and that I should call on him—which I did—and had a Long Interview—the Upshot of which was that we had both arranged concerning the Medals—and had proceeded to award *one*—and that the Medals totally altering the nature of the Society—into one of Competition—instead of being as before, for the receiving and spreading Antiquarian Information—he would have nothing whatever to do with it.

I assured him we had done NOTHING—that all that had passed was mere conversation—that we were in a Cruel Dilemma and were going to the Dogs so rapidly every Way—that I hoped he wd. rather remain to Save us, than throw another stone at our heads as we were sinking. He said it seemed he had been precipitate—but that the moment we became actually Medallists *He* would Bolt. And so the matter stands for the present.’

The Council needed little to encourage it in inaction. Nothing was ever done and the Society never received or allotted any Royal Medals.

The general Conduct of the Council came under considerable attack, and much of such energy as it had was spent in recrimination. In 1824 Nicholas Harris Nicolas, a man who had served in the Navy in the war and had then been called to the Bar, was elected F.S.A. He was a man of litigious character and reforming zeal, and in 1827 began to turn his attention to the Antiquaries. He first tried to gain access to their minutes, accounts, and records; this was refused him without the express consent of the Council.¹ His request was laid before the Council on 16 January 1828 and formally refused, on the ground that such access was not envisaged in the Statutes.

Nicolas at once went on the warpath. Already in 1827 he had stated in an article in the *Retrospective Review*² that he proposed to become ‘The Historian of the S.A.’ and had blamed ‘the disgraceful system of exclusion which has long marked the conduct of its chief officers, in selecting their own personal friends for the Council, and passing over men whose talents are fully appreciated by the world; by the frivolous nature of many of its publications; and by the manner in which it is conducted’.

According to Palgrave,³ Nicolas had been put on the Council by Carlisle as a friend on the death of Taylor Combe in 1827, *ad interim*, but that at its meetings he ‘was betrayed into a violence of deportment and gesticulation which gave offence; and that in consequence thereof when the House List was prepared for the election of the new Council on the ensuing Charter day, the name of Mr. Nicolas was not included therein’.

¹ 12 Nov. 1827.

² Second Series, i. 156.

³ *Remarks submitted to the Right Hon. Viscount Mahon in reply to . . . Nicolas Harris Nicolas*, 1831, p. 7.

'On St. George's Day, Mr. Nicolas came down, in perfect confidence that he would be continued on the Council. When he found that he was excluded from the list, he burst into a paroxysm of anger, and gave vent to language indicating his feelings, and which excited much notice and surprise.

Mr. Nicolas now declared a war of extermination against the Antiquaries in general, but more particularly against Mr. Ellis and Mr. Nicholas Carlisle, and all persons who, as he supposed, had excluded him from the Council.'

On the day after the Anniversary Nicolas resigned from the Society, in a letter¹ to the President in which he expressed 'regret that my zeal for its welfare should have produced to me that conduct from its officers, which has compelled me to leave it'.

Nicolas's remarks in the *Retrospective Review* were followed by a bitter unsigned article in the October number of the *Westminster Review* for 1829, purporting to be a review of the recent numbers of the *Archæologia* and the *Vetusta Monumenta*. His former strictures were renewed. The President was described as 'but a puppet in the hands of the secretaries, who having the patronage of engraving, printing, &c. can command the votes of the inferior part of the Society, who have no pretensions to belong to it, nor indeed any other desire than to minister to 'their own pecuniary interests'.

Nicolas describes 'divers skirmishes' before the annual meeting of 1828.

'An application [he reveals] to increase the salary of the second secretary,² who, it appeared to many, was already amply paid for doing little, excepting to help the senior secretary to do nothing . . . was opposed on the ballot, by a minority which shook the confidence of the Council in the stability of their power. . . . Remarks were made when this grant was bestowed, on the negligent manner in which the articles communicated by the second secretary were prepared; and that it was even asserted that these compositions were not unfrequently copies of articles which had been printed before. So serious an imputation, could only be met by producing in the next assembly so learned and novel a paper, as would shame all opposition to the increase of salary. . . . The eventful evening arrived; the vice president's official cocked hat was duly squared; the senior secretary on his right hand was looking as usual 'unutterable things'; the treasurer, having secured the entrance fee of some unfortunate wight, had composed his features into the good-natured quiescence for which they are remarkable; and the tongues of all the other members of the assembly, each of whom hearing that so much was to be expected, had brought the full number of friends allowed by the Statutes, were 'hushed to silence', when the junior secretary commenced the perusal of—The narrative of the Attempt to steal the Crown from the Tower by the notorious Blood! . . . The members evinced that this was no great discovery; and more than one said it was printed by Echard, in his History of England; others whispered 'this is given verbatim in Stow's Survey'; a third proclaimed 'that it was referred to very fully by Rabin', and a fourth, wiser still, observed that there were two copies in MSS. in the Museum. . . .'

¹ 24 Apr. 1828; Ants. Corr.

² Carlisle.

Nicolas's article provoked a long reply signed 'Antiquarius' in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of November 1829,¹ which was naturally concentrated on the unimportant details of criticism to be found in the latter part of his attack. The chief weight of argument was directed against Nicolas's statement that the Society's publications were worthless. It would be foolish, Antiquarius declared, to confine themselves entirely to the printing of texts and documents.

'It is not the business of an Antiquary merely to decipher, transcribe, and to pile document upon document, extract upon extract. . . . The judicious Antiquary has higher views than these; it is his to weigh in equal scales the force of conflicting evidence, to reconcile discrepancies, and to draw strong conclusions out of minute facts which have escaped the general eye. A spear head, a coin, an imperfect inscription, a fragment of painting, the remnant of a building, a rude stone, are all legitimate objects of his speculation. The exuberance of fancy may sometimes in these points be difficult of restraint; but without the exertion of a conjectural spirit, guided by sober caution, the Antiquary would indeed be little better than a heaper up of old bills, inventories, ballads, a dealer in verdigris and iron rust, or a collector of . . . bricks, stones, tiles and pipkins. . . .'

Nicolas renewed his attack in the *Observations on the State of Historical Literature* which he published in 1830.² The chief new head of his discourse was an attack upon the *Archaeologia*. A proof of the low estimation in which it was held, he declared, was that few of the best writers of the day contributed to it.

'Neither Lingard, Hallam,³ Walter Scott, Sharon Turner, D'Israeli, nor Lodge, nor either of the most eminent county historians, Surtees, Hunter or Baker have contributed to its pages, and the volumes consist chiefly of lucubrations on broken stones, potsherds, tumuli, and runic inscriptions, or of interminable essays on armour, relieved now and then by a letter from the Museum, which the secretary, driven, to adopt his usual words, 'by the dearth of other communications', is forced to hunt for at the last hour; and the Society is therefore occasionally treated with a dissertation as a new discovery which was printed in a History of England, or some other book, a hundred years ago. . . .

Without a thorough change in the government of that body, an expectation of improvement is out of the question; and the only chance of an alteration consists in placing on the council persons able and willing to effect a reform, instead of the mere instruments of the officers' pleasure. At present, the council is chosen by those gentlemen, and is nominally approved by the president, the qualifications of the persons selected being rank, or a disposition to leave the existing order of things undisturbed. One peer, one bishop, and two or three baronets, or, if they cannot be obtained, a knight or two, form the decorative part of the council, and as these persons rarely attend, the routine of business

¹ p. 417.

² Chapter iii, pp. 23 et seqq.

³ 'Mr. Hallam condescends however to fill the situation of Vice-President. His colleagues are Hudson Gurney, Esq. M.P., the Right Hon. Charles Watkins Wynne, and W. R. Hamilton Esq. Perhaps some friend of the three gentlemen last named will favor the public with a list of the *historical works* by which either of them has established his claim to hold so distinguished a situation in a Society for the advancement of Historical knowledge.'

is conducted by the officers and their friends. All the officers are members of the council, so that when the aristocratic part is added to the nine officers, the number of members who are to be chosen for their *merits* is very small, and there is consequently little difficulty in fixing upon 'tame elephants' enough for the purpose. . . .'

Nicolas went on to claim the Society as the richest literary Society in England, if not in Europe, with an income of above £2,000 a year: he naturally admitted that he had not been able to examine the accounts.

Nicolas's remarks were clearly embittered, and his bias towards historical documents as the only form of interest to be pursued, indefensible; yet his criticisms had only too much truth behind them. The accounts for 1832 were published for the first time in the subsequent volume of the *Archaeologia*;¹ and later several of the reforms he had suggested were carried out.²

During this time the Society's possessions were considerably increased. At the end of 1827 the Director, J. H. Markland, addressed a letter³ to the President, which he also circulated among some of the Fellows, to urge the foundation of a Museum or Repository of Antiquities. Nothing more happened until 1840, when a gift was recorded:⁴ 'By William Debonaire Haggard, Esq. A singular instrument from the Tomb of one of the Antient Etruscan Kings, on the borders of Tuscany; being the First Present made to the Society's Museum.' A second gift of pottery from barrows at Ingham, Suffolk, and of Egyptian antiquities from John Gage Rokewode's collection, was made by Sir Thomas Gage in 1842.⁵

Meanwhile the Society's collection of pictures had been notably enriched. A full-length portrait of Stukeley had been bought from Mrs. Douce for £5 in 1829,⁶ and a portrait of William Burton⁷ had been given to the Society in 1832. Far more important gifts came to it by bequest. The Rev. Thomas Kerrich, Principal Librarian of the University Library at Cambridge, had been a Fellow of the Society since 1797.⁸ He died on 10 May 1828, leaving a bequest of twenty-six pictures to the Society.⁹ They remain among the Society's greatest treasures. We owe to Kerrich the famous early panels with the Story of Queen Etheldreda; the remarkable *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* painted by John Holynburne in 1474; the series of early pictures of kings and emperors; the splendid portrait by Hans Eworth of Queen Mary Tudor brooding anxiously

¹ After 1843 they were published in the *Proceedings*

² See below, p. 253.

³ It was printed in *Gent.'s Mag.*, vol. xcvi, part 1, Jan. 1828, p. 61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 Nov.

⁷ By Robert Bigsby, 11 May 1837.

⁸ Nominated 11 May, elected 22 June.

⁹ Announced at Meeting, 20 Nov. 1828.

⁴ Meeting, 30 Apr.
⁶ 7 July.

above her embroidered dress and historic jewels; the delightful French child with his bird and rattle; and the beautifully decorative portrait of the young Mary of Austria, as well as other less notable pictures.¹

The bequest stimulated the Society to take a little more interest in its other possessions, and in June 1828² it was agreed that the drawings and prints of the Society should be catalogued and classified so that they could be used by Fellows.³ Nothing seems to have been done until the sub-committee appointed reported three years later.⁴ They had found them in considerable confusion, except for those which had been bound and catalogued long before. Nine years later⁵ a man was engaged at half a guinea a day to catalogue and arrange them.

In 1841 the Society received a great bequest⁶ from Peter Prattinton, a Bewdly man, of his Worcestershire Collections, intended to illustrate Habington's *History* of the county, the old chest containing them, and an India cabinet of curiosities.⁷ The bequest was the more remarkable because Prattinton—a wealthy wholesale grocer—had never been a Fellow, though he had been permitted to read in the Library. The Kerrich and Prattinton bequests remain the happiest memorials of a period when the Society was not very distinguished in its work or very creditable in its state.

¹ On 23 June 1843 Council were informed that Kerrich's son was adding portraits of General Fleetwood and William Paulett to those bequeathed by his father.

² Council, 17 June, 25 Nov.

³ In July 1830 the Society had some difficulty in retrieving drawings from Stothard's house. See Council, 7 July 1830 and 19 Apr. 1831.

⁴ Report in *Ants. Corr.*, read 19 Apr. 1831.

⁵ Council, 4 Feb. 1840.

⁶ Reported to Council, 10 and 20 Nov., Meeting, 16 Dec. 1841.

⁷ Still in the Society's possession; it had once belonged to Gough, and Prattinton had bought it at Gough's sale. It appears to be Japanese.

XIV

RETRENCHMENT AND REFORM

1846-54

AT the Anniversary of 1845 Philip Henry Stanhope, Lord Mahon—who ten years later became the sixth Earl Stanhope—was elected President.¹ He came of an eccentric family: he was nephew of Lady Hester Stanhope and grandson of the Lord Stanhope who refused to use his title in the seventeen-nineties and desired to be known as Citizen Stanhope. He himself was a man of good sense, ability, and enlightenment, with plenty of energy, if little eloquence, who was seen at his best in committee. His own tastes lay chiefly in historical matters, but he did not unduly impose them upon the Society.

He had been elected F.S.A. in 1841² and had been nominated one of Aberdeen's Vice-Presidents a year later.³ Three years in that capacity, with an absentee President, had given him some knowledge of the Society's business, and he was quickly at work in his presidential capacity. He assumed his duties, however, in a spirit of courtesy and respect to his predecessor.

On 2 May Sir Henry Ellis, the Senior Secretary, wrote to Albert Way, the Director,⁴ to tell him that at the first meeting after the election:

'Mr. Hunter went a little further in his censure upon Lord Aberdeen and the Council, than he had done upon the Anniversary; and he intimated that Lord Mahon had promised in his Address at the Anniversary to become a *Reforming* President. Lord Mahon, in a manner which pleased the Society, said he had not used such terms; and that he did not wish to have words used for him which he had not himself said. . . .

I did not think that so bad a spirit had been abroad. I will say privately that our Auditors were not contented with the manner in which our Accounts are conducted. . . .

I see the necessity of active measures in our Council; and that, before every thing, we ought to assist our new President in the investigation of our financial affairs.'

¹ A letter from him dated 4 Apr. 1846 was read at the Council on 7 Apr. In it he declared that he considered Hallam would be a better candidate; but had heard that he was unwilling to stand. This Hallam declared to be the case, and Mahon was then unanimously nominated.

² 21 Jan.

³ 14 Apr. 1842.

⁴ Ants. Corr. See also a further letter from Joseph Hunter to Albert Way, 20 Aug. 1846, in Ants. Corr.

Steps towards reform had, indeed, been instituted even before the Anniversary. On 17 March the Council had not only recommended the President or Vice-President in the Chair 'to call to order any Gentleman whose remarks may appear to him to stray from the subject in discussion', but had also appointed a Committee of Finance 'to meet together for the purpose of making regulations for the more effectual charging the Expenditure of the Society generally'.

'That in consequence of the advanced time of life, and protracted illness of Mr. Carlisle, and the frequent occurrence of a state of indisposition, in which his infirmities render him unable adequately to discharge the duties of Secretary, the Council, whilst they are anxious to express their deep regret at this suspension of his long and valuable services, feel it indispensable to proceed forthwith to the nomination of some Fellow of the Society, to assist him in the execution of the duties of his Office,—

That such Fellow, on agreeing to accept this Appointment, be paid at the rate of £150 a year,—And, that he be entitled, Assistant Secretary,—

That the Appointment be valid only until the ensuing Anniversary of the Society, namely the 23rd of next month.

That Mr. J. Thoms, Fellow of the Society, be invited to accept the Office of Assistant Secretary for the purpose, and on the terms above specified,—'

This brought a storm about their heads at the meeting on 20 March when it was communicated to the Society. Ellis wrote to Way:¹ 'We were last evening in greater Anarchy at Somerset House than I have heretofore seen in our Society's Meetings. The Resolution of the Council respecting Thoms was found to be contrary to the express words of our Charter, and was referred back to the Council.' The Council met on 25 March, and reported to the meeting the next day that they had dropped the idea of an Assistant Secretary.

Meanwhile it was realized that Carlisle's position might depend on the constitution of the new Council. Ellis wrote to Way on 20 March:

'A Recommendation is given to the Council to adopt the Royal Society's method of circulating, a Week before the Anniversary, the names of Persons proposed to be placed upon the New Council. Josephus [Hunter] was in one of his Unitarian tempers; and I had to defend myself from the imputation of making the marked lists.

No Vice-President attended. Amyot was in the Chair; and I cannot help thinking that the Majority of the persons in the Room were hostile.'

On the next day² he continued: 'Some alteration will be made in the proposed Council List to give it more strength. And the List must not be communicated to Mr. Carlisle too soon. He is not in

¹ 20 Mar. 1846; Ants. Corr.

² 21 Mar. 1846; Ants. Corr.

that state which will enable us to be secure in our movement on the 23rd of April.' On the 25th the recommendation to circulate the names was duly passed.

Carlisle's chief friend in the Society was T. J. Pettigrew, a surgeon who was a friend of his brother's and had achieved the vaccination of the Princess Victoria. His portrait¹ depicts him as a bland, egg-faced man, but his professional life shows him as difficult and litigious, with a strong tendency to quarrel with boards of management.² He was one of the founders of the Archaeological Association, and when he opposed the official nominations in 1846 it was with its members' support.³ The opposition proved ineffective, partly perhaps because at this time only Fellows living in or near London were particularly summoned to the Annual Meeting and many of Pettigrew's friends lived in the provinces.

At the meeting of 7 May the problem was cleared up, and it was agreed with only two dissentients that the President and Council should each year nominate eleven members of the old Council and ten new members for election, and recommend the Officers for election.⁴ They should circulate these lists, but any Fellow should be free to alter his before voting. Scrutators were to be nominated, and not as heretofore drawn by lot. It was further agreed that the report of the Auditors should be laid on the table at least a week before the Anniversary, and should be publicly read on that occasion.⁵

Events ultimately made possible the reform of the secretariat. On 4 May 1847 the President laid before the Council a letter he had received from Carlisle in answer to one from the Treasurer in which it had been suggested that Carlisle might continue to draw his salary as a pension if he retired.

'I cannot refrain [he wrote] from stating to your Lordship the dread I feel in being obliged to quit these Apartments, which I have now occupied for up-

¹ Drawn and lithographed by Charles Baugniet, 1856.

² A *Letter to the Late Members of the British Archaeological Association*, published by the Rev. Thomas Hugo in 1855, quotes *The Athenæum's* opinion of him: 'In any public relation he can live comfortably only in an atmosphere of disturbance; and as that is a phenomenon easy to produce, he easily contrives wherever he goes to create the moral condition in which his egotism thrives. . . . Petulance, captiousness and jealousy are still among his characteristics. The concoction of intrigues, the packing of meetings, and the confusion of congresses are his delight. The fomenting of suspicions by misrepresentation to each of his colleagues what the rest are alleged to say in their disparagement . . . is still his constant habit. And 'divide and rule' is still his favourite maxim.'

³ Letter from Ellis to Way, 18 Apr. 1846; Ants. Corr. Opposition continued in 1847; Meeting, 15 Apr. That Carlisle had his admirers is shown by the gift to the Society of a wax medallion of him by William Haggard on 15 Jan. 1846.

⁴ The Solicitor-General and Sir Thomas Wilde were consulted and gave their opinion that any individual Fellow was competent to propose any new law or the alteration of any existing law without previously submitting the proposed alteration to Council. 3 May 1845, Ants. Corr.

⁵ The Dinner was put off from 5.30 to 6 to give time for this.

wards of forty years. I feel wholly incompetent to a removal at my advanced Age, and with the Infirmities which it hath pleased God to afflict me, I cannot contemplate the quitting my Apartments without an overwhelming feeling of fear and distress. I would adopt any alternative rather than a Removal—and if, as I am given to understand, no Successor is yet to be appointed to my Office, I trust that the Council will kindly permit me to remain in the Apartments, until, at least, some one may be elected in my stead.’

It was agreed that he should be given £150 a year and allowed to occupy the Secretary’s rooms.¹ No new Secretary was elected, but William Long was appointed² as an additional clerk, to send out circulars, to attend in the Library and to assist in its cataloguing.

On 16 November 1847 Nicholas Carlisle’s death was reported. In the following May³ the President had to report that he had received a letter from Mr. Lemon, a member of Council and of the Library Committee, to report that the apartments on which Carlisle had spent so much of the Society’s money were ‘in a most disgraceful condition, unfit for any gentleman to put his head into, and quite impossible for any decent family to inhabit’.

The Society needed a new Resident Secretary,⁴ but there was no certainty that it could afford one. It was agreed⁵ that any holder of the office must do the work done by Long (to whom notice had been given), attend in the Library from 10 to 3 except on Saturdays and in the month of August, and receive not more than £100 a year and the use of the rooms with such furniture as was in them. The motion was sent to the Library Committee, who reduced the hours to 10 to 2 or 11 to 3.⁶

Wright—the secretary to so many societies—was considered a likely candidate, but at the meeting on 30 March a letter from him was read saying that he declined to stand, ‘being desirous to avoid any dissensions or divisions in the Society, and to evince towards it his own feelings of conciliation and goodwill’. At the Anniversary of 1848 John Yonge Akerman was appointed on the agreed terms. He was a man of forty-two, who in early life had acted as secretary to William Cobbett and later to the Greenwich Railway Company. He had been elected F.S.A. in 1834.⁷ He was a keen numismatist,

¹ The resolution was circulated to the Fellows and passed at the meeting of 6 May by 58 for and 6 against.

² Finance Committee, 7 and 18 May 1847; Council, 27 May; he was paid £70 a year.

³ Letter, 10 May 1848; Finance Committee, 16 May 1848.

⁴ On 20 Jan. 1848 Pettigrew moved that the office might be filled by a Fellow, but on 3 Feb. his motion was moved out of order and not balloted on. On 15 Feb. it was decided that the election should be held at the Anniversary. For Joseph Hunter’s views on the question see B.M. Add. MS. 24881, fol. 51.

⁵ Finance Committee, 18 May 1848.

⁶ At the Finance Committee of 13 Aug. 1849 Akerman asked that his duties should be changed to be from 2 to 4 daily, so that he could act as secretary to Lord Albert Conyngham. On 20 Nov. this was granted, with Friday and Saturday off.

⁷ 16 Jan.

who had founded the *Numismatic Journal* in 1830, and had continued to edit it as the *Numismatic Chronicle*, the organ of the Numismatic Society he had helped to found in 1837.

Five years later¹ Sir Henry Ellis resigned as Secretary, though he continued to draw his editorial emoluments. Akerman became sole Secretary at £200 a year, until in 1858 Ellis 'liberally relinquished' his fee and Akerman received the extra £50. Long, however, continued in the service of the Society.² Ellis's resignation of the Senior Secretaryship in 1853¹ coincided with the resignation of the Directorship by Lord Strangford, who had only held office for a year;³ Ellis was elected to succeed him.

A Library Committee had been appointed at the end of 1845,⁴ as it was recognized that some reorganization was needed. They found the room much overcrowded, and made space by selling the large table,⁵ buying two small ones, and by presenting the cork model of the Temple of the Sibyl to the United Services Museum. The regulations for lending printed books were revised on the lines of those of the Royal Society and the London Library.⁶ On 28 May 1846 the Society was asked for £300 for binding and repairs; it granted it only by forty votes to twenty-two. Under the voluntary supervision of Robert Lemon the archivist, the repairs were carried out and the classification revised, in the vacation of 1847. At the same time the Council decided⁷ that a special set of the *Archaeologia* should be put on the shelves, any volumes of which might be lent to Fellows, but that no other books published by the Society should be on loan.

In 1849 Martin fell ill and Long, who was already working as a clerk for the Society, was engaged as a temporary Library Clerk at 30s. a week.⁸ He left in 1852 when Edwin Ireland was appointed Library Clerk in his place.⁹ In the following year the manuscripts were catalogued anew¹⁰ and in 1851 a catalogue of the printed books was prepared for press.¹¹ In 1852 more space was found for the books by moving the clerk out of his rooms in the basement¹² and using them

¹ Council, 17 June 1853.

² Ibid., 20 Jan. 1852.

³ Since 17 Feb. 1852.

⁴ Ibid., 18 Dec. 1845.

⁵ A new Council table and six chairs such as were used in the State Paper Office and plain black wood inkstands for the Library were also bought.

⁶ See also Finance Committee, 16 Jan. 1846.

⁷ 29 June 1847.

⁸ Finance Committee, 13 Aug. and 22 Oct. He resigned on 9 Jan. 1852, on getting a better job.

⁹ Ibid., 15 Feb. 1852. His salary was increased to £120 and by annual increments to £150, Council, 31 May 1859.

¹⁰ Letter, 11 Dec. 1850; Ants. Corr.

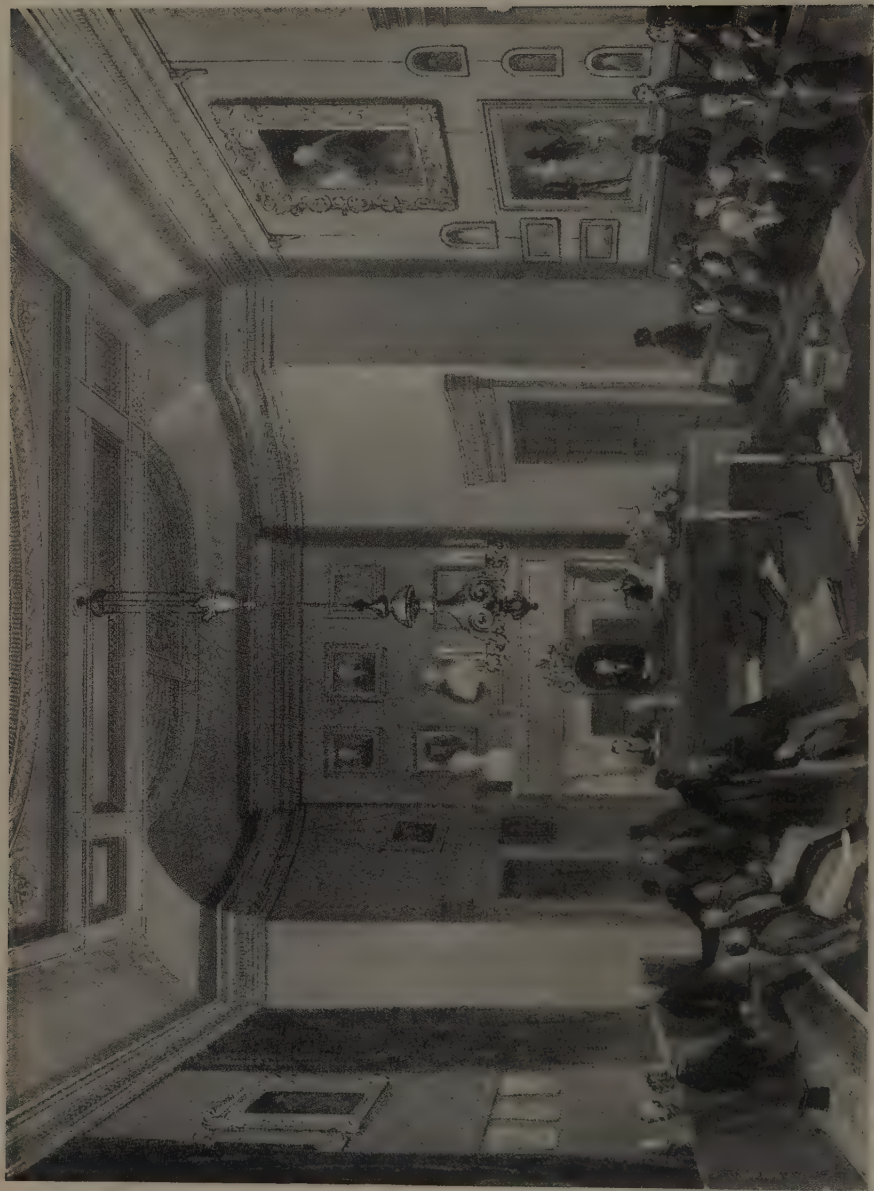
¹¹ Council, 6 May 1851. At the meeting on 17 June 1852 it was announced that it was nearly ready. Regulations for new accessions were passed at the Council of 3 May 1853.

¹² He was given £16 a year instead. Finance Committee, 24 June 1852.



Philip Henry Stanhope, Lord Mahon (later Earl Stanhope), President
1846-76, by John Partridge, 1845

Society of Antiquaries



‘Somerset House; Meeting of the Royal Antiquarian Society.’ Engraved by Fairholt, 1839

From *The Parlour Table Book*

as stores. The collections of broadsheets, proclamations, and ballads were rearranged¹ and bound, but when a mass of papers relating to the Society were found in a cupboard they were 'dusted by the porter' and left as they were.² In 1853 the Council decided that up to twenty guineas a year might be spent in subscribing, in the Society's name, to forthcoming publications, at the discretion of the Library Committee.³

The Director's responsibility for the Society's possessions⁴ was acknowledged by the production of a catalogue of them by Albert Way,⁵ which appeared in print in 1847.⁶ He had been allowed access to the minute-books, and was able to give the provenance of most of the things he catalogued. It was time that something was done; already the gold coins of James I and II of Scotland from Cadder, given by the Barons of the Exchequer in 1816,⁷ had disappeared unnoticed; and in the years between 1846, when Way made his list, and 1860, when George Scharf produced a new catalogue of the pictures, three important portraits disappeared.⁸

A certain number of gifts were received: a figure from a sepulchral brass;⁹ a portrait of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy;¹⁰ the Kerrich collection of 3762 Roman coins;¹¹ a Vulliamy regulator¹² and an antique globe clock;¹³ a portrait believed to be of Sir William Dugdale;¹⁴ some oriental sculptures;¹⁵ a Russian triptych;¹⁶ part of

¹ Letter, 26 June 1852; Ants. Corr. On 14 Nov. Robert Lemon reported to Council that he had arranged over 3,000 in twenty-one volumes.

² Library Committee, 19 Apr. 1853.

³ Announced at Anniversary Meeting, 1853.

⁴ A Donation Book was also instituted in 1848, in which books were entered in black ink and objects for the museum in red. The Society refused to lend anything to the Industrial Exhibition held in New York in 1853 (Council, 1 Mar. 1853) or to take part as a society in the Committee of the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Council, 4 Jan. 1850).

⁵ Suggested by Dr. Bromet; Finance Committee, 18 Nov. 1845.

⁶ Council, 5 Feb. and 20 May 1847.

⁷ Letter, 23 July 1816; Ants. Corr.; Meeting 7 Nov. 1816.

⁸ The portrait of Peter le Neve in his Herald's dress, given by the Rev. William Leigh in 1805 (Council, 15 Mar.) is now at the Herald's College. The portrait of a lady dated 1560, with the inscription *RATHER DEATHE THAN FALSE OF FAYTHE* and the 'Mark of Lucas de Heere' given by Sir William Skeffington on 13 Feb. 1806, has been identified by Professor Ellis Waterhouse as the Hans Eworth portrait lent to the National Portraits Exhibition at South Kensington in 1866 (No. 116) by Reginald Cholmondeley of Conover, as a portrait of Anne Askew or Ayscough; at the Cholmondeley Sale in Mar. 1897 (No. 43) it was bought by Colnaghi for 100 guineas. See also *Walpole Society*, ii, plate xxxd. The third picture, a portrait said to be of Raleigh after Zuccherò, given by the same donor at the same time, has not been identified.

⁹ By H. W. Diamond, 18 Jan. 1849.

¹⁰ By R. E. Kerrich, 22 Nov. 1849; Scharf, xix.

¹¹ By his son, R. E. Kerrich, 22 Nov. 1849. The Director took them in hand, helped by Akerman and Roach Smith. See Meetings, 10 Jan. 1850 and 20 Nov. 1851.

¹² By his great-grandson, B. L. Vulliamy, 7 Dec. 1848.

¹³ By B. L. Vulliamy, 13 June 1850.

¹⁴ By Mr. Botfield; announced at Anniversary Meeting 1850. The picture is in fact of his son, Norroy Herald. Scharf, xlviii.

¹⁵ By Mr. Boyd; announced at Anniversary Meeting, 1850.

¹⁶ By Thomas Blayds, 21 Nov. 1851; Scharf iii.

a tessellated pavement from Gresham Street;¹ a Nottingham alabaster with the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus;² a portrait of Ralph Thoresby,³ and several gifts of engraved portraits.⁴ Finally in 1852, the Society's property was insured for £7,200.⁵

It was clear in 1846 that one of the first tasks of the President and the new Council must be to reform the Society's finances. The Auditor's report⁶ stated that the accounts appeared 'to embrace a Receipt and Expenditure far exceeding the usual Average'. The Treasurer had ended 1845 with £1,396⁷ in hand, partly derived from the sale of capital; by the end of 1846 he had spent all this and all the ordinary income of the Society, but for £59. 'So striking a change', they reported, 'in the financial state of the Society could not fail to attract the attention of the Auditors, more particularly as during the Examination of the Accounts it appeared that a sum of £600 of the Capital Stock of the Society had been sold out last year together with a further sum of £800 which as they are informed has also been sold out during the present year in order to liquidate the liabilities of the Society up to the 31st December last. . . .'

The President at once⁸ set up a committee to investigate the Society's finances. Sir Charles Young, Garter King of Arms, was its most active member.⁹ It reported¹⁰ that there were arrears of debt which could only be met by a further sale of capital. They estimated that 'little short of £4000' would be required to cover all debts, as the habit had grown up of entering all receipts on the credit side, but only actual payments, not liabilities, on the debit.

The committee recommended that the arrears should be paid off out of capital, that composition fees should, in part at least, be funded; that economies should be made and payments checked, the sales of publications controlled and a fresh start made.

Their report was in some respects one of censure on Carlisle.¹¹ They found that he had had some £250 spent on his rooms since 1839, and £30 in the last year, without any particular authority from Council. They found that he had exercised no supervision over the

¹ By J. W. Butterworth, 5 Feb. 1851.

² By G. R. Corner, 6 May 1851. The Society already owned three alabasters.

³ By John Bowyer Nichols, 9 Feb. 1854; Scharf, LV.

⁴ By T. W. King, 16 Nov. 1853; by William Smith, 22 Dec. 1853; by J. Y. Akerman, 1 Jan. and 16 Jan 1854; and by F. Ouvry, 2 Dec. 1854. The suggestion that the Society's collection might be increased came from the Library Committee.

⁵ Furniture, £200; Pictures, Prints, Drawings, Busts and Cases, £1,500; Museum (including coins and cases) £1,000; Copperplates, £500; and books, MSS., and stock of the *Archaeologia*, £4,000. Finance Committee, 16 Feb. 1852.

⁶ Ants. Corr.

⁷ In this and in subsequent accounts of the finances of the Society I omit the shillings and pence.

⁸ 19 May 1846.

⁹ On Sir Charles Young's work see Stanhope, *Anniversary Address*, 1852.

¹⁰ Council, 23 June 1846.

¹¹ See Finance Committee Minutes, 25 May 1846.

work of Martin, the clerk; no vouchers, bills, or receipts were filed, and Martin's accounts appeared to have been made up from memory. 'Such have been his habits for years, and he has always been paid similar charges. During such period it would appear that he has invariably charged the Society a very considerable profit or percentage upon every article supplied, even of the most trivial character.' The committee recommended an Order Book, direct orders to tradesmen for stationery, printing, and candles,¹ and general reform. These recommendations were accepted,² though the fact that the reforms had to be carried out by Carlisle made them of doubtful force. The Treasurer had heretofore banked the Society's money in his own name; he was asked to open an account with Messrs. Hankey in the name of the Society and to lay the pass-book and his own cash-book on the table at every meeting.³

The Finance Committee continued to meet, and next suggested⁴ that tradesmen's accounts should be settled quickly and not, as was the custom, in the following year. On 21 December 1846 the committee drafted a second long report.

They found that the chief source of loss was the publication of the Anglo-Saxon series; the deficit on it would have to be met by a sale of capital to the value of £800. 'This is not a result which your Committee had any reason to expect when in the month of June last they submitted to the consideration of the Council a former report and accompanying statements. They deem it proper therefore to say that in the prosecution of their enquiries as to the management of the Society's affairs, they discovered bills, which had not been submitted to them and of which they could have no knowledge, still unpaid, and the Committee experienced considerable difficulty in arriving with any certainty at the liabilities and actual debts of the Society. . . .'

They found that in the last twelve years £22,481 had been received (including £2,166 admission fees and £3,948 composition fees, which had been treated as income) and £10,961 had been spent on artists and publications and £11,790 on 'the contingent expences of the Establishment'. The numbers had dropped to 571, of whom only 237 were annual subscribers.

They found that there was a large stock of the *Archaeologia* in sheets,⁵ but for the most part the plates were missing and the

¹ On 14 Mar. 1848 the Council took the lighting of the Society's rooms out of Martin's hands and gave it by contract to Messrs. Gardener.

² Council, 16 June 1846. At the same time Martin's commission on the subscriptions he collected was reduced to 2½ per cent.

³ Regular meetings of the Council on the first Tuesday of every month had been resumed by an order of 22 May and 5 June, 1845.

⁴ Finance Committee Minutes, 20 June 1845.

⁵ Cf. a report to Council, 22 Apr. 1845. This recommended the gift of copies of various unsaleable publications to the Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth; the University Libraries of

volumes could not be made up or sold. 'It seems clear to your Committee that there has not been sufficient responsibility of direction vested in or at least exercised by any officer so as to control the Clerk with whom the entire management of the issue of the *Archaeologia* after publication has rested.'¹ The stock of the *Vetusta Monumenta* was equally incomplete. Of the Cathedral series, only Bath and Exeter were in stock for both plates and letterpress, with a few of St. Stephen's Chapel. They recommended that these should be remaindered, together with 146 copies of Roy's *Military Antiquities*. They advised that fewer copies of the *Archaeologia* should be printed and proper profit-and-loss accounts of the Society's other publications be kept.

Their most important recommendation was that a permanent Finance Committee should be set up, with the Director as an *ex-officio* member answerable to it for the publications. Albert Way had lately resigned,² on the ground that he now lived in the country, and Captain William Henry Smyth had just been elected in his stead.³ He had had a distinguished career in the Navy, and though his interests were not primarily archaeological he served the Society well as Director for eight years.

The President's next step was to effect a change of Treasurership. On 30 January 1847 he wrote to Ellis:⁴

'I have been carefully considering our Finance Report in concert with our senior Vice-President Mr. Hallam.

It is our joint and decided opinion that after the lamentable state of finance which that Report makes known to us, and after the painful sacrifice of capital which we must consequently make, a thorough change must take place in our System, and that the duties of Treasurers will henceforward become much more onerous and laborious, and I am afraid irksome, than they have hitherto been.

These new labours of the Treasurer will be still further augmented for some time owing to the infirmity of Mr. Carlisle, which unavoidably increases—as none have better reason to know than yourself—the burthen on the remaining officers.'

He considered, he wrote, that that burden would be too heavy for Amyot to bear, and that Ellis should see him and explain the view that he should resign from office but continue on the Council. This was done, and in February he resigned after twenty-four years in Durham and Glasgow, and the libraries of the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea; St. David's College, Lampeter; the College of St. Columba, Strathcullen, Ireland; the Heralds' College; the United Services Museum, Scotland Yard; the Royal Society of Edinburgh; the Cheetham Library, Manchester; the London Library; and libraries in Zürich, Brussels, St. Omer, Amiens, Caen, Poitiers, Abbeville, and Rouen.

¹ A letter of 31 Oct. 1846 from Ellis to Way (Ants. Corr.) suggests that Martin has sold 'scores of copies' for his own benefit.

² Council, 17 Nov. 1846.

³ Council, 4 Dec. 1846.

⁴ B.M. Add. MS. 36653 (11), fol. 31.

office. He was succeeded by John Payne Collier, a Shakesperian critic who occasionally forged his documents. Perhaps fortunately he only held the office for two years. He was followed by John Bruce, a historian with a Scottish legal training.

On Amyot's resignation the President chose as Auditors for the financial year the same men as had served the year before, to secure continuity while the finances were under investigation. At the same time the bonds, which members signed on election, were given up.¹ The accounts were submitted a month before the Anniversary² and were more comprehensibly set out. £212 had been collected in arrears, and £78 received from the sale of books; but £600 stock had to be sold to help to meet the debt on the Anglo-Saxon series. Salaries, too, were mounting: Carlisle got £200; Ellis £157. 10s.; Martin £100; the porter £30, and Long, the Library assistant, nearly £80. The next few years showed a slow and slight improvement; in 1849³ there was enough in hand for £300 to be invested.

The remainder of the publications authorized by Council in 1848⁴ proceeded slowly and unprofitably. Attempts had already been made to sell off the *Cædmon* and other Anglo-Saxon volumes to Fellows at half-price, with little result. In October 1848 the Finance Committee recommended the sale of the whole stock of the *Archæologia*, i-xxvii, including the copper-plates, for £505; Council meekly agreed.⁵ In March 1849⁶ Lumley offered £35 for the stock of *Cædmon*, and £85 for the copies of Roy's *Military Antiquities* and the plates and odd sheets of Folkes's *Coins*.⁷ In June 1852 all the stock of *Vetusta Monumenta*, i-vi, was sold for £200, vol. vi having been included in error.⁸

Subsequent generations may have regretted these sales, but they represented an attempt to put our house in order, and to extricate something from the untidy muddle over which Carlisle and Martin presided. The Finance Committee were so hard put to it that in June 1848⁹ they even considered the suspension of the publication of the *Archæologia*. They decided it was inadvisable, and that a general policy of small economies should be pursued instead.

The extent of these reveals how much petty waste and maladministration had prevailed. A letter had to be sent to the Foreign Secretary¹⁰ asking him to circularize his ministers and consuls to discover which of the Society's Honorary Fellows was still alive. Fellows were informed that they must collect their copies of the

¹ Council, 16 Feb. 1847.

² Meeting, 25 Mar. 1847.

³ Finances Committee, 13 Aug.

⁴ 4 Apr. The sale of a small number of duplicates from the Library was also authorized.

⁵ Finance Committee, 23 Oct.; Council, 13 Nov. 1848.

⁶ Letter, 8 Mar.; Ants. Corr. Accepted, Finance Committee, 9 Mar.

⁷ Letter, 27 Mar., Ants. Corr.

⁸ Finance Committee, 17 June 1852.

⁹ 5 June.

¹⁰ Palmerston; Council, 28 Jan. 1847.

Society's publications within three years, or lose their right to them.¹ Arrears were rather more competently collected, but Martin's pocket books for 1847-9² show the difficulties he incurred when he made his rounds. Some Fellows would be in bed, usually with the gout; some would find themselves busy that day and ask him to call again; the artists, in particular, were almost always reported to have gone to Buckingham Palace or the Royal Academy. Others³ would plead that they had been ill a long time and had no money. Martin records with a certain compassion, under date 16 May 1848: 'Mr. Blackburn. As Poor as a Church Mouse but not to call again, would send it the first week in July.' He was less sympathetic with Mr. Alston, whom he visited on 4 December 1847: 'Waited until breakfast and prayers over, he sent word by his servt. he could not see me to-day, it was impossible.' Most Fellows in arrears had to be called on twice or thrice, and even then many failed to pay up.

In 1848 nineteen Fellows were in arrears for three years and more;⁴ in 1854 they were amoved.⁵ In 1851 the Council had to send out a letter⁶ asking Fellows not to bring former members who had been amoved for non-payment, or for any other reason, as guests to meetings. After Martin's death in 1849, when his accounts proved to be faulty, a proper circular was sent to every member in arrears by the Treasurer, and collecting on commission was abolished.⁷

The circular issued in 1852 said:

'The Society not having re-appointed a collector, subscriptions are now payable to me (the Secretary) at the Society's apartments on any day between the hours of 11 and 4; or they may be remitted to the Treasurer . . . by cheque on any London banker, crossed 'Messrs. Coutts & Co', or by a Post Office Order; or you may fill up and remit to the Treasurer the order printed on the other side of this sheet; or the Treasurer will be happy to give you a receipt at any of the ordinary Thursday evening meetings of the Society; or, if more agreeable to you, I will attend any appointment you may make for me to wait upon you to receive the amount.'

After a deficit of nearly £24 on the Anniversary Dinner in 1848 Council decided to discontinue it.⁸ 'They find that of a Society exceeding at the lowest 400 members the number attending the dinner, exclusive of the Centenary in 1851, have been only 21 in 1849, 21 in 1850, 26 in 1852 and 27 in 1853. . . . The President and Council will, however, reserve to their future consideration whether a less frequent celebration, as a Triennial or Quinquennial Dinner, or an entertainment on some special occasion, and with

¹ Council, 16 June; Meeting, 17 June 1847.

² Ants. MS. 323.

³ 5 May 1847.

⁴ Council, 16 Mar.; Meeting, 29 Mar. 1849.

⁵ Ants. Corr.

⁶ Executive, 18 May 1854.

⁷ On 20 November 1849 the Council agreed not to fill the office of Collector.

⁸ Council, 14 Feb. 1854.

some special objects, might not be inductive to the interests of the Society and to the wishes of the Fellows.'

The porter, it was found in 1851,¹ got a new livery each year both from the Antiquaries and the Royal Society; a less frequent issue was arranged. It was decided in that year to restrict the issue of offprints,² both for economy and to encourage the purchase of the Society's publications. A copying machine, a letter-book, and a purchase-book for the Library accessions were bought, and the circulating of lists of Fellows stopped.³

Finally, the Finance Committee demanded and received the right of complete control over the finances. On 13 February 1854 it reported to Council: 'That it appears to this Committee that the Control over the expenditure of the Society required of them by the Statutes is at this time imperfect, inasmuch as estimates may be taken and approved and any Amount of liability incurred without reference to this Committee and possibly without the knowledge of the Treasurer. The Committee suggest either that all estimates for work to be done should be sent to this Committee for revision and approval before any liability be incurred, or that a limited and fixed sum should be set apart annually to be expended upon the Archaeologia and the different branches of the Society's business.'

The chief menace to the Society's finances was the drop in its numbers. It was not dramatic, but it was continuous. The dissensions over Carlisle in 1847 disgusted several members; one, newly elected and about to be admitted, withdrew after he had heard Fellows disputing about it in the Library.⁴ At the Anniversary of 1847 twenty-two deaths and two withdrawals were announced, as against thirteen elections; in 1848 there were thirty-one deaths and sixteen withdrawals against twenty-one elections.

The aristocratic diletantism of the men who had made the Grand Tour was at an end. The Society was beginning to draw its members not only from the great houses and the learned professions, but also from trade, both wholesale and retail.⁵ Charles Roach Smith, elected in 1836,⁶ was a wholesale chemist in a small way in the City; John Evans, elected in 1852,⁷ was a Hertfordshire paper-

¹ Finance Committee, 3 Mar.

² An author was to receive 25 free, and not more than 50 at his own cost. Any issue above this number was to be authorized by Council. Any Fellow might purchase up to 20 at his own cost.

³ Council, 20 Jan. 1857.

⁴ Letter from J. Shadwell Clarke, 19 Mar. 1847 in *Ants. Corr.*

⁵ It is significant of the interest of a wider public that from 1849 to 1860 the Anniversary Meeting and the names of the officers and Council were advertised in *The Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, and *Globe*.

⁶ 22 Dec. He was blackballed, however, when he first stood, and considered that it was because he was a tradesman. *Retrospections*, i. 115.

⁷ 16 Dec.

maker. Fairholt¹ was a working engraver. The Society's printer, John Gough Nichols²—a small untidy man with a humorous face—was joined by the Oxford bookseller J. H. Parker³ and the Cambridge one, Alexander MacMillan.⁴

An increasing number of Fellows were being drawn from the British Museum—Sir Frederic Madden,⁵ John Winter Forbes,⁶ W. S. W. Vaux,⁷ and Augustus Wollaston Franks.⁸

There were beginning, too, to be more men who gained a free-lance living out of their antiquarian learning: men like Thomas Wright, elected in 1839,⁹ who made a living by exploiting his genuine love of the Middle Ages and his wide if inexact knowledge of them, in writing and in paid secretaryships of minor learned societies.¹⁰ The railways brought many more members from the Home Counties and even the provinces to the meetings, though the aristocratic habit of spending the winter in the country diminished the number of great men who found entertainment at Somerset House on a dark evening.

New Societies were arising to cater for the middle-class enthusiasts.¹¹ The British Archaeological Association had in 1845 been riven by dissension¹² and had grown into two rival societies: the British Archaeological Association, with Wright, Pettigrew, and Roach Smith as its leaders, and the Archaeological Institute (so called after 1846) headed by Way and Westmacott. All sorts of learned societies with a national scope were founded in the years round 1851: the Historical, the Camden, the Shakespeare, the Percy, the Hakluyt, and the Chetham societies, and the Bannatyne, Maitland, Surtees, and other publishing clubs.

Many counties, too, were beginning to have their own society: in 1846, for example, the Sussex Archaeological Society and the Cambrian Archaeological Association were both founded. By 1851 the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, the Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological and Historical Society, the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, the Architectural Society for

¹ Elected 16 May 1844.

² He was the son of John Bowyer Nichols and grandson of John Nichols, both printers to the Society.

³ 7 June 1849.

⁴ 9 Dec. 1858.

⁵ 10 Jan. 1828.

⁶ Elected 2 Apr. 1846, after having been blackballed on 12 Feb.

⁷ 2 Apr. 1846.

⁸ 15 Dec. 1853.

⁹ Nominated 11 May. Roach Smith declares (*Restrospections*, i. 81) that 'he was never encouraged; and his contributions were accepted more as favours conferred on him than as a credit and honour to the Society'.

¹⁰ He was Honorary Secretary of the Camden Society on its formation, Secretary and Treasurer of the Percy Society, and held office of some kind in the Historical Society of Science, the Shakespeare Society, and others.

¹¹ *Notes & Queries*, under the editorship of W. J. Thomas, began publication in 1849.

¹² See Joan Evans, 'The Royal Archaeological Institute: a Retrospect', in *Arch. Journ.* cvi, 1949, p. 1.

the County of Buckingham, and the Archaeological Societies of Canterbury, Cheltenham, Chester, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Ipswich, Lincoln, Leeds, Scarborough, Somerset, St. Albans, and York were all in being.

In March 1852 John Bruce, the Treasurer of the Antiquaries, proposed to meet the fall in numbers by the drastic and hazardous step of reducing the annual subscription from four guineas to two.¹ He announced his proposal—which Roach Smith not unreasonably stigmatized as a *coup de main*²—in a letter to the President on 17 March; a printed version was circulated to all Fellows on 14 May. The matter was discussed at length at the Council of 11 May. Henry Hallam and William Hamilton both supported Bruce: '£4. 4. 0 per Annum is too much for an antiquarian pocket.'

The Council proposed on 27 May that the subscription should be halved according to Bruce's proposal; and that the admission fee should be reduced from eight guineas to five, and the composition fee from forty to twenty-five guineas.³ They were clearly conscious that this attempt to popularize the Society was open to criticism on other than financial grounds, and stated in their report:

'Whilst the President and Council recommend that these increased facilities should be given for the Admission of new Fellows, they are, on the other hand, desirous that the barrier against the election of persons whose claims are inadequate, or not yet sufficiently established should, under these altered circumstances, be rendered even still more effectual than it is at present. It is therefore their opinion that the power of exclusion by the ballot should be granted in future to one-fifth instead of, as at present, to one-third of the Members voting.'

The proposals (which involved some changes in the Statutes) were brought before the Society on 10 June, to be balloted for on 18 November 1852.

The proposals produced a strong opposition. The old Antiquary Club had been wound up in 1847,⁴ and at the beginning of 1852⁵ the Cocked Hat Club was founded to take its place. John Bruce had been a leading light of the old club and was one of the founders of the new. The malcontents claimed that the scheme of reform had

¹ A similar step had lately been effected by the Royal Society of Literature.

² *Retrospections*, i. 226. Statements of Accounts were published in the *Proc. Soc. Ant.* from 1843 onwards, so Fellows were familiar with the financial position.

³ Those who had already compounded were not to receive anything back. A good letter on the subject by Crofton Croker will be found in *Ants. Corr.*

⁴ It held a whitebait dinner at the Crown and Sceptre, Greenwich, on 30 June 1845. B.M. Add. MS. 36653 (11), fol. 23.

⁵ 3 Jan. 1852. The foundation members were John Bruce, Frederic Ouvry, William John Thoms, Peter Cunningham, Thomas King, William Durrant Cooper, and William Drake. The club, which was limited to twenty members, for some thirty years met at the 'Albion' in Drury Lane and still flourishes. See *The Magna Charta of the Cocked Hat Club*, printed in 1888.

been hatched by the club's roast goose; certainly its protagonists were all members.

Pettigrew, who was not a member of the club, began by bringing forward a counter-motion: 'That, according to the Reports of the Finances of the Society, as made by the Auditors of the Accounts for the years 1850 and 1851, any reduction in the Amount of the Annual Subscription at present required from the Fellows would appear to be uncalled for and injudicious, and likely to prove highly detrimental to the Character and respectability of the only chartered Body of Antiquaries in the Kingdom.' He supported it by a printed *Letter to Lord Mahon* which ran into two editions. He began with a broadside: 'My Lord, The Society of Antiquaries, over which your Lordship presides, has long lost its character for efficiency. A continued period of inactivity, combined with a lavish expenditure, produced a decline in the Society both in regard to its Members, its respectability and its funds.'

He then came out strong against the Hats,¹ who, he declared, had influenced Lord Mahon in the decision to halve the subscription. The Society's finances were in such a state that it was not unusual for the Finance Committee to sit for five or six hours at a time: was this the moment to halve the subscription? With considerable justice he continued: 'We have been asleep, we have been idle, and therefore we have retrograded. Negligence on the part of the Officers, inattention on the part of councils, inefficiency in the nature of the audits, and apathy on the part of the Fellows of the Society at large, have brought the Society to the position in which it now stands.' Pettigrew's motion was lost by a small majority.² On 17 June another attack on the proposal was made,³ which again was unsuccessful.

The vacation passed in a brisk exchange of fly-sheets. The only wise and witty contestant was Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, a Jamaica-born lawyer who privately published *A Letter to the Fellows of the Royal Society of Antiquaries on the present condition and future prospects of the Society*.

He begins dramatically: 'Are we to perish without a struggle, in the wars of the Bruce?' The Society, he finds, is assailed by every party; he fears (with an evident recollection of the British Archaeological Association) that it may break up in the struggle. He suggests, as a lawyer should, a compromise. The Council must no longer enjoy the sole initiative in measures of improvement; composition fees must no longer be treated as ordinary income; and the reduction of the subscription must be reconsidered.

¹ p. 11, note.

² 39 for, 43 against, on a show of hands; 41 for, 53 against, on a ballot.

³ By William Richard Drake.

The Treasurer's statement, he declares,¹ is very bewildering; 'as one who had expected, after the Anniversary Speech, that we should buy *Verulamium* and perhaps rebuild the Roman wall, and now found that we were descending fast and must give up £400 per annum, or go to ruin. Which was to be the accepted view—our poverty or our wealth? . . .'

He finds the decrease in numbers due to 'the greatly increased competition with other literary and archaeological societies, established all over the kingdom; the meagre and poorly illustrated *Archaeologia*; the *Monumenta* now, indeed, *Vetusta*; the incomplete, neglected library; the prevailing dissatisfaction with the conduct and management of the Society; the treatment of its independent fellows and the doleful dulness of our meetings, when not enlivened by disputes among ourselves . . . its exploded rules, antiquated customs and unsuitable Statutes, of which revision cannot be obtained'.

He views the possible popularization of the Society with equanimity. 'When it is said, we shall have a Grub-Street class of obscure candidates, humble followers of literature, unknown aspirants for the smallest distinction of men of letters, seeking only the F.A.S. to be attached to their names, I am disposed to ask, *And why not?* Few are the consolations of literature, and who should envy the poor scholar his small literary distinctions?'

He praises 'the greatly increased and most laudable animation and activity of the Council, who, under the new régime, fully intend it appears, to adopt the symbol of the Wide-Awake, instead of the Old Cocked Hat. November will then approach without any added terrors. *Redeunt Saturnia regna*. Archaeologists and antiquaries will take sweet counsel together. The lost tribes will be recovered. Mummies and cocked-hat clubs will be alike forgotten. Pettigrew and Hawkins will sit down under the same sky, to serve and save us.'

In November Bruce circulated a printed letter² to restate his proposal that the subscription should revert to the two guineas demanded some fifty years before, and to clarify his position. Pettigrew, he declared, had made the accusation that he, Bruce, had treated the Finance Committee—especially Sir Charles Young, its chairman, and Mr. Levesque, a leading member—with discourtesy, since he had sent his proposals direct to the President without informing them. He had cleared this up, but made it evident that though he had made peace with the Finance Committee he had not buried the hatchet against Pettigrew.

Bruce, too, bases his plea³ for a reduced subscription on the new extension of the antiquarian world.

¹ p. 15.² Dated 1 Nov. 1852.³ p. 20.

'Some years ago a man interested in [antiquarian] pursuits used to subscribe to the Society of Antiquaries and the Gentleman's Magazine—and there an end. Now he must pay, not merely his four guineas at Somerset House, and his thirty shillings in Parliament Street, but he must enlist under the banner of the Institute or the Association, or both, at a guinea each, with a further sum for the Annual Congress volume. Then there is his own peculiar local Archaeological Society, and the Camden, the Shakespeare, the Hakluyt, the Numismatic, the Parker, and others of that class, with a multitude of smaller Societies; and a man has to subscribe to the London Library, and to antiquarian diggings, and to numberless repairs and restorations, and to miscellaneous antiquarian publications, and books that come out in numbers; and he is out of the world if he does not take in the Athenaeum or Literary Gazette, and Notes and Queries, and until lately he had to subscribe to the Percy, and to buy the publications of the English Historical,—is it wonderful that at such a time men find ways enough of laying out their guineas without coming to Somerset House to deposit four?'

He quotes an officer of the Society as saying that: 'The Society has been made up of three classes. 1. The real Antiquaries, 2. People of high rank and eminence who give *éclat* to the Society, and whom the others like to have an opportunity of meeting; and 3. The *plebs contribuens*—people of fair standing in society, with reputation for general knowledge, and a liking for antiquarian research.' He notes that while in 1806 the Society had amongst its Fellows 93 peers (of whom 11 were bishops) it now had 33, 5 of them bishops; and that the 141 clergymen of 1806 had now dropped to 75.

An armistice was finally reached by the appointment of a Committee on the Statutes in December. The Council had at first expressed willingness to have such a committee, provided that the financial question was not raised. W. R. Drake, however, at the meeting of 25 November brought forward an amendment that nothing should be done, which was carried by fifty-one votes to thirty-nine. On 2 December Hawkins again brought forward a motion for a Committee of Revision, and this was balloted for on 16 December and passed.

The members of the Council, and, more informally, other leading Fellows, were invited to give their views on reform in writing for the consideration of the Committee of Revision. Roach Smith¹ sensibly declared:

'As you have asked my opinion respecting revising the Statutes, I will give it in a few words. Whatever's best *administered* is best.

I don't think altering Statutes or making laws or a new Charter, or in fact anything but *honest* and *consistent dealing* on *all sides* will cure that great evil of superseding on all occasions the true antiquaries of the Society by mere amateurs or persons who do not even pretend to see their way clear as anti-

¹ 3 Jan.; Ants. Corr.

quaries. I pointed out in my two letters to the L. Gazette how the Charter and Statutes had been *violated* by the yearly juggle in the *election* (!) of the Council. I think it is a monstrous doctrine to suppose that because men are eminent in antiquities they are not competent to conduct the business of the Society, which they form and uphold, but that persons who are manifestly and *confessedly* no antiquaries should, on all occasions, precede them.

I believe a cruel blow has been given to the Society and I have no faith in the proposed revision of the Statutes. How can a revision give us a President and Vice-Presidents who *understand* the *true principles* upon which they *should* act and who should occupy place from merit only? In *no other Society* is there such effrontery practised as in the Soc. Ant. with regard to the perpetual filling of these offices by the same individuals. This great evil and that of the cooking up a Council list *privately* are two of the scourges which no *revision* of Statutes will remove, unless the evils are openly grappled with, and I am well assured that moral courage is not always allied to other qualities and I have no hope in most of the men selected for the revision. Antiquaries are dumb in the presence of a superior, as I have no doubt you have seen in the Council where they are all mesmerized by the Chair.'

Joshua Butterworth¹ wrote to declare himself on the fence.

'I will not conceal from you the fact that I entertained a strong feeling in favor of the higher rate of subscription, and I might, had I been so minded, have influenced the vote recently come to, with the votes placed at my direction, most materially. I preferred however leaving the question for those more experienced than myself to determine, and abstained from any vote of interference one way or the other. . . . The status of our Society should be preserved by rendering the ordeal for admission more searching, and candidature without the necessary qualifications should not be followed (as from mingled indulgence and indifference it almost invariably is) by election. Once let it appear that entrance to the Society of Antiquaries is closed against all who cannot show adequate claims (other than pecuniary ones) for the honor of Fellowship, and like its neighbour the Royal Society, in its altered condition, we may hope with respect to *Letters* to take a corresponding position to that held in *Science* by the Royal Society.'

The Royal Society had a few years back² adopted a plan by which elections were held only once a year and on the Council's nomination of not more than fifteen Fellows; Mr. Butterworth felt that a similar plan should be adopted for the Antiquaries;³ 'if talent should occasionally be rejected from the efforts of private pique, even as it is now—mediocrity would at all events no longer creep in unquestioned'.

Joseph Hunter suggested⁴ that the President should be elected for four years, with a possible re-election; that Vice-Presidents should be nominated for one year only, and not renominated if they

¹ 4 Jan. 1853, Ants. Corr.

² 1847; the moving spirit was W. R. Grove.

³ Pettigrew had earlier suggested this in his *Letter to Lord Mahon*, p. 16.

⁴ Ants. Corr. undated; see also B.M. Add. MS. 24881, fol. 89 et seqq.

had not attended. He considered that the President should nominate the Treasurer and Director from among the Council, each for four years.

Sir Fortunatus Dwarrris¹ did a good deal of research on the rules of the English and French scientific societies, and decided that an exact definition should be drafted of the duties of each officer, and that a good deal of tact and privacy would be needed to achieve it. Lord Mahon² reminded the committee 'that whatever may be the changes we should or should not make in our Statutes we ought to cling to our Charter as to our sheet-anchor and foundation'. Pettigrew refused³ to take any part in the discussion, 'a determination to which he has been forced by the formation of a Club from which measures emanate to regulate the Society and which measures are expressed by Members of the Periodical Press⁴ who are members of that Club by personal abuse of those who entertain opinions not in accordance with their own'. It is a relief to find that James Heywood, M.P.,⁵ had no improvement to suggest but that tea as well as coffee should be served after the meetings.

The most constructive proposals came from Frederic Ouvry.⁶ He considered that the Society was

'the best, as it is the proper Channel through which Antiquarian discoveries may be brought forward for discussion and investigation; through which Antiquarian learning may find its expression; and through which the result of those discoveries and of that learning may be communicated to the public, through the pages of the *Archaeologia* and otherwise.

That the Society does not at present fulfil these conditions, is apparent from the comparatively limited number of its fellows; the still smaller number of those who really take an active interest in its proceedings, and the paucity of valuable papers which are communicated to it.

The remedy, I conceive, lies with the Council. . . . At present the Council almost exclusively directs its attention to the administration of the internal affairs of the Society, its finance, its library, etc. The Council has not generally taken an active part in initiating Antiquarian researches or in obtaining information or papers from those competent to give them. Hence the pabulum for the supply of our weekly meetings has been dependent on voluntary communications, sometimes valuable, sometimes otherwise. . . .

I would propose that the Council should appoint a Committee out of its members, whose duty it should be, to investigate all antiquarian discoveries, to endeavour to preserve all interesting remains, to invite communications from learned men and to arrange the papers to be read at the Evening meetings, taking care that the papers to be read on the following Thursday shall be announced on the previous Thursday, so that Fellows may be the better prepared to offer

¹ 19 Jan. 1853; *Ants. Corr.*

² 25 Mar. 1853.

³ 21 Dec. 1852; *Ants. Corr.*

⁴ Elsewhere Pettigrew cites *The Athenæum*, *Notes & Queries*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

⁵ 5 Feb. 1853; *Ants. Corr.*

⁶ 'Mr. Ouvry's Proposal', not dated, in *Ants. Corr.*

any remarks that may occur to them. At present the invitation of the Chairman to do so, is not often responded to, especially by those fellows whose opinion the Society would most desire to hear.'

This committee, he thought, should meet weekly during the session and at intervals during the recess.

He also advised the appointment of local correspondents. 'In every Cathedral City, in every important Town the Society should have an Agent, able and willing to attend to and report on the antiquities of his neighbourhood. As far as possible these should be Fellows of the Society, but in Cities or towns where no fellow may reside, other Antiquaries would no doubt willingly undertake the Office, and many of these would probably be led to join the Society. . . .' He considered that the exchange of transactions with local societies should be developed, and that 'The Committee should have power to incur expense in the making of drawings; in excavations, etc., or in sending a Representative, if necessary;¹ and in order to control this expenditure the Treasurer should be ex officio a member of the Committee.'²

The Statutes as revised by the committee were read on 17 November 1853 and at two subsequent meetings. At the ballot on 1 December they were carried, 101 for and 4 against. They incorporated the halved subscription and reduced admission and compounding fees; the election of candidates by four-fifths of those present and voting; the particular summons of all Fellows to the Anniversary Meeting; the departure of the Senior Vice-President from office every year; the meeting of Council at least once a fortnight during the session and once a month during recess; and clearly defined the duties of the officers. They authorized three Standing Committees—Finance, Library, and Executive—each of five Fellows, and defined their duties, and the appointment of Local Secretaries. In fact, they accepted all the constructive suggestions offered, except that limiting the President's tenure of his Chair and that suggesting limited elections on the model of the Royal Society.

The Society was to benefit considerably by the constant influx of new Vice-Presidents and by the activities of the new committees. The effect of the reduced subscription was, however, less happy. Each annual volume or part volume of the *Archaeologia* now cost

¹ The Finance Committee on 10 May 1852 authorized the Secretaries, Director, and Treasurer to incur travelling expenses up to £5 on archaeological business.

² A letter from Ouvry to Hawkins, dated 29 Mar. 1853 (Ants. Corr.) reads: 'It has been suggested to me that as the 'Executive Committee' will in fact be the mainspring of the Society's action, it ought to consist of more than 5—say 10 Members: a suggestion in which I am disposed to concur. I also think this Committee must have a limited power of incurring expense, either without previous reference to the Council or with the sanction of a certain number, say three, of that body.'

between £600 and £700, and not even the recommendations to economy made by the Finance Committee in 1852¹ could bring down the cost, though they advised that lithography should only be used for things of special importance and beauty, and wood engravings be used for ordinary illustrations.

The Society was at this time too much absorbed in its own affairs to play a great part in the outside world. Yet its activities in the preservation of ancient monuments were especially needed at a time when the Government, as Roach Smith declared in 1848, even defended 'its pertinacious apathy by asserting that the Chartered Society of Antiquaries of London should, and may, do all that is required. . . . It was ever a poor excuse for indifference, and is now manifestly absurd. . . .'²

He went on to a particular example:

'The Roman theatre at Verulam . . . was one of the most interesting objects brought to light within the memory of man, and in this country was without parallel. It was in good preservation; and at a comparatively insignificant cost, might have been preserved to the country. But the people of the country cared not about it; the government, petitioned through Lord John Russell, would hearken to no supplication on its behalf; the excavations were discontinued, and the remains of the theatre were destroyed. . . . It would have been better had the researches at Verulam not been undertaken, for at some future day they might have been prosecuted under circumstances more auspicious, either by the aid of liberal private patronage, or by the support of Parliament.'

When in 1852 the first serious threat to Verulamium was announced³ the Society of Antiquaries decided that they could take no steps in the matter. It becomes comprehensible that John Britton suggested that yet another Archaeological Society should be founded, primarily devoted to the preservation of buildings, objects, and monuments.⁴

In the course of the session of 1850-1 the Duke of Northumberland invited the Society's co-operation in some researches he was about to undertake along the line of the Roman Wall. Roach Smith tells us⁵ that at a Council the Duke's letter 'was read; but it was received in Silence except by myself. The members of the Council looked as if they feared they might say something disagreeable to the President; and, when I observed that of course his Lordship would thank his Grace and gratefully accept his offer, not one word was said by the Council, or by the President, who in silence folded up the letter and put it into his pocket.'

¹ 8 July.

² C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, 1848, preface, p. vii.

³ 15 June 1852.

⁴ *Auto-Biography*, ii, appendix, p. 103. This section appears to have been written about 1848.

⁵ *Retrospections*, i, 81.

Pettigrew, as usual, was not sparing of his criticisms;¹ and as usual they had a good deal of reason in them, though his manner of presenting them did nothing to make them acceptable or fruitful.

'I contend that the Society of Antiquaries have been grossly negligent of their duty—that they have on no occasion stepped forward to prevent demolition or desecration of antiquities—that during the long period in which railway operations have been carried on, intersecting the country, as it were, in all directions, we have in no instance, either personally or by letter, endeavoured to avert Mischief, or avail ourselves of the accidents of discovery. What, I ask, were the efforts made by the Society to prevent the destruction of Burgh Castle, the Gariononum of the Romans? What steps did we take to avert the railway from destroying Bittern, the Roman Clausentum? What measures were adopted to protect Caistor, the reputed Venta Icenorum? Did we step in to prevent the destruction of the Roman Amphitheatre at Dorchester, or have we lent assistance to preserve an antiquity at Verulam? Did we do anything to assist in the restoration of Burnham Abbey, or the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, or of St. Thomas at Winchester, or of St. Peter Howden, Yorkshire? Have we preserved drawings of Old Fairlight Church, or have we been solicitous to obtain representations of the various mural paintings that have been discovered in the past ten years? My Lord, we did nothing. We neither exerted ourselves, nor did we aid by an appeal to the Fellows for assistance of any kind—we passed these things by totally unheeded.'

What the Society did continued to be totally inadequate. In 1850 it set up a Committee on Treasure Trove,² a question that particularly interested the numismatists. It sent a memorial³ to the First Commissioner of Works on the proposed grant for the restoration of the royal tombs in Westminster Abbey, advocating repair, not restoration, and complete recording, and citing monuments in the Temple and at Canterbury and Salisbury, to show how they could be spoilt by injudicious restorations. In 1852 the Anniversary Meeting passed a protest at the destruction of the crypt under Gerrard's Hall in Basing Street in order to make a road.

The only effective measure taken at Somerset House was made not by the Society but by Akerman in his private capacity. In 1851 he produced a penny tract, *Directions for the Preservation of English Antiquities, especially those of the first three periods*, covering, in an elementary but very practical way, tumuli and the urns likely to be found in them, cromlechs, stone axes, bronze weapons, coins, and Roman and Anglo-Saxon remains, and ending (in capitals) 'Never attempt to clean coins or antiquities of any kind.'

By 1853 the Society had recovered its breath and was even prepared to do a little on its own account. On 17 November Akerman read his report on the researches he had made at the Society's

¹ *Letter to Lord Mahon*, 1852, p. 14.

² Council, 28 May.

³ Ants. Corr.

expense in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury,¹ which were continued in the Easter recess of 1854. The excavations were successful, over sixty skeletons and many objects were found, and were duly published with maps and ground plans. It was the Society's first venture into the field of excavation.

In November 1853 Hawkins exhibited Bryan Faussett's collection of notebooks, which he wished the Society to encourage the British Museum to buy. 'Faussett', he declared, 'opened about eight hundred Anglo-Saxon graves in about eight or nine parishes in Kent. The contents of each grave were minutely recorded; every object capable of preservation was carefully secured, and drawings made. . . . Perhaps so instructive a collection was never formed. It does not consist of rare, valuable or beautiful objects, picked up or purchased from dealers at various times and in various places, with little or no record, or perhaps false records of the discovery; but it consists of all the objects found in all the graves of a particular district. . . .' The Council sent a formal letter to the Trustees of the British Museum² to advocate its purchase, but they did not buy it, although W. M. Wylie of Fairford offered his own collection as a gift to the Museum if they would do so.³ Joseph Mayer of Liverpool bought the collection⁴ and left it to the museum of that city.

Archaeological studies were progressing, but the Society was spending too much time on administrative reform to take a great part in the movement.⁵ Abroad, the foundations of prehistory were being laid;⁶ at home, there was a new recognition of the close study of objects as the true basis of antiquarian knowledge. When Roach Smith wrote the preface to his *Collectanea Antiqua* in 1848 he declared:⁷ 'The notion that a record of *facts* copiously illustrated but sparingly dilated with theory would be acceptable to the antiquary and to the historical inquirer, is proved to have been well founded. . . . Many valuable essays and communications are often obscure, if not rendered utterly unintelligible, from the absence of delineations of the objects described and commented on, and nowhere is the evil more conspicuous than in the proceedings of societies. . . .'

¹ *Arch.* xxxv. 259 and 475.

² See also Executive, 26 Jan. 1854. The collection was valued at £683.

³ Letter of Mar. 1854, *Ants.* Corr.

⁴ He exhibited some of the finest objects at the meeting of 23 Feb. 1854. A few of his notes and drawings are still in the Society's possession.

⁵ Many members of Council were being chosen for other than archaeological experience. Pettigrew in his *Letter* of 1852 (p. 21) complains that no expert on classical antiquities, no architect, no painter, and no sculptor had been nominated for the Council in that year.

⁶ See below, p. 280.

⁷ p. 5. Cf. Dr. William Greenwell's favourite dictum: 'Never mind theories, collect facts.' (Quoted, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 23 Apr. 1918), and John Evans: 'Unluckily it has been the exception and not the rule for anyone to confine himself to the facts before him when treating of British Antiquities of any kind.' *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864, p. 4.

The major antiquarian interests of the day were all reflected in the communications laid before the Society and in the papers printed in the *Archaeologia*,¹ but the reflection was sometimes a little faint. The years after 1846 were the time of Layard's richest discoveries at Nineveh, where he was at work with heavy financial support from the British Museum. *Nineveh and its Remains*² was a best-seller in 1849; 8,000 copies were sold in a year. Yet all the Antiquaries saw, heard, or published on cognate matters were a few cylinder seals from Babylonia, found by Major Rawlinson and exhibited by the President,³ a paper by Samuel Birch on two Assyrian reliefs from Khorsabad,⁴ and another by Rawlinson on his paper casts of the cuneiform inscriptions at Behistun.⁵

General interest in Egypt was felt at this time, fostered by John Kenrick's *Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs* and J. S. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, both published in 1850. The *Archaeologia* held few Egyptological items except for such translations as that by Samuel Birch of a XIXth Dynasty tablet relating to the gold-mines of Ethiopia,⁶ or his paper on the annals of Thotmes III as derived from hieroglyphic inscriptions.⁷

It was natural, in view of the Society's tradition, that there should be many papers on Roman remains⁸ and coins,⁹ a few on 'Etruscan' vases, usually beautifully illustrated by Basire, and a great number of documents and inventories.

Interest in British Anglo-Saxon antiquities was growing. Akerman's *Archaeological Index to Remains of Antiquity of the Celtic, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Periods* was published in 1847. In 1850¹⁰ he read a paper 'On the possible period of the Saxons in England', based on such excavations as those of Sir Henry Dryden,¹¹ which is remarkable for its want of dogmatism. 'Although', he declared, 'the objects discovered in the grouped tumuli of this Island indicate the existence of distinct tribes, differing greatly in civilization and refinement, we are still left in doubt whether the remains of Teutonic stamp may be referred to the Frankish tribes of settlers who must have poured into Britain at the time of the usurpation of Carausius, or to the Saxon allies of that daring adventurer.'

¹ This appeared annually at this time except for 1848, 1850, and 1857.

² Published by John Murray, since the Treasury refused the subsidy of £4,000 needed for its publication.

³ 24 Jan. and 21 Feb. 1850.

⁵ *Arch.* xxxiv. 73; see above, p. 228.

⁷ *Arch.* xxxii. 150 and 255.

⁸ A short paper by John Evans on excavations at a Roman villa at Boxmoor (*Arch.* xxxiv. 394) is the first to give sections of the pottery found.

⁹ A paper by Akerman (*Arch.* xxxiii. 177) gives a map showing the findings of indigenous coins in Roman Britain in SE. England.

¹⁰ 7 Mar.; Paper in Ants. Corr.

¹¹ See *Arch.* xxxiii, 1849, p. 329, and xlvii, 1883, p. 326.

⁴ *Arch.* xxxii. 168.

⁶ *Arch.* xxxiv, p. 357.

In 1851 a good Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fairford was being investigated, and several papers on it were read to the Society. In 1853¹ Akerman published accounts of excavations of potteries in the New Forest, and Ouvry a paper on some Saxon remains from Mentmore.² Thomas Wright's *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon; a History of the Early Inhabitants of Britain down to the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity*, published in 1852, was a more popular work and contributed nothing new. A paper by W. J. Thoms on the White Horse at Uffington³ was followed by a letter from Akerman to point out its analogies with coins. In the next volume⁴ there was a discussion of Wayland Smith and his cave.

Similar researches in France were represented by papers by Lord Albert Conyngham,⁵ W. M. Wylie,⁶ F. Lukis,⁷ and Frédéric Troyon.⁸

Less was being done on medieval architecture than in the previous decade. E. A. Freeman's *History of Architecture* was chiefly remarkable for its sensible attack on archaeologists who neglected history. In the *Archaeologia* medieval papers were fewer and slighter. A good many ivories were exhibited.⁹ Repton revised his paper of thirty-seven years before on mouldings and capitals.¹⁰ J. H. Parker contributed notes on a tour in the west of France,¹¹ chiefly remarkable for the illustrations, and J. W. Jones a paper on the division of man's life into stages, partly illustrated from the Arundel Psalter.¹² An agreeably eccentric paper was read by Octavius Morgan in 1850¹³ on the approaching extinction of old breeds of dogs, notably the English mastiff, the Dutch pug, and the old English turnspit, which last had nearly vanished except for one specimen still at work in the inn at Caerleon-on-Usk.

More parochial interests¹⁴ were represented by a paper by Joseph Hunter on the Academi Roial¹⁵ and a long account by the Director of the Society's astronomical clock.¹⁶ The *Proceedings* of the Society continued rather thin and formal, though in May 1849 woodcuts in the text were admitted.

A zeal for reform had not yet been extended to the papers read to the Society. Many meetings were devoted to miscellanea; on

¹ *Arch.* xxxv. 9.

² *Ibid.* 379.

³ *Arch.* xxxiii. 136.

⁴ *Arch.* xxxiv. 273 and xxxv. 34 and 359.

⁵ *Arch.* xxxiii. 174.

⁶ *Arch.* xxxv. 223.

⁷ *Ibid.* 232.

⁸ *Ibid.* 396; in French.

⁹ Notably in 1847.

¹⁰ *Arch.* xxxi. 289; paper read 6 Mar. 1845.

¹¹ *Arch.* xxxii. 244. Parker's interest in French Gothic had been encouraged by Viollet-le-Duc and Caumont.

¹² *Arch.* xxxv. 167.

¹³ 2 May; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ii. 75.

¹⁴ The Council flatly refused to let Charles Newton of the British Museum see the minute-books for his *British and Roman Yorkshire* (16 Mar. 1847) or to permit Downing Bruce to consult their records in order to make biographies of all F.S.A.s. In this case the refusal was made because Ellis already had permission (27 Mar. 1849).

¹⁵ *Arch.* xxxii. 132.

¹⁶ *Arch.* xxxiii. 8; xxxiv. 1.

6 June 1850, for instance, the meeting opened with the exhibition of a collection of relatively modern Indian curiosities, and continued with a paper on beads from many localities, and another on the oath taken by the members of the Parliament of Scotland in 1641, to conclude with a paper on the early Greek François Vase, which was so long that only a third of it could be read that day.

According to Pettigrew:¹

‘The course at present pursued with regard to papers is highly objectionable. They are never laid before the Council prior to being read to the Society, nay, they are rarely at hand before the day on which they are required; the Secretary has had no time to make himself familiar with their contents, or even the handwriting; they are therefore inefficiently read, then consigned to the care of the Director until the meeting of Council, when a number collected together are brought before that body, which is called to vote upon the propriety of their publication. The vote is taken without, in the majority of cases, their having been either heard, read, or examined, by the Members thus sitting in judgment upon them; the Director reports that they will require illustrations, and these are left to his discretion. Upon this officer devolves the duty of determining the nature and extent of the illustrations, and the expenditure to be entailed upon them; of selecting such as are new and important, and supervising the proceedings of the artist. Upon this officer also devolves the drawing up of the abstracts of the papers for publication in the ‘Proceedings’, and arranging the accounts of the minor matters and exhibitions.’

Perhaps as a consequence of these criticisms, the Finance Committee in 1852² recommended that a committee should be appointed to correspond with the officers of local societies to secure contributions. They also recommended ‘a small sub-committee of gentlemen eminent in various departments of antiquarian knowledge’ to advise which of the papers read to the Society should be printed in the *Proceedings* or the *Archaeologia*.³

The fact of the paper being read to the meeting by the Secretary was increasingly felt to be irksome. A petition was made to the President at the end of 1850,⁴ and on his advice it was resolved:

‘That any Fellow of the Society who shall desire to read his own Paper, if such Paper shall, three days before the Meeting, have been submitted to the Director, the Treasurer and the Secretaries, or to any two of them, it may, with the permission of the Chairman of the day, be read by the Fellow himself.’

Since 1846⁵ the author and subject of any communications to be made at the next meeting had been announced at the meeting before,

¹ *Letter to Lord Mahon*, 1852, p. 13.

² 8 July.

³ Pettigrew had just suggested in his *Letter* that committees should be set up for primeval, mediæval, and architectural antiquities. In fact the Executive Committee was instituted soon afterwards and the functions of the proposed Committees discharged by it.

⁴ *Ants. Corr.*

⁵ Council, 9 June.

but though after November 1853 cards giving the dates of meetings were sent out, no indication of the papers to be read was made on them.

An innovation at this time was the institution of an annual address by the President on St. George's Day. On 20 February 1849 Lord Mahon told the Council 'that, in compliance with what he understood to be the wish of many members, he would propose, if such should be the opinion of the Council, that for the Future, an Address from the Chair should be delivered at the Anniversary, recapitulating the principal occurrences of the Society during the past year'. The Council expressed its hearty concurrence, notice was read at the meeting on 22 February, and the address was advertised to be given at two o'clock, before the ballot.

On 23 April 1849 the President duly addressed the Society. He admitted to some feelings of doubt and hesitation over instituting the address. 'It certainly has seemed to me', he declared, 'that at some periods, and in some Societies, the practice has been apt to dwindle into an indiscriminate system of panegyric on all persons and all objects in any way connected with those Societies. Yet . . . [it] is also perhaps, the most respectful, and therefore the most proper, mode for affording such information to the Society as they may desire to have.'

He made a plea for further gifts to the Society's Museum, which had lately been set in order; announced nine elections, five withdrawals, and twenty-three deaths, with very brief obituaries;¹ and made the classic statement that the cost of printing was going up.

He announced that he had instituted the practice of discussion after the paper. 'That privilege, if judiciously used, will undoubtedly aid, as it was designed to do, in the elucidation of dark or controversial points, but it is equally obvious that it is capable of being mis-applied to irrelevant discussion or oratorical display. It will be at all times the bounden duty of the Chair to confine such discussions to the subjects which are actually before us, and also within the limits of literary argument. But more, much more, will ever depend on the good feeling and mutual forbearance of the members themselves.'

His addresses continued on the same modest and conventional note. The obituaries tended to grow longer; the estimate of the dead Fellow's importance was often based on the number of papers he had contributed to the *Archaeologia*. Roach Smith says that the addresses 'were remarkable not for any comprehensive review of the state of antiquarianism, nor for any but a most superficial analysis of the few good Papers or communications, but for a very indis-

¹ At the Anniversary of 1869 he said that it was Ellis who always wrote the obituaries for him.

criminate laudation, of deceased members, whose merits in other sciences were paraded to do duty in one they had little or no relation to, while the really eminent Fellows, such as Wright, were passed over in such a manner as to show that the President did not understand them'.

When the Society came to celebrate the centenary of its Charter in 1851, it could do so with the certainty that reform, if not complete, had yet progressed far enough to secure its continuance. The President—who on this occasion made his Anniversary Address while the ballot was going on—was able to congratulate the Society on having reached peaceful waters.

'Your present anniversary, as the hundredth since the grant of the Royal Charter, may well suggest to your minds the retrospect of our past and the contemplation of our future prospects. Much, nay everything, let me say, must depend on the exertion of individual members. Any gentleman who applies his learning and his talents to the production of some valuable essay wherewith to animate our meetings, and enrich our Archaeologia, may lend us powerful aid. Any gentleman, on the contrary, who, without strong necessity, raises a discussion at any of our ordinary meetings on any other subjects other than those of antiquarian science and whenever it can be avoided, converts this apartment into an arena for debate, may do us great disservice. According as the one course may predominate or the other with a large majority of our members, the Society will flourish or will fade. I therefore rejoice to think how seldom, if indeed at all, during the past year we have strayed from our regular and appointed course into the thorny and devious paths of controversy.'

The evening ended with a dinner at Freemasons' Tavern,¹ to which various members of the Archaeological Institute, the Archaeological Association, and the provincial societies had been invited. The Society of Antiquaries was once again able to show that it could take the lead.²

¹ Council, 25 Mar. 1851; Meeting, 27 Mar. Each Fellow was allowed to bring a guest at his own charge. An account of the dinner will be found in *The Times*, Friday, 25 Apr. 1851, p. 8. It lists among the visitors Sir Francis Palgrave; Professor Willis; Sir H. de la Beche; Lord Campbell; Sir D. Dundas; the Dean of St. Paul's; Mr. Blencowe and Mr. Lower, of Lewes; Mr. Lukis, of Guernsey; the Rev. J. C. Bruce, of Newcastle; Mr. D. Wilson, of Edinburgh; Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich; Mr. J. Clarke, of Saffron Walden; Mr. J. G. Waller; Sir J. Madden; Mr. W. H. Black; the Belgian and Prussian Ambassadors; M. Pulzky; M. Panizzi, &c. Lord Mahon presided, and the side tables were headed by Sir R. Inglis, Mr. J. Bruce, Sir H. Ellis, and Captain W. H. Smith. The dinner cost the Society £38. 5s. 6d.

² On 4 May 1852 the President laid before the Council a letter from George Grove, Secretary of the Society of Arts, with a proposal that various societies, including the Antiquaries, should be 'received into one general union' with that institution. It was firmly negatived.

XV

PROGRESS

1854-74

IN the middle years of the nineteenth century a new category of archaeology was defined which in 1851 Daniel Wilson christened 'Prehistoric'.¹ C. J. Thomsen had first clearly explained his division of the subject into ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron in 1836.² Hildebrand had by this time secured the recognition of his system in Sweden. Thomsen's assistant—and ultimate successor—was J. J. A. Worsaae,³ whose work on his country's early antiquities, published in Danish in 1843 and in German in 1844, was translated into English by W. J. Thoms as *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark* in 1849. Worsaae's interpretation of the transition from stone to bronze was in no wise evolutionary;⁴ in his view the shift from one to the other marked an invasion by a more advanced people. He declined, too, to commit himself as to the date at which the shift occurred.

In the preface to the English edition, which was dedicated to the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, Worsaae declared:

'Whilst the antiquities of Rome, Greece, and Egypt have been carefully examined and systematically described by English writers, the primeval national antiquities of the British islands have never hitherto been brought to a scientific arrangement. . . . This want of systematic arrangement has probably arisen from the circumstance that on the British islands there exist remains of many different people. . . . It is often difficult to distinguish with certainty the antiquities of those different people, and hence the same remains have, by some authors, been called Celtic or Druidical, by others Roman, by others again Danish, etc.'⁵

He feels that non-Roman antiquities can be distinguished by comparison with finds from such non-Roman countries as Denmark, and declares that the threefold division of stone, bronze, and iron is valid for Great Britain.

¹ *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*; see Daniel, p. 86. The actual word 'Pre-history' does not seem to have been used until some twenty years later. *O.E.D.*

² See above, p. 230.

³ He was elected an Hon. F.S.A. in 1848.

⁴ See Daniel, p. 44.

⁵ The justice of his remarks is proved by Akerman's *Archaeological Index to Remains of Antiquity of the Celtic, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Periods*, published in 1847. All prehistoric antiquities are called Celtic, and are only classified by type—e.g. tumuli, stone circles, urns, and so on,

Worsaae's conclusions were far from being widely accepted in England. In 1852 Thomas Wright declared:¹

'Some of the new [scholars] run into the extreme of generalizing too hastily, and they thus form systems specious and attractive in appearance, but without foundation in truth. Such, I am convinced, is the system of archaeological periods which has been adopted by the antiquaries of the north, and which a vain attempt has been made to introduce into this country. There is something, we may perhaps say poetical, certainly imaginative, in talking of an age of stone, or an age of bronze, or an age of iron, but such divisions have no meaning in history. . . . We have to do with races of mankind, and we can only arrange the objects which come under our examination according to the peoples to whom they belonged, and as they illustrate their manners or history. . . .'

He therefore starts in traditional fashion with Caesar and Cassivelaunus. Five years later J. M. Kemble devoted an address to the Royal Irish Academy to a protest against Worsaae's three ages.² He considered that the Bronze and Iron Ages were contemporaneous, and that all spiral ornament was Hellenic. Franks, however, accepted Worsaae, and when he came to arrange the new department of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum did so according to the Danish system.

Worsaae's conception of a Stone Age was of the age of the polished and finely flaked flints of the Danish peat-bogs. He had no conception of an earlier Stone Age.³ Akerman, who had done useful work on the comparison between European and savage implements,⁴ was equally unconscious that more lay behind them.

Meanwhile a variety of discoveries, of which the importance was not always recognized at the time of their making, were coalescing to make the Stone Age appear far older than had seemed possible. A local doctor of the Abbeville district, Casimir Picard,⁵ had been interested in the flint axes of his region at least since 1830. In 1836 he made a communication to the Société d'Émulation de la Somme on stone axes of a ruder type than the regularly shaped ones that were familiar to those who collected specimens found in the peat-cuttings of the Somme valley. He claimed the *haches dites ébauchées*—which we should now call palaeoliths—as being an original and early type of axe, rather than unfinished examples of the more familiar kind.

¹ *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. vii. He refused to accept Worsaae's system as late as the third edition of his book, published in 1875. See Daniel, p. 83.

² *The Utility of Antiquarian Collections, as throwing Light on the Pre-historic Annals of the European Nations*, delivered 9 Feb. 1857.

³ Even when, about 1850, he extended his system, after study of the stratigraphy of the Danish bogs, to two Stone Ages, two Bronze Ages, and three Iron, nothing pre-neolithic was included. See Daniel, p. 78.

⁴ 'On Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races', 29 May 1851; *Arch.* xxxiv. 171.

⁵ See L. Aufrère, 'Essai sur les premières découvertes de Boucher de Perthes et les origines de l'archéologie primitive', in *Épreuves et Synthèses*, No. 1, Paris, 1936; Joan Evans, 'Ninety Years Ago', in *Antiquity*, xxiii, 1949, p. 115.

He also recognized flakes as an early form of tool, and related them to cores. He had some notions of stratigraphy, and in November 1835 set out the importance of establishing a local sequence before the Abbeville Society. Unfortunately, he was a busy man who could only work in his spare time; and still more unfortunately, he died rather suddenly in 1841.

Jacques Boucher de Perthes, a leading light of the Society and a man who could turn his hand to anything, inherited Picard's discoveries and made them his own. He was a facile, ignorant man, with immense self-confidence and no mean powers of self-advertisement. He had already produced a work in five volumes on the Creation, and in 1847 produced his first volume on *Les Antiquités celtiques et antédiluviennes*, entirely based (without acknowledgement) on Picard's work. He divided early history into five periods, working backwards from Gallo-Roman, Gallo-Celtic, Celtic, Pre-Celtic, and Diluvian. His book treats of the last three. He gives a good account (probably based on Picard's notes) of the stratification of the Somme valley in undisturbed ground: an average of 30-40 cm. of medieval remains, some 50 cm. of Roman and as much of Gallo-Roman; some 2 metres of Gaulish; then, about 4 metres below ground-level, a 'Celtic' (Neolithic) stratum; and below this an alluvial layer of varying depth.

He recognized that below the strata containing obvious artefacts there were others containing bones which showed that man had used animals for food. He continued Picard's distinction between the polished well-shaped implements (which he calls Celtic or pre-Celtic and identifies with the age of dolmens) and the *haches ébauchées* which he calls diluvian or antediluvian. He never, however, commits himself to identifying this flood, though probably he thought of it in Biblical terms.

His deplorable little plates include a few scrapers and a number of palaeoliths of Acheulian type, some of which he includes in his collection of early sculptures, in which he found resemblances to human and animal forms. He is far more at home in his 'Celtic' than in his 'antediluvian' strata, but his descriptions of the *haches ébauchées* (probably Picard's) are none the less excellent.

Few people took his book seriously; of those who had met him, none. On 24 March 1849¹ he sent his book and some specimen flints to Roach Smith as Secretary to the British Archaeological Association, for exhibition at one of their meetings. They were duly shown on 25 April, but were not thought worthy of record in the *Journal*.² Dr. G. A. Mantell, however, mentioned Boucher de

¹ Boucher de Perthes, *Sous dix rois*, Paris, 1863-8, vol. vi, p. 215.

² They were reported, probably by Thomas Wright, in the *Literary Gazette* of Apr. 28.

Perthes's theories at the Oxford Meeting of the Archaeological Institute in June 1851; he refused to accept his primitive sculptures and did not commit himself about the implements.¹

Boucher de Perthes came to London in September 1851, and saw Roach Smith, but got no further in promoting his theories. It was characteristic of the man that he presented the Society of Antiquaries not with his *Antiquités celtiques et antédiluviennes*, but with the *Hommes et Choses; Alphabet des Passions et des Sensations* which he had just published.²

His chief aim at the moment was the very sensible one of getting an experienced geologist, who could speak with authority, to come to Abbeville and look at his sites: the sandpit at Menchecourt (where the workmen were dishonest and 'planted' flints) and gravel-pits at Saint-Acheul and Saint-Roch-lès-Amiens. He persuaded Dr. Rigollot, a good amateur geologist, to examine them in 1854, and the doctor was convinced and published a paper on the implements from Saint-Acheul.³ Unfortunately he died the next year, and Boucher de Perthes found himself once more alone.

In 1857 Boucher de Perthes published the second volume of his *Antiquités*, in which he described the 'antediluvian' types⁴ of implements. In the following year he read a paper at a congress at Laon, but still he made no converts. He had always been silly and bombastic; now he was old and vain; and few people of any intelligence would permit themselves to be bored by him.

In November 1859 the English geologist Hugh Falconer happened to pass through Abbeville, and saw Boucher's collections, though not his sites. He at once wrote to his friend Joseph Prestwich to tell him that he had seen flint hatchets which Boucher had himself discovered 'mixed indiscriminately with the molars of *E. primigenius*', that he felt that there was much presumptive evidence for Boucher's speculations on the antiquity of man, and that Prestwich should try to get to Abbeville to make his own investigations.

Meanwhile discoveries in England had been making the concatenation of *Elephas primigenius* and flint-using man more acceptable. In 1846 the Torquay National History Society had appointed a committee under William Pengelly for the further exploration of Kent's Cavern.⁵ Their work proved that human bones and those of extinct animals were indeed found in the same stratum. Further

¹ *Arch. Journ.* vii, 1851, p. 210.

² The gift was announced at the meeting of 27 Nov. 1851. The work is no longer in the Library.

³ 'Mémoire sur les instruments de silex trouvés à Saint-Acheul près d'Amiens', in *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Picardie*, iv, 1856, p. 23.

⁴ J. M. Kemble seems to allude to the volume in an address made to the Royal Irish Academy on 9 Feb. 1857.

⁵ See Daniel, p. 57.

excavations by Pengelly at Brixham Cave in 1858¹ gave yet further proof: flint tools were found associated with the bones of lion, hyena, bear, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and reindeer, under a stalagmitic floor 3 to 8 inches deep. Pengelly read a paper on the subject at the British Association Meeting at Leeds that summer, and Prestwich and other geologists took part in the discussion.

Falconer's news of the Somme finds therefore fell on ears attuned to them. Prestwich decided to go to Abbeville to investigate at Easter 1859. He invited a number of friends to join him, but none went but John Evans, whose imagination had already been deeply stirred by the Brixham finds.² They felt no particular confidence in Boucher de Perthes, but among the untidy heaps of his museum they saw flint implements of primitive type, together with fossil bones that Boucher swore he had seen drawn from the same stratum.

The next day news came of an axe that had been found at Saint-Acheul which had been left *in situ* for their inspection. They saw it, and were convinced.

On their return Falconer generously gave up any claim to credit in the matter and left publication to them. On 26 May Prestwich read a paper to the Royal Society,³ which was followed by a short speech by Evans, who even to that learned audience had to explain that the flints from Saint-Acheul were not those generally called Celtic—that is neolithic—and that even the 'Celtic' were not made by the Celts.

On 2 June Evans laid his own communication before the Society of Antiquaries.⁴ He recalled Frere's paper on the Hoxne finds in 1800,⁵ and was able to report that he and Prestwich had made further excavations at that site and that he himself had found half an axe in a similar stratum to the axe-bearing layer at Saint-Acheul. He was able to conclude:

'These accumulated facts prove, almost beyond controversy, the simultaneous deposit of instruments worked by the hand of man, with bones of the extinct mammalia, in the drift of the post-pliocene period. Whether the age of man's existence upon the earth is to be carried back far beyond even Egyptian or Chinese chronology; or the period of the existence of the extinct elephant, rhinoceros and other animals brought down nearer to the present time than has commonly been allowed, must remain a matter of conjecture. This much

¹ A good many letters from Woodward about the excavation will be found in *Ants. Corr.* It was continued in 1859 with a grant from the Royal Society and the approval of the Antiquaries.

² See Joan Evans, *Time and Chance*, p. 100.

³ *Proc. Roy. Soc.* x. 50. He gave very careful stratigraphical sections, and borrowed the Hoxne flints, of which Evans had told him, from the Society of Antiquaries. Executive, 26 May 1859.

⁴ *Arch.* xxxviii. 280, 'On the Occurrence of Flint Implements in undisturbed Beds of Gravel, Sand and Clay'.

⁵ See above, p. 202.

appears nearly indisputable: that at a remote period, possibly before the separation of England from the Continent, this portion of the globe was densely peopled by man; that implements, the work of his hands, were caught up together with the bones of the extinct mammals by the rush of water through whose agency the gravel beds were formed; that above this gravel, in comparatively tranquil fresh water, thick beds of sand and loam were deposited, full of the delicate shells of freshwater mollusca; and that the spots where all this took place now form table-land on the summit of hills nearly 200 feet above the level of the sea, in a country whose level is now stationary, and the face of which has remained unaltered during the whole period which history or tradition embrace. . . .'

The paper was considered so important that an abstract of it was printed in the *Proceedings* so that Fellows might see it before a volume of the *Archaeologia* came out.

Further investigations by Prestwich, Lyell, and other geologists at Abbeville had confirmed the earlier discoveries, and in the world of science the fact of the antiquity of man was widely accepted by the autumn of 1859. Some antiquaries, however, refused to swallow it. In June Thomas Wright wrote in *The Athenæum*:¹

'A strong probability appears to me to exist against the conclusions at which Mr. Prestwich and Mr. Evans seem to have arrived. . . . If we receive [the implements] as made by the hands of man, we must suppose that at this extremely remote period the surface of the globe was covered with human beings, who spent all their lives in chipping flints into the rude forms of weapons and throwing them about. I examined the specimens . . . and . . . remarked that those which there was good evidence had been really found in the gravel presented forms not common among the flint implements ascribed usually to the Celtic period, with a total absence of anything of what we call finish. . . . My belief certainly is, that these so-called flint implements are not the work of man's hands. . . .'

Evans replied,² but the true proof lay in the flints which he was able to leave in the Antiquaries' Library for inspection.

Once attention had been drawn to the subject, corroborative evidence appeared from many places. Evans himself communicated further discoveries in 1860,³ 1861,⁴ 1865,⁵ and 1867.⁶ Lartet made important discoveries in the Dordogne; the skull and a few bones of Neanderthal Man were found in 1856,⁷ and in 1863 Lyell's *Antiquity of Man* confirmed the evidence of the flints from the geologist's point of view. Archaeologists and geologists worked

¹ 18 June 1859, p. 309.

² 19 Jan. 1860.

³ *The Athenæum*, 25 June 1859, p. 841.

⁴ 16 May 1861; *Arch.* xxxix. 57.

⁵ 16 Nov.; *Arch.* xl. 381.

⁶ 17 Jan. 1867; *Arch.* xli. 397.

⁷ Evans always refused to accept the Moulin Quignon jaw, found in 1863, as anything but modern intrusion.

together,¹ and the Antiquaries and the Royal Society were more closely linked than they had been for a century.²

John Lubbock produced a popular account of the subject in his *Prehistoric Times* in 1865:³ a book notable for the fact that in it he first used the words palaeolithic and neolithic for the two newly recognized divisions of the Stone Age.⁴ Yet even in the *Ancient Stone Implements* which he published in 1872 Evans had to walk warily and classify as 'chipped or rough-hewn' and 'polished' for more than four hundred pages⁵ before he ventured on the heading: 'Implements of the Paleolithic Period'. 'The mind', he said,⁶ 'is almost lost in amazement at the vista of antiquity displayed.'

The discovery of the Old Stone Age was the most sensational of the mid-nineteenth century; but it was accompanied by parallel developments in almost every field of antiquarian knowledge. Ethnology was for a time closely linked with archaeology. Thomas Bateman, in the rather pretentious *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire* which he published in 1848, condemned Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire* as

'in a great measure useless to the scientific Student, from the absence of any Craniological Notices or Measurements. . . . The List of Skulls, and the Remarks on the Pottery of the Mounds, at the end of this Volume, are, we think, of considerable value, and are likely to remain permanent standards of comparison in their respective classes, from the extreme improbability of any future writer having the opportunity of examining so large a collection of ancient Celtic Crania and vases, arising from the rapid disappearance and exhaustion of the sources of discovery from causes constantly in operation, among which we include agricultural improvements, and the ill-conducted pillage of idle curiosity. . . .'

Bateman's book is a collection of unsystematic notes, but in a few years' time fresh standards were set by such articles as John Grattan's on Ancient Irish skulls.⁷ The popularization of the mixture of ethnology and archaeology was achieved in Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*, published in 1870.

The winter of 1853-4 was very dry in Switzerland, and the

¹ A reference to the close ties between them was made by the President in his Anniversary Address for 1868.

² In 1861 the two societies had fifty-eight common members. Darwin published the *Origin of Species* in 1859 and Huxley extended the theory of evolution to the human race in his *Man's Place in Nature* in 1863.

³ Herbert Spencer included many theories about primitive man in his *Principles of Sociology* in 1876.

⁴ Lartet's *Reliquiae Aquitanicae*, of which an English edition by R. Jones and John Evans was published between 1865 and 1875, initiated the subdivision of the Old Stone Age.

⁵ p. 424.

⁶ p. 622.

⁷ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1858, p. 27. By 1892 craniometry had gone out of fashion. In his Presidential Address to Section H of the British Association in that year Alexander Macalister described its misuse as being 'as unsatisfactory as it is dull'.

primitive lake-dwellings of the Lake of Zurich were revealed and investigated by Ferdinand Keller.¹ Others were soon recognized,² and by 1875 over two hundred were known in Switzerland, and more in western France, south-western Germany, northern Italy, and the Terramare.³ The Society heard the first communication on the subject in the spring of 1854;⁴ it clearly linked with the work on Irish Crannogs which Sir William Wilde had been pursuing for more than a decade. The study of lake-dwellings provided strong confirmation of Worsaae's classification of the later prehistoric periods, and the discovery and reconstitution of fragments of wooden instruments and food and mats made prehistoric Europe come to life.

The pre-Roman Iron Age in Europe was no less brilliantly illuminated. Ramsauer began to excavate at Hallstatt in 1846, and Baron von Sacken in the following year.⁵ Their excavations of the cemetery there provided a link between the bronze and iron ages that had hitherto seemed lacking.⁶ Its significance was brought out by Franks's work in revealing and systematizing Late Celtic Art in 1857, 1858, and 1863.⁷ A good deal of work was being done by Wylie,⁸ Kemble⁹ and Latham on grave-goods from the tumuli of central Europe. Work continued on the tumuli of Britain. Charles Warne brought out his rather old-fashioned *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset* in 1866, and more detailed work was done by Thurnam in Wiltshire;¹⁰ his reports were valuable for their detailed examination of the pottery. Lane-Fox (later Pitt-Rivers) was working on the hill-forts of Sussex¹¹ and beginning on the detailed study of his own part of England. In 1869 he brought out the first distribution map of Megalithic monuments.

Progress, too, was being made in the archaeology of the ancient

¹ An English translation of his *Lake Dwellings of Switzerland* appeared in 1866.

² See W. M. Wylie, 'On Lake Dwellings of the Early Period', 7 Apr. 1859, *Arch.* xxxviii. 177.

³ See Daniel, p. 89.

⁴ Meeting, 4 May.

⁵ He published *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt* in 1868.

⁶ George Dennis, in his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, published in 1848, had maintained that all bronzes north of the Alps, from Switzerland to Denmark and from Hungary to Ireland, were Etruscan in origin.

⁷ Meeting, 21 Jan. 1858; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd series, iv, 1859, p. 144.

⁸ 'On the Graves of the Alemanni at Oberflacht in Suabia', 22 Feb. and 1 Mar. 1855; *Arch.* xxxvi. 129; 'Observations on Researches in Suabian Tumuli', 5 June 1850, *Arch.* xxxvii. 27.

⁹ 'On Mortuary Urns found at Stade-on-the-Elbe, and other parts of North Germany', 21 June 1855, *Arch.* xxxvi. 270; 'On some remarkable Sepulchral Objects from Italy, Styria and Mecklenburgh', 13 Dec. 1855, *ibid.*, p. 349.

J. M. Kemble died in 1857. His *Horae Ferales; or Studies in the Archaeology of the Northern Nations*, was published posthumously in 1863, under the editorship of R. G. Latham and Franks. Most of his material is drawn from the museums of Prussia and Hanover.

¹⁰ West Kennet, 15 Mar. 1860; *Arch.* xxxviii. 405; 12 Dec. 1867; 20 and 27 Feb. 1868; *Arch.* xlii. 161; Dec. 1868-Mar. 1870, *Arch.* xliii. 284.

¹¹ 6 Feb. 1868; *Arch.* xlii. 27; 5 Mar. 1868, *ibid.*, p. 53.

world. Loftus was working on the site of Erech in 1854, and Taylor at the temple of the Moon God at Mukayyar in 1855, but then the Crimean War brought such investigations to an end. They did not revive until 1870, when Hittite antiquities came into fashion.¹ In 1872 serious work in Mesopotamia began again. In that year George Smith discovered among the Assyrian tablets in the British Museum an account of the Flood.

It was a time of great discoveries in Mediterranean lands. The first English classical excavations of importance were initiated by Charles Newton of the British Museum, who had been sent in 1852 as Vice-Consul to Mitylene with a view to removing the fragments of the Mausoleum sculptures to England. In 1857 he began to excavate on the site, and in the following year excavated at Cnidos, rediscovering the plan of the Greek city as well as the famous seated Demeter. He then had a season at Miletos before he returned to the Museum in 1861.

In 1865 the Palestine Exploration Fund was founded in London, but did not at once get to work.²

In 1858 Gladstone published his *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*:³ it admirably represents the scholarship of his day in including no reference to archaeology. There is a section (under 'Miscellaneous')⁴ on 'The Idea of Art in Homer', but in fact it is not about art at all.

All this was soon to be changed. Schliemann's excavations in Ithaca in 1868 were not particularly rewarding, but when in 1871 he secured a permit to excavate at Hissarlik,⁵ it was not long before he revealed the 'Treasure of Priam' and made the world of Homer come alive.⁶ On 6 March 1873 Sir John Lubbock read a paper to the Antiquaries on the Troad, which he had lately visited. The meeting passed a resolution recommending the Chancellor of the Exchequer to have the barrows in the Troad excavated, as being at least as important as the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, which was being investigated by Newton with Treasury support. The Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe replied⁷ that the results would be much more doubtful than those at Ephesus. The work there

'was undertaken by the Trustees of the British Museum, not for the purpose of ascertaining the site or the form of the Temple, objects quite beyond the scope

¹ See Seton Lloyd, *Foundations in the Dust*, p. 162.

² The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem was not founded until 1920.

³ Revised and rewritten in 1867 and 1868 and reissued in 1869 as *Juventus Mundi: the Gods and Men of the Heroic Age*.

⁴ p. 520.

⁵ He had discovered the site in 1860 and had made a scratch in 1870.

⁶ He worked on until 1873; and again in 1879, 1882-3, and 1889-90. Dorpfeld carried out further investigations in 1893-4 when he identified Hissarlik VI as contemporary with the great period at Mycenae and Tiryns.

⁷ 3 Apr. 1873.

of the duties of the Trustees, but for the sake of such relics of ancient art as might be found buried among the ruins. The ascertainment of the site was a mere incident, the main object was the acquisition of specimens of ancient statuary and architecture. . . . In the case of the Troad there is little or no chance of acquiring any possession for the public which would repay the search. . . .

The question then is: are excavations undertaken for the purpose of illustrating the 'Iliad' a proper object for the expenditure of public money? I am sorry to say that in my judgment they are not.¹

Roman studies were not very fruitful in these two decades. No great discoveries were made in Italy, though excavations were carried on at Cumae² and Carthage,³ and hut urns discovered near Rome.⁴

In England there was more to report; excavations were carried out at Housesteads,⁵ Silchester,⁶ Caerleon,⁷ and Bath⁸ and H. Coote was investigating centuriation.⁹

Knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon period was increasing with the more or less systematic excavation of the village of Standlake and of many cemeteries. J. Y. Akerman made important, if too summary, investigations at sites near Salisbury,¹⁰ at Bournemouth,¹¹ and Long Wittenham.¹² Others investigated Stowting,¹³ Frilford,¹⁴ and Little Wilbraham.¹⁵

Work in the medieval field was moving into fresh channels.¹⁶ Eastlake set up a landmark in architectural studies by his *History of the Gothic Revival*, published in 1872. Little new architectural work appeared except for an admirable paper by A. Heales on Easter Sepulchres,¹⁷ and for J. T. Fowler's excavations on the site of Durham chapter-house.¹⁸ Pettigrew produced a new edition of Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*¹⁹ and A. J. Kempe one of Stothard's

¹ He suggested that funds might be raised by public subscription. Stanhope replied in *The Times* on 28 Mar. 1873.

² Paper by Arthur Ashpitel, 18 June 1857; *Arch.* xxxvii. 316.

³ Paper by A. W. Franks, 14 Mar. 1859; *Arch.* xxxviii. 202.

⁴ Paper by Pigorini and Lubbock, 2 Apr. 1868; *Arch.* xlii. 99.

⁵ By Dr. John Collingwood Bruce; Meeting, 23 Feb. 1854.

⁶ By the Rev. J. G. Joyce at the expense of the Duke of Wellington; Meeting, 18 May 1865; *Arch.* xl. 403. See also meetings of 9 May 1867 and 19 June 1873.

⁷ By the Caerleon Archaeological Association. Paper by Octavius Morgan, 6 Dec. 1855; *Arch.* xxxvi. 418.

⁸ 8 Feb. 1855; *Arch.* xxxvi. 189.

⁹ Meeting, 5 Dec. 1867; *Arch.* xlii. 127.

¹⁰ 23 Nov. 1851; *Arch.* xxxvi. 175.

¹¹ 19 Nov. 1857; *Arch.* xxxvii. 391; 25 Nov. 1857; *Arch.* xxxviii. 84.

¹² Meeting of 28 May 1857, with a model and plan; on the cemetery, 2 Dec. 1857; *Arch.* xxxvi. 363.

¹³ 10 Jan. 1867; *Arch.* xli. 409.

¹⁴ *Arch.* xlii. 417; xlv. 405.

¹⁵ Meetings, 1 Dec. 1851 and 15 Jan. 1852.

¹⁶ Even the *Gentleman's Magazine*, that had done much to popularize it, gave up articles on the subject in 1868.

¹⁷ 12 Mar. 1868; *Arch.* xlii. 263.

¹⁸ *Arch.* xlv. 405; the excavations were made in 1874.

¹⁹ 1852-6.

Monumental Effigies.¹ Much interest was shown in monumental brasses, especially in the years round 1861, and in pilgrims' signs, some of them forged.² It was, however, a time when more people were collecting medieval objects than writing about them; the Society's interest in them is better shown in the exhibits at the meetings than in the papers.

Some useful work was done on the history of art of the early Renaissance, notably by the publication of the will of Hans Holbein,³ which by establishing the date of his death changed many accepted attributions. It was followed by several studies of his contemporaries.⁴

Archaeologists of the decades after 1850 not only had a wider view and exacter standards, but new techniques to aid them in their work. The chief of these was photography. Daguerre had taken still-life photographs on silver plates sensitized with iodine and developed by exposure to mercury vapour, as early as 1837; and Fox Talbot—himself an archaeologist—had taken calotypes of such subjects as architectural details, a black-letter page, and a bust of Patroclus, before 1844. Ruskin was using daguerrotypes for his studies in the history of architecture by October 1845, and a few years later such photographs had become a commonplace.

It was in France that the practice of architectural photography most quickly developed. In 1851 Maxime du Camp took some remarkable photographs in Egypt and Syria, particularly at Baalbek. The great series of photographs of French architecture by Mieuusement, which form the nucleus of the Archives Photographiques at Paris, begin in 1850.

In England the tradition of archaeological photography may be said to begin with Francis Ivory, who set out on a serious expedition to take archaeological photographs in Egypt in 1852.⁵ In that year and the next there was a correspondence in *Notes & Queries* between Dr. Hugh Welch Diamond, a doctor of Huguenot descent, W. J. Thoms, Lord Rosse, and others on the use of photography in archaeology. The whole question of photography in the open air was discussed, and Diamond's description of the complicated processes in use reveals its difficulty.

Diamond had been elected to the Society of Antiquaries in 1834,⁶ and at the beginning of 1854 tried to make the Society more

¹ 1867.

² Charles Reed exposed the forgeries at the meeting of 21 Mar. 1861.

³ By W. H. Black and A. W. Franks, 20 Feb. 1862; *Arch.* xxxix.

⁴ J. G. Nichols, 13 Mar. 1862 and 15 May 1873; *Arch.* xlv. 73; *Arch.* xxix. 19; G. Scharf, *ibid.*, p. 47; and various notes in *Arch.* xl and paper, p. 455.

⁵ Charles Newton, in his work at Cnidos and Halicarnassos between 1852 and 1861, although his wife was a skilled artist, also employed a photographer.

⁶ Nominated 20 Mar.

actively interested in the new process. The Minutes of the Executive Committee of 2 February record:

'Hugh Welch Diamond, Esq. M.D., F.S.A., having liberally offered to photograph any articles exhibited to the Society, of which the Society may desire to retain copies,—with the understanding that the copies are not to be multiplied without the assent of the owner of the original—,

This Committee are of opinion that Dr. Diamond's offer should be accepted, and they accordingly recommend to the President and Council that Dr. Diamond should be appointed Honorary Photographer to the Society.'

Their recommendation was carried into effect at the Council on 14 February, and at the subsequent meeting: 'Dr. Diamond presented to the Society a photograph of the medieval comb recently exhibited by Mr. Böocke; his first contribution as Honorary Photographer to the Society.'

Unfortunately Diamond was too busy a man to give much time to recording exhibits; and he was really more interested in the picturesque than in archaeological subjects. In March, indeed,¹ he exhibited more photographs, but they were architectural: of 'Shakespeare's House at Stratford-upon-Avon, of Anne Hathaway's [*sic*] Cottage at Shotterley [*sic*], of the Old Cross at Henley in Arden, and of the Old and New Mansions at Gilston in Hertfordshire'.

They inspired the Society to positive action. The Crimean War began on 27 March 1854, and on 18 May the Executive Committee resolved: 'That a Letter be written to the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, requesting that the photographer who accompanies the army in the East may be instructed to take and transmit photographic views of any antiquities which he may observe.'

Eventually a reply was received in a letter² from Lord Raglan to the Duke of Newcastle from Varna, saying he had received the dispatch with enclosure from 'the Society of Antiquarians', but the photographer had not yet reached Headquarters. When he arrived he should be informed of it. 'The ancient remains in Bulgaria are I apprehend but few. Those which I may hear of, I will make it my duty to point out to the photographer on our march through the Country.'³

A few photographs were exhibited at the Society's meetings between 1854 and 1857,⁴ but Diamond seems to have done nothing

¹ Meeting, 2 Mar.

² 9 July 1854; Ants. Corr.

³ None were in fact taken, though the photographer's plates of battlefields are among the classics of his art.

⁴ At the meeting on 17 Nov. 1854 Philip de la Motte exhibited photographs of Irish antiquities, mostly small portable shrines, taken by himself. In 1856 Mr. P. Hincks, who had taken photographs in Egypt, wished to exhibit them to the Society (letter, 10 May, Ants. Corr.). In Dec. 1857 the Rev. Thomas Hugo presented photographs of Elizabethan houses in Bishopsgate Street Without and of the house of Paul Pindar. A letter of 1858 from J. Harland to

until 1860, when he asked permission to 'photograph some of the Society's broadsides for the purposes of publication'.¹

In 1866 a new form of Latin Diploma for Honorary Fellows was approved,² and at the beginning of 1867³ it was resolved that 'Dr. Diamond the Honorary Photographer to the Society be requested to oblige the Committee by photographing the Society's lamp to be sent to him for the purpose if requisite, with the nozzle to the front, with a view to engraving for the head of the Diploma'. It does not seem that this was ever done.

By this time photography had become an artistic commonplace, but its evidential value was only beginning to be realized. When Joseph Prestwich and John Evans visited Saint-Acheul in 1859, they had a photograph taken of a stone axe *in situ*: the earliest photograph of many that have proved the arguments of prehistorians.

The earliest books with photographic illustrations had to be illustrated by actual photographs gummed down on thin cardboard and bound in with the letterpress. This plan was used for a number of archaeological works; in 1861, for instance, the *Treasure of Guarrazar* was made known to antiquaries all over the world by the publication of a set of photographs with a text.⁴

So far, however, though a photograph might be (and often was) copied in a lithograph or a wood engraving⁵ it could not be mechanically reproduced as an illustration, though some progress was being made in photolithography in France. The process of making engravings on metal from photographs was improved about 1867 to produce the heliotype, and the formula was published in 1870. In the forty-third volume of the *Archaeologia* a paper on the handle of a bronze vessel from Spain, read on 25 January, 1872, is illustrated by a heliotype.⁶

It is not easy to estimate how great a change photography made not only in the methods but also in the scope of archaeology. With its aid exact comparison became possible between far-distant objects; series could be established in almost every branch of antiquarian study; records could be kept of every stage of an excavation; and the elaborate descriptions which had been a necessary—and often an overwhelming—feature in earlier archaeological papers

Akerman (*Ants. Corr.*) seems to be from a professional photographer offering his services to the Society.

¹ *Ants. Corr.*

² Meeting, 5 July; Council, 6 Nov.

³ 17 Jan.

⁴ A slightly earlier, if less widely disseminated volume, was Eduard von Sacken's *Die Vorzüglichsten Rüstungen und Waffen der K. und K. Ambraser Sammlung*, 1859.

⁵ On 10 Apr. 1862 the Executive Committee considered a suggestion from a Fellow, Edward Peacock, that a colour plate should be made from a coloured photograph he had exhibited of frescoes in the church of Kirton in Lindsey, since destroyed. Consideration was postponed and nothing done.

⁶ Plate xxxix.

could be vastly reduced. A new epoch in archaeology indeed dates from the decades after 1850.

The Society of Antiquaries faced the years after 1854 under fortunate auspices in administration as in work. Their President, Lord Mahon—after 1855 Earl Stanhope—gained in prestige and authority both by his previous handling of the reform of the Society and by his initiation of the scheme of the National Portrait Gallery in 1856 and of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1869.¹ He continued to give faithful and assiduous service to the Antiquaries.

The Society was no less fortunate in its other officers. At the end of 1857² Ellis resigned the Directorship on reaching the age of eighty.³ W. H. Smith had lately⁴ defined what was needed in a Director. '... If you secure a proper and efficient Director, you should give him such discretionary power as shall excite his energy, and increase his moral responsibility. This officer should be a warm but general Antiquary, looking to all ramifications, but not exclusively allied to any one. The more of a Classic he is, the better for the Society, since it throws refinement over all the successive stages.'

Augustus Wollaston Franks was duly elected.⁵ He was not a classic, but was everything the Society needed. He was at this time a man of only thirty-one, who had entered the British Museum in 1851. He had read mathematics at Cambridge, but had devoted much of his time and all his enthusiasm to the study of medieval brasses. He was a quiet, grey, dreamy man with extremely perceptive taste, an unexpected sense of humour, and the most selfless modesty.

Franks's only ambition was to see an adequate department of British and Medieval Antiquities established at the British Museum.⁶ In 1850 a room had been opened on an upper floor to contain what they had, but when in 1851 Vaux published his popular *Handbook*

¹ He also formulated the idea of an Order of Merit, but this did not bear fruit in his lifetime. It was probably in connexion with these foundations that a question was asked in the House of Lords on 5 May 1856 as to the sums granted annually to 'The Antiquarian Society'. No such grant has ever been made.

² 15 Dec.

³ He lived for another twelve years.

⁴ Letter to Sir Fortunatus Dwaris, 1853: Ants. Corr.

⁵ He had been elected Fellow only four years before: 15 Dec. 1853.

⁶ He was not helped by the President. When in 1849 the Commission on the British Museum asked Lord Mahon: 'Have you turned your attention at all to the question of the establishment of a separate Department of British Antiquities in the Museum?', he replied simply 'No'. Kendrick, *British Museum*, p. 139. The whole scheme originated in 1844 in the offer of Lord Prudhoe (later Duke of Northumberland) to the Museum of the Stanwick hoard of bronzes 'provided that a room were appointed at the Museum for the reception of national antiquities'. The Museum accepted the hoard and did nothing about the room, on the ground that what they had was 'little more than a basis' for such a collection. A recent account of Franks's work at the British Museum will be found in A. B. Tonnochy's 'Four Keepers of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities', in *British Museum Quarterly*, 1953, p. 83.

to the *Antiquities in the British Museum* he omitted the collections 'known by the names of British or Anglo-Roman Antiquities . . . [as] being as yet too insufficiently arranged to admit of classification and description. . . .'

When Charles Roach Smith published Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale* in 1856 he could justly declare:¹ 'Not only does the Government begin with gathering the monuments, ancient and modern, of all foreign countries, but it ends there also. Our national antiquities are not even made subservient and placed in the lowest grade; they are altogether unrecognized and ignored; and that, too, with an English metropolitan Museum, surrounded by an English population, and paid for, with no stinted liberality, by English money.' The Museum, indeed, had in that year refused to buy the Fausset Collection,² and though in 1856 they bought Roach Smith's own collection of London antiquities, it was only after much chaffering. In 1860 the Department of 'British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography' was at last separated from the Department of Antiquities, and Franks's career as its administrator and benefactor began.

Curiously enough the Trustees of the Museum objected to Franks's election as Director, on the ground that it would interfere with his work at the Museum. The Council replied on 23 February 1858:

'The Council of the Society of Antiquaries have learnt the decision of the Trustees of the British Museum in the case of Mr. Franks with great surprise and great regret.

It would be very painful to them to see severed in this case and in all others to come, the connexion between the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries, which has now continued (to the advantage and credit as they presume to think of both institutions) for upwards of half a century in the person of Sir Henry Ellis and others.

They do not believe that any of the duties of the Office of Director in the Society of Antiquaries, interfere in any manner with the hours of the Museum, except only as regards the Meetings of the Council which have hitherto been fixed at 3 o'clock; but unwilling as they feel to forego the valuable cooperation of Mr. Franks and of others who might succeed him in the British Museum, the Council have determined to alter the hour of their Meeting from 3 to 4, a change which they hope may fully meet the objection of the Trustees.'

A month later³ it was reported that the Trustees had withdrawn their opposition.

Franks was profoundly conscious that the British Museum and the Antiquaries were two institutions pursuing the same ends, and between 1864 and 1868⁴ read an account to the Society of the chief

¹ Preface, p. x.

² See above, p. 274.

³ Council, 23 Mar. 1858.

⁴ 23 Mar. 1864; 1 Feb. 1866; 21 Feb. 1867; 2 May 1868.

acquisitions of his department, usually omitting the fact that many of the most important had been given by himself.

Franks was the most generous of men, and he soon included the Society among his beneficiaries. In 1859¹ he gave some fifty books to the Library, making a little speech to stress its importance and to ask Fellows to add to it. In the next year he gave them the Arundel Society collection of casts of ivory carvings,² and so it was to continue. In 1866, the year in which he became Keeper of his Department at the Museum, Franks expressed a wish to resign the Directorship as he had got into arrears with the Society's publications. His resignation was not accepted, but extra editorial help was found. A year later he definitely resigned³ and Charles Spencer Perceval, a barrister who was an expert on seals, was elected Director. In 1872 he resigned because of pressure of business and Franks was persuaded to resume office.⁴

Bruce resigned the Treasurership in 1854⁵ and Frederic Ouvry, who had done valuable work on the reforming committees, was elected in his stead.⁶ He proved to be one of the best Treasurers the Society has ever had: upright in character, punctilious in business, friendly in disposition, modest in manner, he was respected by all the Fellows and loved by those who knew him well. His tastes, and his collections, were mainly literary, but he was also a buyer of curiosities, who could usually exhibit something at a meeting if he were asked.

In 1854 Akerman became sole Secretary. The Finance Committee became a little anxious lest he should not have time enough for the Library,⁷ and asked that an annual report should be submitted to show that there were no arrears of cataloguing.

In 1860 it became evident that Akerman, though only fifty-four, no longer enjoyed good enough health to be an efficient Secretary. The Council of 20 March recommended his re-election at the Anniversary only on the understanding that his resignation should be accepted as soon after as a successor could be found.⁸ Thomas Wright, Charles Knight Watson, and B. B. Woodward were

¹ 23 Mar. 1864; 1 Feb. 1866; 21 Feb. 1867; 2 May 1868.

² 17 Nov. 1859. In 1955 the Society presented them to the Courtauld Institute of Art.

³ Council, 10 Apr. There had been a suggestion of an Editorial Committee in 1863 (Council, 9 June), but Franks had refused to accept it.

⁴ Council, 19 Mar.

⁵ Council, 26 Nov.; Meeting, 28 Nov. It was agreed that he should edit the *Archaeologia*, but that the Secretary should edit the *Proceedings*.

⁶ Meeting, 16 Mar. At the Annual Meeting of 1860 he was appointed the Society's Trustee of the Soane Museum in the place of Lord Aberdeen, who had just died.

⁷ 11 Jan. 1854.

⁸ It appears that Akerman's hands were crippled. He was given a pension of £150 a year for two years (later renewed indefinitely) and £100 for the expenses of his move. He died in 1873.

candidates for the post. Wright proved extremely touchy and difficult in raising objections to the conditions of the office,¹ and finally waived all claims to it. On 17 May 1860 Knight Watson was elected at £200 a year and £50 for the editorship. He was the grandson of a Bishop of Llandaff, who after taking a degree at Cambridge had catalogued the Disney Marbles in the FitzWilliam and had delivered lectures on Greek Art at Edinburgh and elsewhere.² He was not a man of such archaeological distinction as Akerman, but he was better liked,³ and worked faithfully for the Society.⁴

The Council was no longer rent by dissension, but it still had its anxieties over finance. On 8 June 1857 the Finance Committee had to consider a Minute from Council: 'That as it appears by the Auditors' Accounts for the last two years that during that period the annual income of the Society has not been sufficient to meet the year's expenditure, such accounts be referred to the Finance Committee, with instructions to report to the Council how the Income and Expenditure of the Society can be equalized.' They found that the cost of publications had risen by £990 in the last five years, and that of salaries by £441. They could make no recommendations to meet the situation other than the sale of £250 Consols to meet the debt, and a pious hope that the *Archaeologia* might become less voluminous.

The situation was relieved by a slight rise in membership, which had grown from 524 in 1852 to 634 in 1857, and by the happy accident of a legacy. William Ford Stevenson, F.S.A., died in 1852, leaving the Society a quarter of his estate, estimated at from £65,000 to £70,000, subject to his children's life interest.⁵ It was an ill-drawn will, and the estate had to go into Chancery. The Society tried to compromise to avoid this, but failed. In July 1857⁶ the executors of one of Stevenson's relatives made an appeal against the will, but lost it. At the Anniversary Meeting of 1859 the President was able to announce that the case had been settled, and £2,700 was due to be received, with £1,100 more in the near future,⁷ and the prospect of further sums as Stevenson's son and grandchildren died. By 1866 the Society owned £12,000 Consols, and the financial crisis was over.⁸

¹ Letters in Ants. Corr.

² *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd series, x. 286.

³ A letter from Diamond to Roach Smith, dated 26 Nov. 1873, accuses Akerman of ingratitude and calumny (Ants. Corr.). The accusations are repeated in another letter of 18 Oct. 1882 (*ibid.*).

⁴ When Akerman died in 1873 Knight Watson was given another £100 a year and Ireland another £50.

⁵ Anniversary Meeting, 23 Apr., 1852.

⁶ Letters in Ants. Corr.

⁷ £766 was received in Nov. 1859.

⁸ A stricter view was taken of members in arrears; 13 were amoved on 17 May 1866, 5 on 2 June 1870, and 8 on 26 June 1873.

The problem of membership was still felt to be important, for it was realized that with the lower subscription the Society's finances were more than ever dependent on its numbers. A great many men of lesser eminence¹ were freely admitted.² They were drawn from many strata of society, though the Society was still conscious of some distinctions; in 1859, for example,³ William Fitch, the post-master of Norwich, was recommended as 'quite a proper and highly respectable Man of good Means and his Wife one of the first Lady Geologists in England'. It was common for a candidate to send in his own nomination paper; indeed, it seems as if he often received it and got it signed on his own initiative.

Occasionally the Society drew the line at a candidate. On 5 February 1862 Miss Holt wrote to inquire, very politely and in the third person, if a lady might become a Fellow.⁴ The Secretary was requested⁵ to inform her 'that the Statutes and Charter of the Society do not appear to contemplate such a contingency'. Five years later⁶ a youth of fifteen expressed a wish to become a Fellow. The Executive Committee replied 'that at his age the Society could not hold him bound by the Obligations which every Fellow is called upon to sign, and to suggest that he should wait a few years before he presented himself for a ballot'.

By 1862 the Council were a little disquieted lest the Society should become too generously inclusive. At the Anniversary Meeting they proposed that the number of ordinary Fellows should be limited to six hundred, exclusive of peers and of a special class of Fellows *honoris causa* of whom not more than two might be nominated by Council at each election.⁷

They also suggested that since the practice of holding a ballot at meetings interrupted the reading of papers, and that they could only be carried out when the President or a Vice-President was in the Chair, they should be held on special nights and combined with an exhibition. This was done for the first time on 19 June 1862.

At the beginning of 1867⁸ it was recognized that numbers were dropping. The Council resolved: 'That the number of Vacancies in the Society being greatly in excess of the number of Candidates, there be as many ballots taken on the 14th February next as there

¹ At the same time, however, the Prince of Wales (13 Apr. 1853) and the Emperor of the French (21 Mar. 1865) joined the Society as Royal Fellows. The King of Denmark had become a Royal Fellow on 15 June 1852.

² Hardly anyone was blackballed except for an artist, R. W. Buss. An indignant letter from him, dated Apr. 1859, will be found in Ants. Corr.

³ Letter from Borlase, Apr. 1859, Ants. Corr. Fitch's collections are now in the Norwich Museum.

⁴ Letter in Ants. Corr. ⁵ Executive, 6 Feb. 1862. ⁶ Executive, 11 Dec. 1867.

⁷ At the same time the regulations for the ballot were tightened: Meetings, 27 Mar. and 23 Apr.

⁸ Council, 22 Jan.

are Candidates suspended and qualified for Election.' Again candidatures seem to have become lax, for in 1870 the Society had to issue a circular to Fellows¹ to say the certificates must be signed by one proposer from personal knowledge, and by at least two others either from personal knowledge or from acquaintance with the works of the candidate.

The Society's recognized eccentric at this time was one James Pycroft,² who gave the authorities a ridiculous amount of trouble by adding his name to candidates' forms when they were suspended. The first complaint came in 1863; the Executive Committee³ regretted that they had no power 'to authorize erasure'. Two years later⁴ he was found marking with a query the description of a candidate on a suspended certificate, and his activities were reported to Council.⁵ In 1869 he was still at it, and a candidate⁶ wrote to the Secretary to say that he heard Pycroft had signed for him. 'If so, however well-meant, he is so very odd, I fear it will do me more harm than good. Therefore, if you think proper, will you be kind enough to have it erased?'

Once more Council considered the question⁷ and decided that 'The Council while disclaiming any intention of acting with discourtesy to any Fellow of the Society are nevertheless of opinion that no candidate is bound to accept support which for any reason he wishes to decline; and on this principle whenever a candidate shall signify his desire to that effect in writing the Council conceive that either the Proposer of the Candidate or the Secretary shall be competent to erase the name complained of.' In the following months five candidates had to ask to have Pycroft's name removed from their certificates. He grew odder and odder and was finally expelled from the Society in 1874.⁸

Another of the Council's worries was the fact that relatively few Fellows attended the ordinary meetings of the Society. It was made easier to introduce visitors;⁹ sixty members of the Society of Arts¹⁰ were invited to a meeting; the Executive Committee was authorized¹¹ to send cards of invitation to meetings to non-members known to be interested in the subject to be discussed; a *conversazione* was held, by invitation, at Miss Burdett-Coutts's house in Piccadilly;¹² the subjects of papers and exhibitions were advertised in the reading-

¹ Copy in Ants. Corr.

² He deserves our gratitude for presenting the Society with the painted canvas of St. Martin and the beggar that hangs in the meeting-room. Meeting, 8 Mar. 1855.

³ 12 Feb.

⁴ Executive, 6 Apr. 1865.

⁵ 11 Apr. 1865.

⁶ Jan. 1869; Ants. Corr.

⁷ 19 Jan. 1869.

⁸ Executive, 15 Jan.; Council, 28 Apr.; Meeting, 21 May.

⁹ Executive, 2 Mar.; Council, 9 May.

¹⁰ 24 Mar. 1859; no paper was read, but the sixty visitors saw the Society's collections.

¹¹ 6 June 1867.

¹² Council, 1 July 1862.

room of the Athenæum;¹ none the less the meetings continued to be ill attended.

Whatever hour was chosen proved inconvenient. In 1857, after the Royal Society had moved to Burlington House and there was no question of the common Fellows moving from one room to another under the same roof, it was proposed that the hour of meeting should be moved from eight to half-past.² The motion was lost. It was raised again at the Anniversary of 1860, and again lost. At the meeting on St. George's Day, the Chairman brought it up again, and left it to the Society at large. They agreed to the change,³ but attendance does not seem to have improved.

In 1870⁴ Franks, who had just ceased to be Director, wrote a formal letter to the President for circulation and discussion at the Anniversary.

'The Evening Meetings do not [he declared] appear to be better attended than formerly. Some have thought that a change from the evening to the afternoon would be more convenient, but, as the Evening Meetings of many other Societies are well attended, I doubt whether so great an innovation would be necessary.

What I should, however, wish to suggest to your Lordship's consideration is the desirableness of reducing the *number* of the meetings. Excepting the Royal Society no Society of the same status as ours holds so many Meetings, in fact during the present session we have one Meeting more than the Royal Society—26 to their 25. . . .

At the time that our Meetings commenced the Societies in London were few, now they are very numerous. I see, by Taylor's Calendar, that no less than eleven meet on Thursdays. Many of the newer Societies occupy themselves with subjects more or less connected with our pursuits. The Archaeological Institute and Association, the Asiatic, Syro-Egyptian, and Numismatic Societies deal with matters that are mostly within our range, while some of our subjects are taken up at the Royal Society of Literature and the Ethnological Society. The establishment, moreover, of numerous Archaeological Societies in the country diminishes still further the communications made at our Meetings. . . . Two of these Societies (the Surrey and Middlesex) may almost be considered as metropolitan. . . .

I would therefore suggest to your Lordship whether it might not be desirable for our Society to reduce the number of its Meetings. This would give the officers more time to collect materials for the Meetings, would in my opinion insure a greater variety of communications, and enable us to give only an abstract of some communications better suited for printing than for reading in public.'

¹ Council, 9 June 1863. The Council in 1865 refused to allow a *Daily Telegraph* reporter to report the meetings regularly, but agreed to invite him on special occasions. A summary of the proceedings usually appeared in *The Athenæum* at this time.

² Anniversary Meeting, 1857.

³ Meeting, 14 May 1863.

⁴ 8 Mar.; circular in Ants. Corr.

His proposals were carried at the Anniversary Meeting.¹

A good deal of the Council's time was taken up by ordinary business. They duly recorded and regretted a number of deaths among former officers and eminent Fellows,² and expressed to the American Minister in London the 'deep concern and horror' felt by the Society at Lincoln's assassination.³ They deprecated the revival of the Anniversary Dinner.⁴ They proposed a few minor changes in the Statutes to bring the Society within the legal limits of exemption from rates.⁵

Their most serious practical business came up in 1858, when the question arose of a possible removal to Burlington House, in which the Royal Society was now installed. They decided⁶ against it, but agreed to try to secure more accommodation in Somerset House. After a good deal of negotiation an exchange was effected; the Society gave up to Government use their old meeting-room, the Secretary's apartments, and part of the cellars, and received in exchange the Royal Society meeting-room, which was a little larger, a better suite of six rooms for the Secretary, and the exclusive use of the entrance hall and ante-room.⁷ They got possession early in November⁸ and held the first meeting in the new rooms on 18 November. They rehung the pictures,⁹ installed gas in the hall,¹⁰ and rearranged their possessions.¹¹

The Society began to take an increasing part in bringing pressure on the Government in archaeological matters. An agitation had begun in 1859¹² for permitting students to have access to the records of the Probate Court. At the meeting of 20 February 1862 it was announced that permission had been granted to consult the wills in

¹ He proposed the first and third Thursdays, excluding holiday weeks and the week of the Anniversary, and a session from the third Thursday in November until (at latest) the first Thursday in July. Ballots might be held on other Thursdays as required. On 28 Apr. 1864 the Council declined to accept any fixed number of meetings, but declared that they should be held when they should appoint, with a quorum of five.

² In 1865 T. J. Pettigrew; in 1869 Sir Henry Ellis and John Bruce; in 1873 J. Y. Akerman and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce.

³ Meeting, 11 May 1865.

⁵ Anniversary Meeting, 1871.

⁴ Apr. 1868.

⁶ Apartments Committee, 18 Nov.

⁷ On 24 July 1860 they asked for further library accommodation and were offered three attics.

⁸ Executive Committee, 3 Nov. 1858.

⁹ Meeting, 19 June 1862; they were hung as far as possible in chronological order. Scharf's catalogue of them was published in 1865.

¹⁰ Council, 29 July 1863.

¹¹ The Society received various gifts at this time. James Ingram (14 May 1857) presented a bronze medal of Stukeley on a silver chain that had belonged to John Britton. Ludlow Roots (2 Feb. 1860) presented his father's collection of antiquities from the Thames, mostly bronze celts. The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty (19 Nov. 1863) presented one of the silver badges formerly worn by the Admiralty watermen, hall-marked 1786. The executors of John Bruce (17 Mar. 1870) gave a picture of Lewis Frederick, Duke of Württemberg, from his collection, and Mr. William Adlam (26 June 1873) presented a silver decade ring.

¹² A copy of the printed correspondence from 18 Feb. 1859 to 19 Mar. 1859 is in Ants. Corr.

the Registry at Doctors' Commons for literary purposes. In 1865 a further need began to be felt for permission to photograph wills. Both this and less limited powers of reference were refused. In 1869 the matters were taken up again, but officials again declared them 'impossible'. In 1877 a protest was made against the destruction of the records that was going on, although access to them was still difficult. In that year permission was given to consult wills for literary purposes up to 1760.

In 1865 the Society interested itself in the question of the State's acquiring the Paston Letters. Herman Merivale had impugned their authenticity in the *Fortnightly Review* and there was a danger that the scheme might lapse. The Council got in touch with various Fellows with special knowledge, and a meeting was held on 30 November¹ at which they spoke and the original letters which were in debate were exhibited. Merivale was present and handsomely retracted. A memorial was sent to the Treasury² warmly recommending their acquisition and offering £500 from the Council towards it. The Trustees of the British Museum in due course purchased them out of public funds.

In 1871 Sir John Lubbock addressed a letter to the Council to say he was about to bring a Bill into Parliament for the preservation of ancient monuments. The Anthropological Institute had appointed four representatives, and he hoped that the Antiquaries would appoint four more to form a joint committee.³ The Council had been hearing so much of sepulchral monuments lately⁴ that they assumed that these were all that interested Lubbock. They therefore replied⁵ that they could go no further at the moment because they were completing a list of monuments of their own. Lubbock answered that his Bill was for 'the Preservation of Prehistoric and other Monuments and Remains of Antiquity in Great Britain and Ireland'. The proposal was bandied from Executive to Council and back again several times, but nothing more was done than to wish its promoter luck. The Bill failed to pass into law.

In 1871,⁶ again, the President in the name of the Council urged the Treasury to acquire the Castellani collection of goldwork; it was purchased for the British Museum. In the following year the Council pressed⁷ for the immediate survey of Wiltshire before more of its prehistoric remains were destroyed by the plough; a survey of Stonehenge only was acceded.

The Society revived its old tradition of protesting against the proposed destruction of buildings. In 1860⁸ an urgent remonstrance

¹ Bruce's paper is printed in *Arch.* xli. 15.

³ 16 May 1871.

⁴ See below, p. 307.

⁶ Meeting, 23 Nov.

⁸ Meeting, 14 June.

² 21 June 1866.

⁵ Ants. Corr.

⁷ Letters, Nov. and December.

was sent to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester against their proposed removal of the Guesten Hall. In 1867¹ and in 1873² letters of protest were sent against the proposal to pull down the South-West Gateway at Tenby. In 1870³ the Society successfully protested against the proposed removal of the choir-screen at Exeter, and in 1871⁴ against the removal of that at Wakefield.

Exceptionally they took a hand in a scheme of restoration. In 1862 Dr. French, the then Dean of Westminster, had set going a committee for collecting funds for restoring the Chapter House. He had then been translated to Dublin and nothing had been done. In 1865 Dean Stanley promoted a new scheme, with which the Society was associated; and a meeting of the Fellows and their friends was held in the Chapter House on 2 December 1865, at which Gilbert Scott described his proposed restoration and the President and other Fellows spoke in support of it. At the Anniversary Meeting of 1866 the President announced its success.⁵

The Society even extended its activities in preservation outside Britain. In 1866 it took an active part,⁶ after the suppression of ecclesiastical corporations in Italy, in securing the preservation of Monte Cassino. In 1870 it protested against the proposed destruction of the walls of Constantinople,⁷ but in 1870 it refused to petition the King of Prussia on the danger to monuments involved in the bombardment of Paris.⁸

One of the most important recent reforms had been to put the Library and Finance Committees on a permanent footing and to institute an Executive Committee. That the system worked well is proved by its continuance to the present time.

The Library had already been rearranged and reorganized after Carlisle's maladministration and continued to be more widely used. Ireland, the Library clerk appointed in 1852,⁹ was proud of his position and gave devoted service to the Society and its Fellows.¹⁰ The Library itself received a number of donations; in 1857 J. R. D. Tyssens gave nearly 400 volumes, and in 1869¹¹ Arthur Ashpitel left the Library some 2,400 volumes, many of them of early date.¹² In 1866 F. W. Fairholt, the engraver, left the Society some 200

¹ Meeting, 31 Jan.

² Ibid., 22 May.

³ Ibid., 24 Mar.

⁴ 4 May.

⁵ A report was received from the Dean at the meeting of 23 Nov. 1871 to report the completion of the work.

⁶ Meeting, 21 June.

⁷ Ibid., 19 Feb.

⁸ Letter from George Gilbert Scott; *Ants. Corr.* The Society in 1879 (Council, 25 Nov.) joined in the general English protest against the restoration of St. Mark's, Venice.

⁹ Council, 17 Feb.

¹⁰ An obituary notice of him will be found in the *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd series, xxii, 1909, p. 473. After he retired in 1895 he was invited to attend the meetings of the Society.

¹¹ Council, 16 Nov. Meeting, 18 Nov.

¹² A special book-plate was printed for them. He also left the Society a small collection of Greek vases from South Italy.

books on pageantry, together with a number of prints relating to the subject.¹ In the following year² Albert Way offered the Society a number of books and prints as the basis of a special section of the Library devoted to seals.

In 1859³ the Council decided to print the catalogues of the Society's collections of broadsides and proclamations,⁴ and to give the Library Committee £50 a year with which to buy books. At the same time Ireland's wages were raised to £120 a year, with increments to £150. In 1860 it was agreed⁵ that Fellows living in the country might borrow books, even though the onus of packing them fell on the clerk. By 1860, when Knight Watson reported on the state of the Library,⁶ it was reported that it contained some 10,000 volumes. The books were in fair order, though they needed more care than they received, but some of the manuscripts were in grave disorder.⁷ In 1860⁸ the Society voted £150 for completing the collection of County Histories.

The Executive Committee first sat on 15 December 1853,⁹ to consider communications offered and papers to be printed. By the beginning of 1854¹⁰ they were at work on a scheme to be laid before the Council for the Appointment of Local Secretaries. A list was duly prepared for each county¹¹ and their appointment recommended.¹²

By 1865 some Local Secretaries were dead, some had moved, and some did not answer letters; the whole scheme had to be re-organized.¹³ All existing appointments were revoked, and fresh appointments were made for four years only. At the same time a questionnaire was sent out to ask for information about recent discoveries of 'inscribed monuments, manuscripts, monastic cartularies, coins, or other antiquities, Celtic, Roman or Saxon'; to inquire if any excavations were in hand or any advised; to ask who were the principal collectors of antiquities in the district; what new books or

¹ Council, 8 May.

² Meeting, 19 Dec.

³ Council, 31 May; Meetings, 2 and 9 June.

⁴ It was given to Fellows on the same terms as the *Archaeologia* in May 1866. On 14 June 1859 the Society was promised all proclamations issued from the Council Office, Whitehall, as they were issued.

⁵ Council, 13 Nov.; Library Committee, 11 Dec.

⁶ Meeting, 17 Nov.

⁷ Charles Spencer Perceval was engaged in sorting the unbound MSS. from Dr. Thorpe, which he found in some fifty brown paper parcels.

⁸ 26 Feb.

⁹ The Minutes start with this meeting. Hawkins was in the Chair; the other members were Ellis, Hugo, Ouvry, Walford, and J. H. Parker. The Minutes are in Akerman's hand; evidently he attended as Clerk.

¹⁰ Executive, 2 Feb.

¹¹ Exceptionally on 3 Apr. 1860, Council appointed C. T. Newton Local Secretary for the Papal States.

¹² Executive, 8 June 1854.

¹³ Council, 2 May 1865. Lithographed circular in Knight Watson's hand, dated 5 May. Ants. Corr.

periodicals had been published concerning the area; what ancient monuments were in danger of destruction and what could be done about it; what objects the Local Secretary recommended for exhibition at the Society's meetings, and what rubbings of stones or other monuments he could furnish.

The publications of the Society¹ took up a good deal of the Executive Committee's time, especially as all the illustrations had still to be drawn and engraved.² Various mechanical processes were tried, but all were as yet too coarse for archaeological work. The volumes of the *Archaeologia* appeared every two or three years from volume xxxvi in 1855 to volume xlv in 1873, each averaging about thirty papers, of which about half were illustrated. Apart from the papers already noticed, they contained many of a familiar kind. Parker continued his travels in search of architecture, reaching Moissac (which, greatly to his credit, overwhelmed him),³ Germigny, Tournus, Romainmôtier,⁴ and Ireland.⁵ Birch continued to provide papers on Greek vases (with plates by Basire)⁶ and on hieroglyphic inscriptions,⁷ and Scharf papers and pictures,⁸ always with bad plates and after 1870 with deplorable oleographs.

Minor papers on Roman subjects occurred in every volume, including several on Caesar's landing in Britain,⁹ and others on Roman London.¹⁰ The President, Lord Stanhope, produced a paper on a possible allusion to the Christians in the Sixth Satire of Juvenal,¹¹ and H. C. Coote 'Some Account of the Cuisine Bourgeoise of Ancient Rome',¹² appropriately followed by a paper on Roman bronze vessels from Castle Howard.¹³ There was a considerable number of minor papers on medieval subjects: a Garter Stall Plate;¹⁴

¹ In 1855, on the death of Pickering, J. H. Parker of Oxford was appointed the Society's publisher. Executive, 22 Feb.

² The Executive Committee on 25 May 1854 suggested that when a plate of special interest was engraved for the *Archaeologia* some extra copies should be taken to be sold to Fellows at cost and to the public at 'a remunerative charge'.

³ 1 June 1854 and 19 Apr. 1855; *Arch.* xxxvii. 1 and 311.

⁴ 12 June 1856, *Arch.* xxxvii. 244.

⁵ 10 Mar. 1859, *Arch.* xxxviii. 149. On 11 June 1868 and on 10 June 1869 he read papers (*Arch.* xli. 11 and xliii. 223) on recent excavations at Rome, and on 3 June 1869 (*Arch.* xliii. 73) on the English origin of Gothic architecture.

⁶ *Arch.* xxxvi. 53.

⁷ *Arch.* xxviii. 373; xxxix. 315. On 15 May 1862 Reginald Stuart Poole read a paper defending Champollion's interpretation against Sir George Cornwall Lewis. *Arch.* xxxix. 471.

⁸ 21 June 1855 (Gloucester Doom), *Arch.* xxxvi. 370; 21 Feb. 1861 (Windsor and Wilton), *Arch.* xxxix. 245; (Arthur Prince of Wales), *Arch.* xxxix. 457; 3 May 1867 (Children of Philip, King of Castile), *Arch.* xlii. 245; (Empress Leonora), *Arch.* xliii. 1.

⁹ *Arch.* xxxix. 277; Stanhope, 15 Nov. 1866, *Arch.* xli. 270.

¹⁰ W. H. Black, 26 Nov. 1863, *Arch.* xl. 41; T. Lewin, 11 May 1865, *ibid.*, p. 59; W. Tite, 17 Nov. 1864, *Arch.* xl. 295.

¹¹ 9 Mar. 1871, *Arch.* xlv. 1. It was answered in a Latin letter by W. H. Black circulated among the Fellows, which Stanhope politely had printed after his own letter.

¹² 13 Dec. 1866; *Arch.* xli. 283.

¹³ 7 Mar. 1867; *Arch.* xli. 325.

¹⁴ A. W. Franks, 1 Feb. 1855; *Arch.* xxxvi. 215.



The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House

By Banks & Barry, 1873



The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House. The Library

By Banks & Barry, 1873

burials near Dieppe;¹ the use of the distaff in heraldry;² choir plans;³ excavations at the Madeleine de Bernay;⁴ pilgrims' signs;⁵ wall-paintings;⁶ brick architecture in north Germany;⁷ the Courts of Chancery;⁸ Rolls of Arms;⁹ the churches of Rome earlier than 1150;¹⁰ the tomb of William Rufus;¹¹ a good paper by Margaret Stokes on the Shrine of St. Moedoc of Ferns and the Gospel of St. Molaise of Devenish,¹² and a long one on the medieval representations of the months and the seasons¹³ by James Fowler.

Every volume was filled up with transcripts and accounts of documents on subjects as varied as the political geography of Wales, the orders of knighthood, churchwardens' accounts, the Minor Canons of St. Paul's, and the early discovery of Australia. Such a volume as xli, published in 1867, contains more documents than anything else.

The *Vetusta Monumenta* lapsed until 1868, when plates of the Book of Kells, the Garland of Howth, and the Psalter of Ricemarsch were published, followed by a drawing of St. Peter's Chair in 1870. These, however, were no longer issued to Fellows free, though each was allowed to purchase one copy at less than the published price.¹⁴ The *Proceedings* went into a second series, with a slightly different format, in 1859. Their dispatch was greatly simplified by the institution of a parcels post. Up to 1854 Fellows were expected to collect them from the Library, unless they specifically instructed the Secretary to send them by post at their own expense. In March of that year¹⁵ it was decided that 250 copies should be printed on thin paper for posting to country members. Some eighteen months later,¹⁶ diminished rates of postage encouraged the Council to extend this privilege; all Fellows were to receive the *Proceedings* at least twice a year, on ordinary paper and in a packet without folding. The *Archaeologia* had still to be collected from the Library by each Fellow or his accredited agent.¹⁷

The Executive Committee launched into other activities than

¹ Abbé Cochet, in French, 14 June 1855; *Arch.* xxxvi. 258.

² J. Y. Akerman, 8 May 1856; *Arch.* xxxvii. 83.

³ A. Ashpitel, 15 Jan. 1857; *Arch.* xxxvii. 122.

⁴ Abbé Cochet, in French; 2 Dec. 1858; *Arch.* xxxvii. 66.

⁵ T. Hugo, 10 June 1859; *Arch.* xxxviii. 128.

⁶ At Chalgrove; W. Burges, 1 Mar. 1860; *Arch.* xxxviii. 431.

⁷ A. Nesbitt, 15 Dec. 1859; *Arch.* xxxix. 93.

⁸ G. R. Corner, *Arch.* xxix. 357.

⁹ By several hands, 1863; *Arch.* xxxix. 373.

¹⁰ A. Nesbitt, 15 Dec. 1864 and 12 Jan. 1865; *Arch.* xl. 157.

¹¹ *Arch.* xlii. 309.

¹² 21 Nov. 1867; *Arch.* xliii. 131.

¹³ 23 Nov. 1871; *Arch.* xliv. 137.

¹⁴ Executive, 10 Mar.

¹⁵ Executive, 8 Nov.; Council, 27 Nov. 1855.

¹⁷ A circular dated Nov. 1871 complains of the inconvenience caused by Fellows who are slow in collecting their copies.

¹⁴ Council, 19 Nov. 1867.

publications. Under Franks's influence a number of exhibitions was organized: one of civic and company plate and documents in 1860;¹ one of seals,² and another of illuminated manuscripts³ in 1861; and one of early printed books⁴ and others of autographs⁵ and heraldic documents⁶ in 1863. The Council,⁷ however, then 'came to the Conclusion that considering the unparalleled number of exhibitions in the past year it would be most advisable to refrain from any Exhibition on the part of the Society during the present year'.

It was not until 1871 that another exhibition was organized, this time for a week.⁸ It was entirely of palaeolithic implements, of which nearly 350 were shown. It was opened at the ordinary meeting of 18 May by papers by Franks and John Evans. More than five hundred people visited it. A similar exhibition of more than eight hundred neolithic and savage implements was held some six months later,⁹ with papers by Franks, Evans, and Lane-Fox.

The Executive Committee encouraged the Council to give a certain limited support to excavations. Akerman's excavations at Harnham in 1853 had been paid for by the Society,¹⁰ but when in 1855¹¹ he produced accounts for £30 he had incurred in further excavations at Wingham, Stodmarsh, and Gilton in Kent, and at Woodborough and Old Sarum,¹² he had to admit that the expenditure had not been authorized. 'Although he had not any direct authority to incur these expenses, he had believed his exertions to be for the benefit of the Society, and within the spirit of his former exertions at Harnham, Wilts. The Executive Committee deem the proceeding somewhat irregular, but considering the circumstances, and on the understanding that no like expenses should be incurred in future without proper authority, recommend that the amount above stated, should in that instance, be paid to the Secretary.'¹³ In May

¹ 21 June.

² 2 May.

³ 6 June. Ruskin (a visitor) contributed some remarks on the development of the art of illumination. The question whether ladies should be allowed to see this Exhibition and that of seals was left to the Executive Council, 12 Mar. 1861.

⁴ 9 Jan.; it had been planned for 12 Dec. 1861, but was postponed because of the death of the Prince Consort.

⁵ 3 Apr. 1862.

⁶ 22 May 1862.

⁷ 17 Feb. 1863. They were prepared to consider a Holbein Exhibition in 1864, but it was not held.

⁸ 18 May to 25 May.

⁹ 7 Dec. to 14 Dec.

¹⁰ On 23 Feb. 1854 the Executive ordered fifty offprints of his paper at the Society's expense 'for distribution amongst the Clergy and Gentry of the neighbourhood who have assisted and taken an interest in the subject'.

¹¹ Executive, 19 Apr.

¹² The results were communicated to the Society on 23 Nov. 1854.

¹³ Council, 1 May 1855, sanctioned it, but declared 'their decided opinion that this case ought not to be drawn into a precedent, and they lay hereby their express injunction on the Treasurer to allow no expenditure whatever incurred in Antiquarian operations, or other objects, without direct previous authority from the Council or Executive Committee'.

1856, when he tried to get a further grant for work at Chedworth, it was referred to the Council.

In the spring of 1856¹ Henry Shaw asked for a grant towards further explorations at Chertsey Abbey; this does not seem to have been granted. In 1859, however, Akerman was allowed to excavate an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Long Wittenham, near Abingdon, 'in a great measure at the expense of the Society'.² In the same year £50 was given to Thomas Wright's excavations at Wroxeter,³ and in 1867⁴ £50 was granted to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Early in 1854⁵ the Executive Committee recommended the Council to present a memorial to Lord Palmerston, as Home Secretary, on the question of the closing and paving of churchyards and the need to preserve their monuments. The railway companies, it declared, and other undertakings were proposing by Act of Parliament to secure the right to acquire churchyards, but no provision was being made for preserving their monumental inscriptions. The churchyard of St. Clement's Danes had become a dump of building materials for King's College Hospital; the Threadneedle Street churchyard had disappeared and no proper record of the inscriptions had been made; inscriptions published by Lysons as being in St. Pancras's burial-ground were no longer to be found; and something ought to be done about it. Lord Palmerston replied in May⁶ that he did not see that he could 'interfere in respect to the Sepulchral Memorials in Grave yards'.

The Executive refused to be silenced. They recommended Council⁷ to print the Memorial they had addressed to the Home Secretary⁸ and counter-attacked with the suggestion that a Memorial should be sent protesting against the proposed 'restoration' of the royal tombs in Westminster Abbey, for which Parliament had just voted £2,500.

Nothing more happened for four years. Then⁹ the Executive suggested the formation of a committee to consider the question of procuring transcripts of all the monumental inscriptions in England, which they hopefully considered could, with adequate collaboration, be done for less than £20. The Council was less optimistic, and though a questionnaire was circulated to Local Secretaries, nothing definite was done.

Suddenly in February 1869 the Secretary received a letter¹⁰ from

¹ Letter, 30 Apr. 1856. Ants. Corr.

² Meeting, 24 Nov. 1859.

³ Council, 31 May 1859.

⁴ Ibid., 19 Nov. 1867.

⁵ Executive, 2 Feb. 1854. A copy of the memorial is in Ants. Corr. A further protest accompanied it on the proposed demolition of thirty City churches. Attention had been drawn to the legislation on churchyards at the meeting of 26 Jan. 1854.

⁶ 15 May 1854; Ants. Corr.

⁷ Executive, 1 June 1854.

⁸ *Proc. Soc. Ant.* under 15 June 1854.

⁹ Executive, 18 Mar. 1858.

¹⁰ Council, 23 Feb. 1869.

the First Commissioner of Works 'to request that you will ask the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London to have the goodness to furnish them with a list of such Regal and other Historical Tombs or Monuments existing in Cathedrals, Churches, and other Public Places and Buildings as in their opinion it would be desirable to place under the protection and supervision of the Government, with a view to their proper custody and preservation'.

The President could not be present at the meeting, but sent a letter 'suggesting that the Council would do well to be cautious in committing Themselves to any proposal for withdrawing the custody of ancient monuments from the Deans and Chapters of Cathedrals as such a proposal would arouse the keenest opposition'.

'Resolved

The Council desire in the first place to put on record their sense of the compliment paid to them by the First Commissioner of Her Majesty's Works etc. in thus referring to them any question relating to our National Monuments. The Council have always considered it one of their highest functions to protect those Monuments from the ravages of decay and from the still more injurious processes known under the name of 'restoration'. They have more than once, it may be observed, given evidence of their zeal in this direction, by bestowing grants of money for effecting these objects. At the same time the Council desire it to be understood that, in consenting to point out some at least, of those of our Regal and Historical Monuments which in their judgement stand in need of protective supervision, they consider it is not within their province to commit themselves to any opinion as to the nature of the authority under which that supervision should be exercised. This reservation made, the Council are prepared to enter with alacrity into the matter brought before them by the First Commissioner, and they entertain a confident belief that the nature and composition of this Society provide available machinery for arriving at the results aimed at in the present inquiry. The Council will lose no time in putting that machinery at work and will communicate with the First Commissioner at the earliest opportunity. It is scarcely necessary for them, however, to observe that the task of drawing up, even with approximate accuracy, such a list as that proposed in the letter from the Office of Works, is one of no small magnitude, and must of necessity occupy a considerable time.'

A Sepulchral Monuments Committee was duly set up to consider the tombs before 1760, with the help of the Local Secretaries. It started work on 8 March 1869 and continued to meet until 10 February 1872. It then issued a long printed report with tables of the more important monuments in all the counties of England. This was duly sent by the Council¹ to the First Commissioner; and a tribute was paid to Spencer Perceval, as Director, for the work he had done in seeing it through.

At the Anniversary Meeting, however, the President had to report that a new First Commissioner had been appointed who

¹ 20 Feb. 1872.

refused to be interested in the question or to take any further steps, declaring that his predecessor wrote without Treasury sanction.¹ The Treasury, he declared, had no intention of introducing a Bill on the subject or of making any use of the report.

The Society replied asking whether the Government would object to a motion that the report should be produced and should be made in each house by an independent member² as an unopposed return without debate. The Treasury replied³ that they would allow the report to be laid before Parliament by one of their Board, but that they did not thereby sanction the spending of any public money on it. This was done, without immediate result; but the report is none the less part of the agitation that eventually resulted in the setting up of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

John Ruskin had spent 10 June 1854—the day of the opening of the Crystal Palace—in wandering over the grassy slopes of the Simmenthal and meditating on the future of the new institution. Eventually he embodied his meditations in a pamphlet⁴ which he issued at the end of July. In it he scarified the modern idea of ‘unrivalled mechanical ingenuity’ in architecture and deplored the construction of the Crystal Palace at a time when the masterpieces of the past were neglected. At the same time he stigmatized the Viollet-le-Duc school of restoration and made a plea for the more intelligent conservation of the architectural riches of England.

‘An association [he wrote] might be formed, thoroughly organized so as to maintain active watchers and agents in every town of importance; who, in the first place, should furnish the Society with a *perfect* account of every monument of interest in its neighbourhood, and then with a yearly or half-yearly report of the state of such monuments, and of the changes proposed to be made upon them; the society then furnishing funds, either to buy, freehold, such buildings or other works of untransferable art as at any time might be offered for sale, or to assist their proprietors, whether private individuals or public bodies, in the maintenance of such guardianship as was really necessary for their safety; and exerting itself, with all the influence which such an association would rapidly command, to prevent unwise restoration and unnecessary destruction.’

Ruskin soon endeavoured to persuade the Society of Antiquaries to sponsor his scheme. At the Executive Committee of 9 November 1854 consideration was given to a proposal from him

‘that the Society should undertake the management and disposal of a Fund to be subscribed for the preservation of Medieval Buildings, Mr. Ruskin offering to

¹ The letter was reported in full to the Council of 30 Apr. 1872.

² They suggested Lord Stanhope in the Lords, and Sir William Tite (V.-P.S.A.) in the Commons.

³ Council, 28 May 1872.

⁴ *The Opening of the Crystal Palace, considered in some of its relations to the Prospects of Art.* Library Edition of the *Works of John Ruskin*, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, xii. 417.

contribute the annual sum of £25 towards that purpose and believing that his friends would contribute a considerable further amount.

The Committee conceiving that this proposition involved very important considerations, submit the same to the Council.¹

Further consideration was adjourned¹ until copies of Ruskin's pamphlet had been received and read. On 7 December the Executive Committee reported to Council that they had duly studied it.

'It appears to the Committee that the objects which Mr. Ruskin has in view, although in themselves highly laudable, would in their entirety, be more extensive than this Society with reference to its other objects could properly undertake: but at the same time, the Conservation of ancient monuments is strictly within the scope of this Society; and it does not appear to the Committee that it would be inappropriate that this Society should undertake to receive funds entrusted for that purpose and to apply them through the medium of this Committee, and the local secretaries, confining their operations, at least in the first instance, to the preservation of remains in Great Britain and Ireland, and without entering into the larger question of the purchase of such buildings, or more extended operations in foreign countries.

The scheme can be easily extended, should the state of the funds authorize it, and should the Society consider that it can, with reference to other claims upon its attention, undertake the management of such extended scheme.'

On 11 January 1855 the Executive Committee met in pursuance of a resolution of Council on the subject. They suggested

'as the conditions under which the Society might undertake the management and distribution of a Fund to be raised by voluntary contributions for the conservation of buildings and other monuments of antiquarian interest within the United Kingdom.

1. That such Fund shall be called the 'Conservation Fund', and shall be kept wholly distinct from the general funds of the Society.

2. That the management and distribution of such Fund shall rest wholly with the Society, without any responsibility on its part to the subscribers.

3. That the application of the Fund be exclusively limited to the two following objects; viz.—

1°. The formation of a list or catalogue of existing ancient buildings or other monuments.

2°. The conservation of existing ancient buildings or other monuments in the sense of preservation from the further ravages of time or negligence, without any attempt to add to, alter or restore.

4. That the fund be not employed in the conservation of any building or monument, the obligation to repair which belongs by law to any individuals or corporation, aggregate or sole; but in such cases the Society may urge upon the person or body so liable the propriety of fulfilling the obligation, and may endeavour to prevent the evils of restoration.

5. That three of the subscribers may be nominated as coadjutors of any

¹ Executive, 23 Nov.

Committee to which the Society may entrust the management and distribution of the fund, but that such coadjutors do act as advisers only, the decision of any question resting solely with such committee.'

On 1 February a letter from Ruskin was read to the Executive Committee accepting these conditions, and the project was reported at the meeting that evening. A week later the Executive suggested the appointment of a treasurer to run the fund. Parker was duly appointed,¹ and Ruskin paid in £25. On 1 March the first application was considered. It was for Walmgate Bar, York; the Executive decided that they could not contribute until they knew the City Council's intentions more precisely. On 1 May the Council voted ten guineas to the Conservation Fund.

On 29 March 1855 the Executive drew up a paper on Restoration that was later passed as a resolution by Council,² read at a meeting,³ and circulated to all Fellows.

'Restoration'

The numerous instances of the Destruction of the character of Ancient Monuments which are taking place under the pretence of Restoration, induce the Executive Committee, to which the Society of Antiquaries has entrusted the management of its 'Conservation Fund', to call the special attention of the Society to the subject, in the hope that its influence may be exerted to stop, or at least moderate, the pernicious practice.

The evil is an increasing one; and it is to be feared that, unless a strong and immediate protest be made against it, the monumental remains of England will, before long, cease to exist as truthful records of the past. . . .

The Committee strongly urge that, except where restoration is called for in Churches by the requirements of Divine Service, or in other cases of manifest public utility, no restoration should ever be attempted, otherwise than as the word 'restoration' may be understood in the sense of preservation from further injuries by time or negligence:—they contend that anything beyond this is untrue in art, unjustifiable in taste, destructive in practice, and wholly opposed to the judgment of the best Archaeologists.'

This admirable manifesto produced an answer from the Rev. E. T. Yates, addressed to the President.⁴

'Aylsham, Norfolk.

My Lord,

If your Lordship's house at Chevening was ill adapted for the purposes for which you required it, if you wanted a house suited by comforts of the present day, and to be fitted with the necessary adjuncts—and if, further, the said house stood in need of extensive repairs, would you hesitate about adopting such means as a prudent architect might suggest to alter it to the requirements of the age, so as your Lordship might be enabled to live in it, notwithstanding a gable here or an old stack of chimneys there might have to be removed? The habits

¹ Executive, 15 Feb. 1855.

² 1 May 1855.

³ 3 May 1855.

⁴ 26 May 1855; Ants. Corr.

and customs of the age might require even more extensive transformations in an old house. I have ventured to bring this illustration to your Lordship's notice in consequence of a paper which has been published by the Society of Antiquaries and extensively circulated, bearing your Lordship's signature. That paper I fear is calculated to do much harm. I fear it throws an unjust and an unwarranted stigma on many persons who have during the last 10 or 12 years been anxiously desirous of promoting the glory of God and the spread of his gospel by affording increased and improved accommodation in our Churches for our increasing population, particularly for the labouring classes. Our Churches are not set apart for the collection of antiquities or merely for the preservation of the records of past ages, but for the worship of Almighty God. Many of our Churches through the neglect of past ages have nearly fallen into ruin and are very ill-adapted through their internal fittings to meet the requirements of the present age. I fear the paper bearing your Lordship's signature will tend to damp the zeal of those who would otherwise come forward to repair and restore them and make them more generally useful. Men doing what, under God, they trust to be a good work do not like to be shown up in the public papers, particularly if they are using all proper means to effect their object. It will be a great public calamity and destruction to the well-being of thousands if private endeavours are thus discouraged, particularly when such attempts are made to do away with that rate with which our ancestors in their holy zeal endowed our Churches for their perpetual preservation. And what is the preservation of a few antiquated relics to the general welfare of the public?

The Conservation Fund, indeed, had neither money enough nor force enough to do very much, nor did it do enough to attract donations. In 1856¹ it gave £10 for the repair of a painted window in North Moreton Church, Berkshire; in 1859,² £10 towards the shoring up of the west front of Croyland Abbey; in 1860, £5 to Waltham Abbey and £5 to St. Doulough's Hermitage Oratory near Dublin; and in 1862, £5 to the roof of Stewkley Church. Then inertia descended on the committee and nothing more was done, until in 1868³ it was reported that £33 was in the fund but it could not be touched without Parker's signature and he was abroad. In 1876⁴ the same sum was still there, still waiting to be used.

A splendid opportunity had been lost, for want of an active man to carry out an adventurous scheme. William Morris, in 1855 still a man of only twenty-one, was striving to become a painter and had not yet launched into more altruistic work; the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings was not founded until 1877.

¹ Executive, 10 Apr.

³ Executive, 29 Apr.

² Executive, 17 Nov.

⁴ Council, 20 June.

XVI

BURLINGTON HOUSE

1874-92

WHEN the Society moved to Somerset House in 1780 it had seemed as if it might stay there for ever; but the Napoleonic Wars increased the number of English bureaucrats, many of their offices were housed in Chambers's quadrangle, and it was recognized that the learned societies might be crowded out. In a letter which Markland the Director circulated among some of the Fellows at the end of 1827,¹ to press for the establishment of a Museum, he stated: 'The removal from our apartments in Somerset House has for some time been contemplated, and may, possibly, ere long take place.' A few years later Leigh Hunt² declared that he 'should like to see the Society in a venerable building of its own, raised in some quiet spot, with trees about it, and with painted windows reflecting light through old heraldry'.

The Society, however, continued to live in its apartments overlooking the Strand, though the noise of the wheeled traffic on its cobblestones became increasingly tiresome, and to dine at Bellamy's after the meetings, though the house might be less fashionable than it had been. In 1851 the Council petitioned the Office of Works for double windows, and when these were refused³ put them in at the Society's expense. Three years later the Office forwarded a requisition from the Registrar-General for more accommodation in the vaults;⁴ this was given in return for storage space in the attics. A little later⁵ the Registrar further demanded the use of a room which the Society used as a coffee-room on Thursdays with the permission of the University of London, who used it as an examination room at other seasons. The Society protested in vain.

By June 1854 the removal of the learned societies from Somerset House was under official consideration. Ouvry wrote to James Heywood, M.P.,⁶ to say what rooms the Antiquaries now had,⁷

¹ Dated 31 Dec. 1827; printed in *Gent.'s Mag.*, Jan. 1828, vol. xcvi, pt. 1, p. 61.

² *The Town*, 1893 ed., p. 171.

³ Letter (undated) in Ants. Corr.

⁴ Ants. Corr., 13 Mar. 1854.

⁵ Letter from Secretary to Registrar-General, 12 May 1854, Ants. Corr. Letter from Registrar-General, 16 May, *ibid.*

⁶ Letter Book, 28 June 1854.

⁷ Meeting Room, 41 ft. 6 in. × 25 ft.; Library, 28 ft. × 22 ft. 9 in.; Ante-room (jointly with Royal Society) 25 ft. × 22 ft. 10 in.; Secretary's apartments, of 2 sitting- and 5 bedrooms, and 3 rooms for the Clerk.

and to suggest that they needed an additional room for a museum and a little room off the Library for the Secretary. 'Considering the connection', he wrote, 'which has for so many years subsisted between this Society and the Royal Society and the constant inter-communication between the Fellows belonging to each, it would be very desirable that the proximity of the two Societies should be maintained.'

In May 1856¹ the Secretary of the Treasury laid before the Council a Government proposal that all the societies in Somerset House should remove to Burlington House, admitting that it was a temporary measure, subject to reconsideration if Burlington House were rebuilt. A deputation from the Society told him 'that they had no desire to leave the rooms, which, on the erection of Somerset House, were expressly adapted to their use, but that if the exigences of the Government required the use of those rooms, the Society would be willing to listen to any offer of other suitable apartments'.

They joined the deputations of the Royal Society, the Linnaean, the Chemical Society, and the Academy in expressing a wish to stay where they were. The Secretary said that the Government had no desire to disturb them.

By June 1856, however, the other societies had determined to leave Somerset House, and the Antiquaries were busy² negotiating with the Ministry to secure the sole occupation of the ante-room and staircase and some additional rooms.³

At the Anniversary Meeting of 1857 the President mentioned the removal of the Royal Society to Old Burlington House as 'a settled and approaching fact'. The Antiquaries, he said, did not wish to move unless it were in the national interest. He continued:

'As a member of the Royal Society I may also, perhaps, be permitted with great respect to intimate a doubt whether, in the minds of many other members of that Society, there is not at present some degree of unwillingness, such as did not formerly exist, to combine the pursuits of literature with those of science.' Within the last twenty or thirty years these had often been successfully blended; several men had been Vice-Presidents of both Societies.

But I know not if I deceive myself in thinking that instances of this kind of double Vice-Presidentships are henceforth less likely to occur, and that a great number of the members of the Royal Society seem disposed to render to science, not only . . . a zealous and devoted, but also . . . a sole and exclusive homage.'

The Royal Academy had been housed in the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square since 1836, but in 1858 the Gallery found that it needed more room, and it was decided that the Academy was to take over Old Burlington House on a 999 years' lease from March

¹ Council, 9 May.

² Letter from Ouvry to Stanhope, 4 June 1856.

³ See above, p. 300.

1867 and to build an extra story and make other alterations at its own expense. At the same time a project came into being for rebuilding the wings of the house to provide accommodation for the other learned societies.

The Government clearly wanted to get the Antiquaries out of Somerset House, and though the Society still hedged over accepting other quarters, negotiations quietly proceeded. On 20 May 1859 Akerman as Secretary wrote¹ to Banks and Barry, the architects of the new building, to state the Society's requirements in it, in the event of their being compelled to move. They needed, he said, a meeting-room 45 ft. by 26 ft., with a room adjoining of nearly the same size; space for their Library equal to 60 ft. by 40 ft., with a room adjoining for meetings of Council; a kitchen; a stockroom; a residence for the Secretary with two sitting-rooms and at least five bedrooms; a porter's room, with sitting-room and bedroom, and a hall or other room which could be used as a Museum. It was essential, he declared, that the principal rooms should be lofty.

There the matter rested until 1866. In that year the Registrar-General turned one of the rooms over the Society's apartments into a bookbinder's workshop, and the President wrote² to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury that the noise made the rooms beneath 'hardly habitable'. In November³ a letter came from the Office of Works with a definite offer of rooms in Burlington House. The Council unanimously resolved

'to acknowledge in the most cordial spirit the scheme suggested by Her Majesty's Government in the letter from the Office of Works dated 1st October last.

They desire to state in the first place that although they have felt themselves greatly cramped for want of space as to the Library Department in the face of their growing stores yet as these buildings were especially designed and fitted up for the use of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies by command of the then Sovereign and as in many respects these apartments are well adapted to the Society's use the President and Council have never desired to relinquish them....'

The President and Council feel however that superior accommodation, above all in the Library Department, would be provided for them by the plans of Messrs. Banks and Barry which the President and Council are informed were drawn out in 1859, and they would therefore be prepared to accept the exchange of apartments provided that the amount of Accommodation Contemplated in this plan be not in any manner curtailed or impaired and provided also that the expence of the fittings be borne by Her Majesty's Government.

An Apartments Committee was duly appointed⁴ to negotiate with the architects. By April 1867 they had been able to pass on the

¹ Letter Book.

² 13 Feb. 1866; Ants. Corr.

³ Council; 6 Nov.

⁴ 22 Jan. 1867. It consisted of Sir William Tite, V.-P.; the Treasurer, Director, and Secretary; Octavius Morgan, M.P.; John Evans; P. C. Hardwick; A. W. Franks; Edmund Oldfield; and Captain A. C. Tupper.

plans for the approval of the Council.¹ They included a meeting-room 43 ft. by 29; an ante-room 27 ft. by 13; a library 55 ft. by 43; a storeroom 28 ft. square (with room for another), but no Council room; the Library was to be carried up to the roof and lighted from above, and thus provide some 3,500 ft. of shelving.

At the Anniversary Meeting of 1867 the President announced the Society's removal to Burlington House as probable, and said that the plans had in the main been approved.

The work went forward, and at the Anniversary of 1872 it was announced that the move would take place in the summer of 1873. On the next St. George's Day Lord Stanhope warned the Society that the coming move would mean both expense and the temporary suspension of the meetings, and expressed the general regret at leaving the old home.

The summer passed in a succession of predictable fusses over the adaptation of tables and seats, the sizes of bookcases and show-cases, and the Government's wish to save on the fittings that it had promised to provide. In the end the Antiquaries accepted £800 from the Government and assumed the responsibility for providing them themselves.

On 1 November 1873 the card of meetings went out with a circular letter saying that the new apartments at Burlington House should be completed during the session, and if the Society had to move the ordinary meetings would have to be suspended.² In fact the move was made between October and December 1874,³ and no meetings were held that session until the first in the new rooms on 14 January 1875.

The new buildings—now so familiar—were as typical of mid-Victorian classicism as Somerset House was of the classicism of the eighteenth century. Perhaps fortunately no faintest echo of Ruskinian Gothic breaks in upon their dignified and pompous rhetoric. All is in the received taste: composite orders, heavy mouldings, plain marble chimney-pieces, varnished wood, and painted stucco. The only possible adjectives for them are 'proper' and 'suitable', yet changing times are bringing out their character, their dignity, and their common sense. A society is strongly if unconsciously influenced by the rooms in which it meets; and English archaeology owes a good deal to the unromantic traditionalism of Banks and Barry.

¹ Mr. John Charlton kindly informs me that copies of these plans are at the Ministry of Works.

² A rough sketch in *Ants. Corr.* of those present near the Chair at the last meeting at Somerset House includes Winter Jones (in the Chair), Spencer Perceval, Mocatta, Fuller Russell, W. J. Thoms, William Smith, Ouvry, Dean Stanley, Knight Watson (reading paper), Smee, Franks, Octavius Morgan, Milman, and Burtt.

³ At the Council of 19 Mar. 1874 £200 was voted to the Secretary for his move and as an expression of confidence and regard.

The main door leads into a dignified hall, from which the meeting-room opens on the left. In 1874 this retained the traditional arrangement, with a table for the officers, like a high table in a college hall, across the top, and a long narrow table for periodicals and exhibits at right angles to it down the room, flanked by three rows of benches for Fellows. Two new ebony chairs for the Treasurer and Director were purchased¹ to match those already in use, and Brussels carpet was bought to cover the floor.

The chief feature of the building is the fine and austere main staircase in three flights, reached through columns from the hall. This was duly provided with brass eyes for stair-rods,² but the Society has never been rich enough to buy a carpet for it.

The staircase leads to the most important room in the building: the Library. This was provided with a Turkey carpet in the centre; originally³ it was planned to cover the rest with moss-pattern Brussels, but later⁴ it was decided to substitute 'material of the nature of Kamptulicon and known by the name of supericum or dustless matting', in other words cork linoleum.⁵

The Resident Secretary was handsomely, if inconveniently, provided for. He had his own front door, between the main door and the Academy, leading to his own staircase. His kitchen was in the basement; his very handsome dining-room on the ground floor, opposite the meeting-room (it was used as a coffee-room on meeting days); his office, and a handsome drawing-room with a ceiling painted in classical arabesques, was adjacent to the Library, and a whole labyrinth of bedrooms extended above.⁶ There was no Council Chamber; committees of every kind were held round the central table in the meeting-room.

At the first meeting at Burlington House, Stanhope, who had now been President for twenty-nine years, expressed his approval of the Society's new quarters.

'On taking the Chair this evening I should desire, Gentlemen, in the first place, to bid you heartily welcome to your new apartments. You will find those apartments, I venture to hope, both handsome and commodious. The Library, above all, to which we shall adjourn when our meeting has concluded, may justly, I think, deserve the praise of architectural beauty, and from its quiet is greatly preferable to that other apartment in Somerset House, disturbed as it was from night to morning by the loud hubbub and the busy traffic of the Strand. From the noble volumes by which your bookshelves are filled, and from

¹ Apartments Committee, 31 Oct. 1874. They cost £18. 5s.

² Executive, 20 Nov. 1878.

³ Apartments Committee, 31 Oct. 1874.

⁴ Executive, 7 Jan. 1875.

⁵ The present fine Indian carpets were given by William Minet, Treasurer, who inherited them from his father and sisters.

⁶ I owe much of this information to the kindness of Mr. Maurice Hope, the last person to be born and brought up in the building.

the better opportunities for study which this tranquil situation affords, I shall hope to see proceed from that new Library as from one common centre many learned dissertations and a large amount of critical skill.'

At the same meeting Franks gave the Society a new bell,¹ declaring that he had suffered too long from the strident sound of the old bell Rawlinson had given, which was cracked. This, he suggested, should go into the Society's Museum.

The Museum had become one of the Council's chief worries, for, except for the front hall, which had too many doors and columns to offer adequate wall space, there was no provision for it in the new apartments. At the beginning of 1875² Council proposed and the Society agreed,³ that a committee should be appointed to diminish its content by gift or otherwise. The architectural fragments from the Norman Westminster Hall were given to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey for exhibition in the Chapter House; the fossils and geological specimens, the stone stele with an Arabic inscription, and the capital from St. Stephen's, Westminster, were given to the British Museum, and the casts were distributed to appropriate collections.⁴

Only two real difficulties arose out of the occupation of the new buildings.⁵ First, the Board of Works demanded⁶ that the premises should be insured for £18,500, and that the Society should be responsible for inside repairs. The Antiquaries, together with the Royal Society, whose larger premises were assessed at £35,000, both protested against this new charge,⁷ but had to meet it. Secondly, there were doubts as to the security of the new apartments. On 21 June 1876 the President and Council addressed a complaint to the First Commissioner of Works to say that 'while the police are excluded, admission is readily available for thieves and burglars. The aperture now existing between the large gates—when closed—and the piers to which they are hinged is large enough to admit a lad of 16 or 17 years of age, and possibly a grown-up man of slim figure might get through.' In fact a burglary had been committed on 8 May; but it proved to have been made by a discharged servant of the Secretary who had once been lent the key of the main gate by the porter and had had a duplicate made.

Lord Stanhope must have seen the Society into the new buildings with satisfaction and hope. Under his long presidency it had not

¹ A Dutch bell of the seventeenth century. See Bicentenary Booklet, plate XII.

² Meeting, 12 Jan.

³ Ibid., 14 Jan.

⁴ List in *Ants. Corr.* for 1875.

⁵ It should be recorded, however, that in 1883 new buildings to the west of the Royal Academy threatened to darken some rooms, notably the Secretary's office. The Society's protests were met by the wall's being canted and covered with white tiles, but the solution remains unsatisfactory.

⁶ 13 Nov. 1873.

⁷ 12 Mar. 1874.

only recovered from its former lethargy and weakness but had also made new strides in learning and stability. He now began to have thoughts of retiring, and presented to the Society a portrait of himself by John Partridge,¹ painted in 1845. He died at Bournemouth, while still President, on Christmas Eve 1875.

It is the custom in such an event to elect the Senior Vice-President to act until the Anniversary, and the Council unanimously elected Frederic Ouvry to take his place.² His long and faithful service as Treasurer and Vice-President had not only given him an unrivalled knowledge of the Society's business but also a unique place in the affections and respect of its Fellows. At the Anniversary his election was confirmed, as those of King and Englefield in like circumstances had not been. He was a man devoid of ambition, and had no desire for office; but while he held it he fulfilled its duties with care and good sense.

In February,³ with his concurrence but in his absence, the Council had a general discussion of the tenure of the Presidency. The Director, Spencer Perceval, proposed a seven years' tenure, without possibility of renomination by Council. A Statutes Committee was set up to consider this and other changes.⁴ They proposed the acceptance of Spencer Perceval's plan; this was voted on at the Anniversary Meeting of 1876 and carried by thirty-two votes to fourteen.

Ouvry was a collector, of Huguenot descent, and a man of phenomenal and scrupulous modesty. His Presidency was not marked by any crises. In November 1876⁵ J. H. Parker proposed a form of amalgamation between the Antiquaries, the Royal Archaeological Institute, and the British Archaeological Association, with the junior societies enjoying associate membership. The President secured Counsel's opinion⁶ that the Charter would not permit of the creation of a fresh class of Associates, and the proposal received no further consideration. The small changes proposed by the Statutes Committee were duly passed in the summer of 1877⁷ with thirty-two Ayes to five Noes. The list of Local Secretaries was revised, and their appointments limited to four years only.⁸ The proposing of candidates was more strictly confined to the initiative of Fellows, the issue of forms and of lists of members to non-Fellows being prohibited.⁹

¹ Council, 12 Jan. 1875. It now hangs in the Library. It is a study for the larger picture painted for the Fine Arts Commission in the National Portrait Gallery. This is unfortunately painted with bitumen and is now in a ruinous state.

² Council, 4 Jan. 1876; Meeting, 13 Jan.

³ Council, 15 Feb. 1876.

⁴ It held its first meeting on 2 Mar. 1876 and its last on 30 Apr. 1877.

⁵ Council, 28 Nov.

⁶ Ibid., 28 Feb. 1877.

⁷ Meetings, 17 May and 4 July.

⁸ Meeting, 29 Nov. 1877.

⁹ Council, 18 Mar. 1878.

In 1878, when he had been President for only two years, Ouvry unfortunately decided to decline re-election.¹ The Earl of Carnarvon was duly nominated and elected on St. George's Day. His nomination was a reversion to the tradition of choosing a distinguished peer, that had worked so ill in Aberdeen and so well in Stanhope. Carnarvon was now a man of forty-seven, who had already been a politician for nearly twenty-five years. He was a distinguished Freemason, a good classical scholar, and had travelled a good deal in the East. His only published archaeological work was a Presidential Address to the British Archaeological Association of a highly general kind.² He had just resigned from a second tenure of the office of Colonial Secretary and had only been a Fellow for two years, although he had already been elected to the Council and nominated a Vice-President.

The Society of Antiquaries played so small a part in Carnarvon's life that it does not figure in the index to the three volumes of his biography. When he was not in political office he usually wintered abroad, and at all times tended to be an absentee President.³ His Vice-Presidents, notably Ouvry and Evans, were kept busy deputizing for him.

In his first Presidential Address, given at the Anniversary of 1879, Carnarvon relegated the obituaries of Fellows to an appendix and suggested that for the future they might well be printed and not read. He declared that such an address should chiefly give a general review of archaeological progress, and ventured on some criticism of the Society, notably on the speed of publication of the *Archaeologia*, which was five parts in arrear. He declared: 'I will not hesitate to say here . . . that this great and venerable Society hardly occupies the position it is competent to fill, or does all the work it might and ought to do.' He considered that an archaeological survey should be made, county by county, of everything from the great monuments down to field-names, illustrated by a no less complete set of maps. He demanded a great *corpus* of English charters; a new edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*; editions of the Pipe Rolls, the Subsidy Registers, the Episcopal Registers, the Lives of the Saints, and town histories; asked for a complete catalogue of English seals; and wished the Society to make grants to special excavations.

The difficulty of such undertakings, he declared, lay less in finance than in the choice of men.⁴ 'Where are we to find the men,

¹ Council, 18 Mar.

² 'The Archaeology of Berkshire', 12 Sept. 1859.

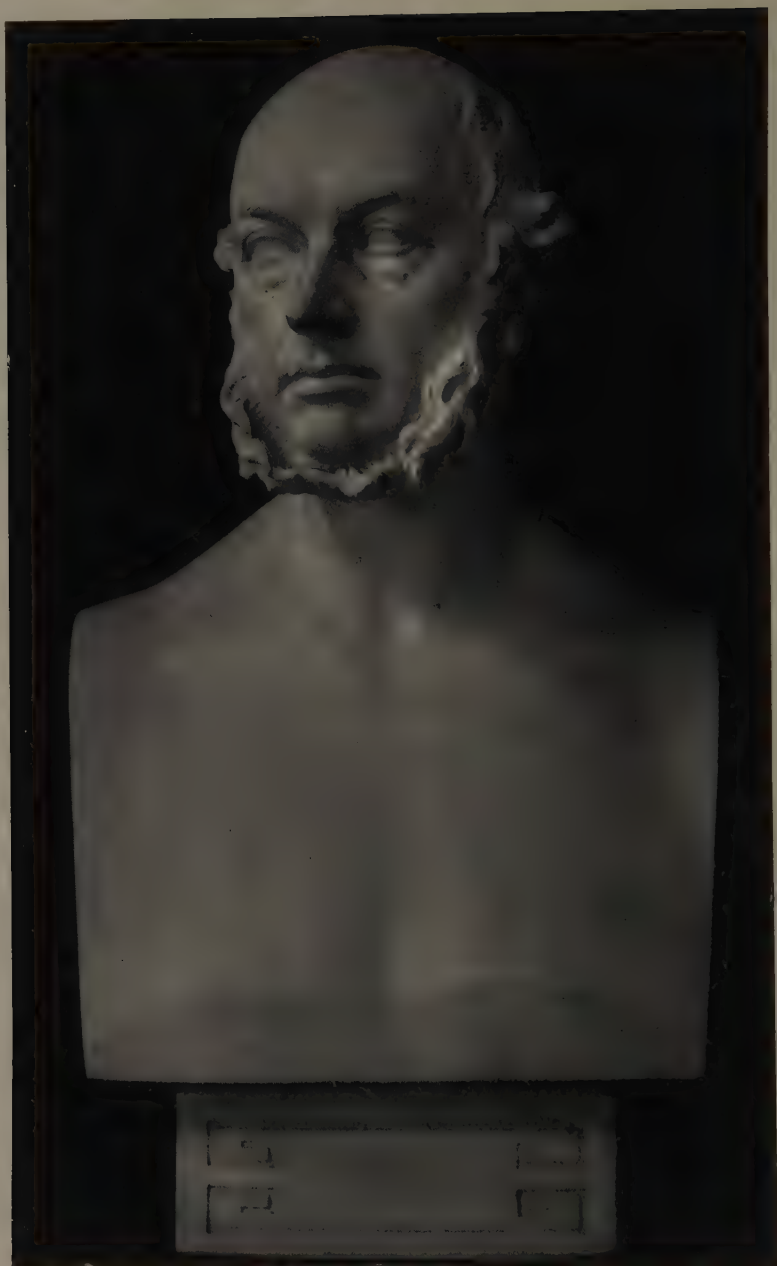
³ The system of a rota of Vice-Presidents was instituted in his time. See letter from Franks to Hope, 17 Dec. 1890, Ants. Corr.

⁴ Ouvry in his Presidential Address for 1877 also took the line that an interest in archaeological pursuits was on the wane and that new men were not arising to take the place of those removed by death.



The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House. The Staircase

By Banks & Barry, 1873



Frederic Ouvry, President 1876-8, by Marshall Wood

Society of Antiquaries

who by leisure and learning and the confidence of their literary and scientific compeers, are competent to undertake tasks so great as those I have indicated?' The only solution he offered was the exercise of greater care and discrimination in the choice of Fellows.¹

The Society seems to have remained unmoved by such parliamentary oratory. They were, however, quick to realize that Carnarvon did not like Franks, and was stressing the delay in the publication of the *Archaeologia* for which, as Director, Franks was responsible. Knight Watson suggested that he should be appointed a paid sub-editor, and this was agreed to for three years.² Arrears were not made up, and on 12 March 1880 a special meeting of Council was held to consider the arrears and the appointment of a new Director, Franks having resigned. The officers had already met and had agreed to offer the post to Milman, a barrister nephew of Octavius Morgan's, with an allowance for expenses. Franks insisted that the question of an allowance must go to the Society in general, but the Council did not consider it necessary, and Milman's appointment with the honorarium of £100 a year was recommended to the Society by the President at the Anniversary of 1880.

Carnarvon was beginning to learn how to catch the tone of the Society and this year modified the vast schemes he had advocated earlier. The Treasury had turned down the proposals he had put forward on behalf of the Society for printing records, and he had come to think that these, and the plan of his archaeological survey, had perhaps been too detailed. 'Would it not', he announced, 'on the whole be wiser to try and induce the Government to appoint an Historical Monuments Commission, composed for the most part of representative members of the three great Societies of the three Kingdoms?'

He descended to particulars with the news that the hour of meeting was under consideration, as the Royal Society had changed theirs from 8.30 to 4.30.

In 1882 the deaths of an unusual number of Fellows, including Ouvry, Dean Stanley, and the architects Decimus Burton and G. E. Street, induced the President to revert to the custom of including obituaries in his address, but in 1883 they were again omitted.

The secretarial and editorial arrangements were still not working very smoothly. Knight Watson was beginning to have a general sense of grievance against the Society, and such a feeling was not likely to be soothed by Carnarvon. In 1879³ Watson wrote to the

¹ It was probably owing to him that more Fellows were nominated at this time *honoris causa*, i.e. on a paper signed by the President and Council at a session of the Council.

² Finance Committee, 31 Mar. 1879. He received an extra £100 a year.

³ Finance Committee, 31 Mar.

President to say that the Secretary's salary of £350 was inadequate, and that he asked the Council to consider what they required in the Secretary.

'He ought to combine very varied qualifications. To keep Minutes and to conduct the correspondence of the Society in his own language and all with his own hand, is by no means the most onerous part of his duties. He must be conversant with languages foreign and dead, for he must conduct correspondence in both. He must be a librarian sufficiently versed in Bibliography to make Catalogues of the Library. To Fellows who use the Library he is constantly called upon to give information, or the clue to get it. Practically he is in great measure responsible for the Evening Meetings. He is Curator of the Society's Collections, and as Resident Officer he is liable to be called on at all hours even during the holidays. He has to arrange with Artists about estimates for drawings and in short to discharge a very large number of duties.'

He told them that while transferring the Library to Burlington House he had worked for ten or twelve hours a day for weeks without extra remuneration. The Finance Committee replied very politely, but did not recommend an increase in salary.

In 1883¹ Knight Watson once more wrote to the President, this time on the apportionment of the editorial work. He declared that Franks did less and less and he more and more, and suggested that he should take over the *Proceedings* altogether for a suitable remuneration.

The Library Committee had not met since July 1869, but was again summoned in 1883. A new catalogue was envisaged and begun by Watson; but two years later it was still incomplete and had to be finished professionally before it could be printed in 1886.²

Trouble was brewing, and in March 1885 a memorial was in circulation, signed by Spencer Perceval as Treasurer and by a number of Fellows, drawing attention to various minor laxities on the part of Knight Watson. At the Council on 25 March a letter was read from the President deprecating it as likely to cause 'controversy and personal irritation'. At the same meeting Knight Watson handed in his resignation, on grounds of health, to take effect at Michaelmas. He said that he did so partly in the interests of the peace of the Society. 'I would rather struggle on as best I can with impaired and impoverished means, than shrink from any sacrifice which may on any grounds be thought desirable to promote peace and harmony in the Society. By my own act and deed I am parting from the Society—my own desire is that we should part good friends.' This was achieved. Knight Watson duly retired, after twenty-five years' service, and his salary of £350 was continued as a pension.³

¹ Council, 4 July.

² *Ibid.*, 26 Nov. 1884.

³ Finance Committee, 4 May; Council, 22 May; Meeting, 11 June 1885.

Such generosity reflected a healthy financial position, even though the balance was partly due to arrears of publication. In 1875 the Treasurer had £1,000 in hand, and the Society £11,000 in Consols, as well as the holdings of the Stevenson Bequest which produced nearly £300 a year. In 1884 the Consols, which had risen to £13,000, were sold, and the money invested in Metropolitan Board of Works 3 per cent. stock.¹

In 1885 it was proposed and passed that the limit on the number of Fellows should be lifted from six hundred to seven hundred, and the composition fee raised from twenty-five to thirty guineas. Six years later it was proposed that the subscription should be raised from two to three guineas, the increased subscription being voluntary for Fellows already elected;² and the composition fee raised to fifty guineas. Discussion trailed on for years; the proposal was only passed in June 1892, with effect from the following January.³ The delay may have been in some measure due to the sudden death of the Treasurer, Charles Spencer Perceval, in 1889.⁴ Edwin Freshfield was nominated his successor, and held office until 1898.

By 1890 membership had risen to 673.⁵ In 1887 just over fifty new members were elected. The Society was no longer fashionable in the social sense—in 1870 it numbered only fifteen peers—but it could command the adherence of the bulk of informed archaeologists in the provinces as in London.⁶ In 1890 more than half the Fellows gave no London address.⁷ A great number of them were collectors on a modest scale; their interests are reflected in the immense number of small objects exhibited at the meetings⁸ and recorded (and often illustrated) in the *Proceedings*.⁹ In 1886, for example, far more meetings were taken up by such exhibits than by long papers. The principle was stressed that the objects exhibited should not have been seen elsewhere, at all events recently, and their great number illustrates, as few things could, the wealth of English mid-Victorian collections.

¹ Finance Committee, 4 May; Meeting, 2 July.

² Finance Committee, 15 July 1891; Council, 16 Dec. 1891; 20 Jan. 1892; 6 Apr. 1892; 18 May 1892; 22 June 1892; 4 Nov. 1892; 9 Dec. 1892.

³ Circular, 16 June. The meeting of 22 June carried it by 64 to 13, and that of 9 Dec. confirmed it by 32 to 5.

⁴ Council, 6 Feb.

⁵ The tradition of Royal Fellows was maintained by the election of the Duke of Cambridge (2 Mar. 1876) and Prince Leopold (30 Nov. 1876).

⁶ 353 out of 674.

⁷ There was, however, still some ignorance about the Society. In Jan. 1891 a Minister (as he honestly said, not recognized by the Church of England or by Nonconformity, but known to the Bishop of London) wrote to ask: 'Do you require an Examination? . . . I should prefer to write Papers and to submit them to the criticism of your Society.' Ants. Corr.

⁸ A circular of 9 Nov. 1885 states that it is proposed to send out a weekly notice of papers and exhibitions for the ensuing meeting to Fellows who are willing to pay 2s. a year for postage.

⁹ Their scope may be illustrated by the example of the Sancy diamond, which Mr. J. Garrard exhibited on 7 Apr. 1892.

The Antiquaries remained, it is fair to say, curiously true to type, even in their eccentricities. It is easy to see why the Executive returned a candidate's paper to his proposer for emendation on the grounds that 'anything unusual in the wording has generally been found to act prejudicially at the ballot'. There was a good deal of blackballing by a clique of Fellows who rarely attended other meetings. It did not often reach the point of exclusion, though Rider Haggard was blackballed in 1891, no doubt as a popular writer under suspicion of plagiarism.¹

In 1891 the President commented on the practice of blackballing in his Anniversary Address.

'Hardly a ballot passes [he said] but what I am sure to find a certain number of black balls in almost every one of the boxes, and this irrespective of the position and qualifications of the gentleman proposed for election. Even those brought forward by the Council for election, *honoris causa*, are not exempt from attack. Now I am far from saying that none but eligible candidates are proposed for the Fellowship, or that the right of the Fellows to exclude all possibly unfit persons from the Society should in any way be curtailed. My experience, however, leads me to the conclusion that this privilege of voting against the admission of certain persons into our body is not infrequently exercised in a manner that is absolutely capricious and unreasonable, and it appears to me that the way in which our ballots are conducted conduces to this unfortunate result.

The certificates of fifteen candidates are set up in a row like so many targets to be shot at, and as the attendance at a ballot meeting rarely exceeds sixty or seventy, and one black ball in five excludes, it is in the power—and this power is not infrequently exercised—of about twelve or fourteen Fellows to exclude any one, or even all of the candidates. In fact, the election of a new Fellow depends, not upon the general wish of the Society, but on the fact that one-fiftieth part of their body has abstained from voting against him.'

He advised that the Society should revert for a time to the old practice of having a few members balloted for at ordinary meetings. He referred the matter to Council, who put it up for ballot at the meeting of 3 December, when it was carried by twenty-nine against twelve. At the Anniversary of 1892 he was able to report that it was working well.

The increase in membership, and the fact that many Fellows were collectors, were reflected in many gifts to the Society. At the Anniversary Meeting of 1874 it was announced that Albert Way had left the Society an important collection of books, many of them of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; some four thousand impressions and casts of medieval seals were a little later given to the Society by his widow.² At the following Anniversary the President announced Franks's gift of his collection of brass rubbings, which

¹ His publisher, C. J. Longman, resigned as a protest against the vote.

² A selection was exhibited at the meeting of 21 Jan. 1875.

made the Society's *corpus* of rubbings the most important in England.

In 1876¹ Ouvry had commemorated his election as President by the gift of a portrait of William Oldys, an early Fellow, by Dahl, and William Smith presented a miniature of Lord Strangford, formerly Director, by William Haines.² In 1878 the gift was announced of a facsimile in silver of the Woolfe Tankard.³ Thomas Wright had resigned from the Society in 1873,⁴ and had been out of his mind for some years before his death. Most Fellows—except the faithful Roach Smith—had been glad to forget him. In 1879 a bust of him by Durham was bought by public subscription. When it was first offered to the Society⁵ they did not accept it, but finally they had to do so.⁶ It was received at the same meeting⁷ as a bust of Ouvry by Marshall Wood, presented by his widow, which was accepted with very different feelings.

In 1880 the Society was given a remarkable series of paintings of Saxon kings from Baston Manor, dating from about 1480, by Mrs. Elizabeth Branson.⁸ In 1883⁹ Thomas Milles, a descendant of Dean Milles, offered the Society his bust and portrait. The bust was at once accepted, and having compared the portrait with the copy in their possession¹⁰ the Council decided to keep both.

In 1882¹¹ Franks presented a collection of some hundred and sixty architectural drawings by Samuel Lysons, and in the following year¹² J. E. Hodgkin a manuscript by Stukeley on the Society's arms. In 1886¹³ W. Maskell presented a painting of Christ with donors and patron saints, made for Jean Parmentier of Montdidier in 1519, and in 1888 Admiral Sprat bequeathed the Society a Corinthian capital.¹⁴ In 1891 the Society received the Wiltshire Collections of the Rev. J. E. Jackson, F.S.A., from his executor,¹⁵ and at the same time accepted the Wakeman Monmouthshire Collections from the Director, Milman, and the Fowler Collection of copperplates of Roman antiquities.¹⁶

¹ Meeting, 20 Jan.

² *Ibid.*, 30 Mar. 1876. The miniature had been exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1876.

³ The facsimile was made in 1867. It is sometimes used for ballots at the Executive Committee.

⁴ 16 Nov.

⁵ Council, 20 Jan. 1880.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 16 Mar. 1880.

⁷ 22 Nov. 1881.

⁸ Council, 22 June 1880. They had been shown and described at the meeting of 17 June. They had originally been discovered by Kempe about 1813; he read a paper on them to the Society, illustrated by drawings by Stothard, on 4 Mar. 1860. On 1 Apr. he exhibited the originals, then the property of Mr. Samuel Ward. Mrs. Branson was Mr. Ward's daughter.

⁹ Council, 21 Feb.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 Mar. 1883. See above, p. 181, n.2.

¹¹ Meeting, 15 June.

¹² *Ibid.*, 5 Apr. In 1885 the insurance on the Society's property was increased to £16,300.

¹³ Meeting, 16 Dec.

¹⁴ *Ants. Corr.*

¹⁵ Council, 15 Apr.

¹⁶ Meeting, 16 Apr. 1891.

Carnarvon was clearly reluctant to resign the Chair when his seven years' tenure was up in 1885. He informed the Council held on 15 April:

'with regard to his successor he ventured to suggest that partly on account of pressure of time which left little room for entering on the relative merits of what he might call a social and a professional President, respectively, and still more on account of the discussions, proposals and counter proposals which seemed to be imminent, the Council on the present occasion should come to an understanding that they would not today place on the House List a permanent or rather a Septennial President. Whoever took office as President on the 23rd April would take it, he submitted, on a tacit and honourable understanding that in preparing the House List for the Anniversary of 1886 his name might no longer be retained. In casting about for someone who might without impropriety be requested to accept office on this provisional footing he naturally thought first of all of the Vice-Presidents: and the proposal which he came prepared to make to the Council was that one of the Vice-Presidents should be asked to allow himself to be put in nomination for a year. Of course he was aware that technically the President and all the Officers of the Society were only elected from year to year, but he was sure the Council would understand the distinction he meant to draw.

The Council signified their assent to this provisional arrangement and expressed a hope that Lord Carnarvon might be induced to resume office in 1886.

Dr. William Smith having declined to be put in nomination, and Dr. Edwin Freshfield having expressed his extreme unwillingness to divide the Council or the Society, after more discussion the Council resolved unanimously to request Mr. Evans to allow himself to be put in nomination.'

At the Anniversary Meeting John Evans was duly elected. Much of Carnarvon's farewell address on that day was devoted to the question of the duration of the President's tenure; he clearly regretted its limitation. He still thought the Society not what it might be, and still harped on the fact that the *Archaeologia* was three years in arrears.

'Scholars and archaeologists [he declared] hesitate to bring the results of their labours and discoveries to the Society when they know that a paper may be here for years before it finds its way into the pages of the *Archaeologia*. Scholars and Archaeologists want, not only publicity, but immediate publicity. They do not wish to be anticipated at Berlin, or Paris, or Vienna, and when they find such delays intervene between the reading and the publishing of a paper they either take their Memoirs elsewhere or publish them in a separate form. It is thus we lose papers of the highest value, and that the Society's reputation suffers.'

Carnarvon's successor, John Evans, was his antitype. He was in 1885 a man of sixty-two, who had just achieved a modicum of leisure by turning the firm of paper-makers which he had directed for many years into a limited company. He took no part in politics,

though he did much county work in Hertfordshire, and had not the entrée to fashionable society. He had never been to a university, though his father, the headmaster of a country Grammar School, had given him a good classical education. Through his studies in geology¹ he had achieved eminence as a prehistorian and through many years of collecting and studying coins had acquired a sound and objective knowledge of history. His long and close friendship with Franks had initiated him into the decorative arts. He might, indeed, have claimed to be one of the last of the polymathic archaeologists; but he was not given to making claims. He was unusually experienced in the affairs of learned societies. He had been President of the Geological Society from 1874 to 1876, Vice-President of the Royal Society from 1876 and Treasurer since 1878, and President of the Anthropological Institute from 1877 to 1878. He had been President of the Numismatic Society since 1874, and was to hold the office for the rest of his life. He was clearly what Carnarvon called a 'professional President', though circumstances had not permitted him to make learning his profession. He was, perhaps, chiefly valuable to the Society—and most different from his predecessor—in his experience of the learned world, his assiduous attendance,² his business-like exactitude, and his warm and unpretentious courtesy.

His first administrative task was to settle the question of the Secretaryship. A sub-committee had been appointed,³ which reported that it recommended that the Secretary's apartments should be reduced and his rooms on the ground floor and mezzanine taken over by the Society. They advised that the office of Director should lapse, and that two secretaries, who might be paid, should be annually elected out of the Council. They would take all minutes, read the papers at the evening meetings, supervise the publications, museum, and libraries, conduct the general business of the Society, give orders to the rest of the staff, and be *ex officio* on all committees. A paid Assistant Secretary, not a Fellow, should be resident, give whole-time service to the Society, and be in charge of the Library and the Museum.

A minority report by the Treasurer and Vice-President, Edwin Freshfield, expressed the view that the former difficulties had lain in double control by the Secretary and Director. In his view one was enough, by whichever title he was known, with a resident working assistant.

¹ He declared that he had learned much from looking at the then bare railway cuttings on business journeys by train.

² He attended the Executive Committee *ex officio* as Carnarvon had not done, but the Director (Milman) took the Chair. After 11 Mar. 1886 the President and Director presided alternately. At the present time the President always presides if there, and in his absence the Treasurer.

³ Council, 15 April 1885.

The Council thankfully took over the Secretary's two best rooms. His dining-room, opening from the Hall, became the coffee-room, and his drawing-room, opening off the Library, the Council Room.¹

The Council ultimately decided to retain the office of Director, and to appoint a Secretary, who should be a Fellow and receive no honorarium of any kind, and an Assistant Resident Secretary, who should receive £200 a year and rooms. An advertisement was inserted² in the London papers inviting applications for the post from men between twenty-five and thirty-five, preferably graduates of a University. Seventy-five applicants presented themselves, and William St. John Hope, a Master of Arts of Cambridge and already a Fellow, was chosen.³ Early in 1886⁴ the Hon. Harold Arthur Dillon was proposed for the honorary secretaryship, and duly elected.

St. John Hope proved an admirable choice, worthy to stand beside Richard Gough among the Society's officers. His interests lay in the medieval field; he had a considerable knowledge of heraldry and of the minor arts, and a marked capacity for seeing the essentials of an ancient building. Carnarvon, before he went, had stressed the importance of the Resident Secretary's being a good Latin scholar, in order that he might be able to correspond with foreigners in that tongue. Hope's Latin was adequate, but unfortunately he refused to speak foreign languages to alien visitors, and in consequence tended to have an aversion to foreigners.⁵ A man of handsome presence and easy address, he was otherwise well fitted to represent the Society to strangers; and his energy and alertness of mind made him an interesting if not always an easy man to work with. He was married, and his son (to whom Evans stood godfather) was born at Burlington House.

The Council met on 7 April 1886 to decide whom they should nominate for election as President at the Anniversary Meeting. Their choice fell on John Evans, who was duly elected.⁶ His first Presidential Address was largely occupied by an *éloge* of Worsaae, and of other Fellows, including Lord Houghton, Joseph Mayer, Samuel Birch-Vaux, and Henry Bradshaw, who had lately died. He was able to announce that the arrears of the *Archaeologia* and of the *Proceedings* had been nearly made up, and that the Library Catalogue was well under way. In June he and his wife gave an

¹ It served at other times as an annex to the Library. In 1889 a number of Fellows complained of talking in the Library, and the Council Room was turned into a silence-room.

² 4 July 1885.

³ His formal resignation of his Fellowship was announced at the Anniversary Meeting of 1886.

⁴ Council, 20 Jan.; Meetings, 21 Jan. and 4 Feb.

⁵ I owe this information to the kindness of the late Sir John Myres.

⁶ Lord Carnarvon died in 1890; a vote of condolence was passed by Council on 16 July.

evening party in the Society's rooms to Fellows and their ladies, with exhibits of every kind from his own palaeoliths and Pitt-Rivers's models of Romano-British villages to the Society's illuminated manuscripts, broadsides, and drawings. In subsequent years exhibitions (and often a reception) were held: in 1886 of nearly all the known medieval mazers,¹ in 1887 of English medieval embroideries,² and in 1888 of maces and swords of state.³ These exhibitions owed everything to the learning and energy of St. John Hope.

Evans's presidency, like Ouvry's, produced no upheavals. New iron staircases to the Library gallery were put in, and the old stairs removed to give more space for books; an index to the first fifty volumes of the *Archaeologia* was prepared⁴ and published.⁵ In 1887 the Antiquaries combined with the Royal Society to install electric light,⁶ though as its supply was not altogether certain the porter was always sent out before a meeting to hire a few oil lamps for the evening in case it failed.⁷

The only problem that arose was the unauthorized use of the initials F.S.A. by persons not Fellows of the Society. The abuse had been reported as early as 1854,⁸ but did not become serious until the nineties, when architects, accountants, and members of the Royal Society of Arts were all found guilty. Finally in 1891⁹ a memorial was sent to the Lord President of the Privy Council on behalf of all the societies at Burlington House, praying the Government to bring in a Bill for the proper registration of learned societies and their protection from the unauthorized use of initials denoting fellowship therein.

Evans's presidency saw two innovations. In 1888 the President received a letter from the Rev. Dr. J. C. Cox¹⁰ enclosing a memorial, signed by a number of Fellows, asking that an Archaeological Conference should be summoned by the Society for the better organization of antiquarian research. The memorial was duly sent to the Executive Committee which decided¹¹ that a congress of delegates of the leading antiquarian societies of England and Wales should be held in the Society's rooms, to consider the better

¹ 21 Jan.² Executive, 30 June.³ 20 and 21 June.⁴ Council, 20 Apr. 1887.⁵ Ibid., 7 May 1889; it was seen through the press by Hope and Mill Stephenson, to whom honoraria were paid.⁶ A Special Committee was set up by the Council, 13 July 1887. It met on 7 Dec. and approved the plan. It was installed at a cost of some £600 in 1887. In July 1891 they changed from batteries to mains.⁷ I owe this information to Mr. Maurice Hope.⁸ Executive, 14 Dec. In 1847 Hume had complained (*Learned Societies and Printing Clubs of the United Kingdom*, p. 11) that some Fellows prefaced 'Royal' to the Society's title and made it indistinguishable from the Royal Astronomical and Royal Asiatic Societies.⁹ Council, 23 Apr.¹⁰ Ibid., 13 June.¹¹ 5 July.

organization of research and the preservation of ancient monuments and records. Further aims were to be the reporting of discoveries, the listing of objects and monuments, the planning of archaeological surveys, and the delimitation and encouragement of local societies.

The first conference was held, with Evans in the Chair, on 15 November 1888. It was adjourned to 7 May 1889, with a view to forming a register of 'Societies in Union'. A further congress was held on 17 July, when such subjects as the publication of archaeological maps, the preservation of ancient monuments and buildings, and the publication of parish registers were considered. Further meetings were agreed on, and in fact the Congress of Archaeological Societies continued to meet annually for many years.

The second scheme was due to the President's personal initiative. In November 1889¹ he announced that he wished to start a research fund, with a gift of £500 preference shares in his paper-mill. A circular was sent out² inviting further subscriptions, and by the Anniversary Meeting of 1890 over £1,800 stood in the fund. In March it was possible to give a grant of £50, half from the general funds of the Society and half from the income of the Research Fund, to excavations at Silchester.³ The fund, which has grown with the years, is still an important instrument in the Society's activities. Its grants have often to be of a token kind, but they carry with them the official approval of the Society.

The Society's efforts to preserve ancient monuments of all kinds became more energetic, though no attempt was made to develop the Preservation Fund. Much interest was being taken in the matter by foreign governments. In 1875 the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador wrote to Lord Derby, as Foreign Secretary, to ask on behalf of the Central Commission for Ancient Monuments of his country what was done in England to protect them. The Foreign Secretary wrote to the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries to inquire, and the reply was read at the meeting of 25 November 1875.

'This Society deeply regrets that no legislative machinery is in this country available for the conservation of monuments of the character specified. This Society indeed has ever felt it to be its duty, as it has certainly been its desire, to do all in its power by way of protests, emanating either from the governing body or from the Society at large, to rescue from destruction, or from the almost equally pernicious process of restoration, the noble remains of domestic and ecclesiastical architecture, which are to be found all over England. But such protests are too often sterile in their results, because they are unable to summon to their aid the strong arm of the law.'

The lists of sepulchral monuments which they had prepared had been ignored; Sir John Lubbock's attempts to get a Bill passed had

¹ Council, 27 Nov.

² 23 Jan. 1890.

³ Council, 19 Mar. 1890. On 18 June 1890 Hope was authorized to work there.

proved abortive; and it was time that the Government did something in the matter.

Fortified by this correspondence, the Society three weeks later¹ addressed a letter to Disraeli on 'the propriety of bringing over to this country the prostrate obelisk presented to Great Britain by the Government of Egypt in recognition of the services we rendered to that country by flood and field.

The removal of this remarkable monolith, so long neglected, can no longer be delayed with impunity. . . . Disraeli's reply was unfavourable.²

At the Anniversary Meeting of 1877 Ouvry, as President, had been able to report that John Lubbock's Bill for the protection of prehistoric monuments had passed its second reading, in spite of Government opposition.

'For my own part [he continued] I should welcome the day when the Conservation of monuments, both prehistoric and historic, should be placed under the charge of this Society, duly subsidized by the Government to carry out such measures as might be thought necessary for the ends in view. In the same way that grants are made, and most properly made, to the Royal Society to promote objects of scientific research, I should like to see grants made to the Society of Antiquaries to preserve the records of the past, not so much from the ravage of time and of decay, as from the far more noxious influences of 'restoring' committees, aided by injudicious architects.'

On 19 February 1879 a special meeting of the Council was summoned to confer with Lubbock on his Bill, which he was still pressing on a reluctant House. In the end Lubbock could not be present, but Carnarvon, as President, had brought forward a letter 'from a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. Stanley Leighton, in which the writer urged that the Archaeological Societies, viz. this Society for England, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for Scotland and the Royal Irish Academy for Ireland, ought to undertake the work contemplated by the Bill and to defray the expense out of their own collective or individual resources. His Lordship expressed his concurrence in Mr. Stanley's suggestion as to the Bodies named by him for carrying out the provision of such a measure but could not at all satisfy himself that Mr. Leighton was justified in expecting that they could bear the expense of the work.

The President's wish was to ascertain the feeling of the Council on the subject. It was very probable that Sir John Lubbock would be present on Thursday next when a Paper on the Megalithic Remains of Holland would naturally lead up to a discussion of this measure and he was anxious to know what attitude it would be desirable to assume towards the Bill. For his own part, though he

¹ 18 Dec. 1875. *Ants. Corr.*

² The matter was brought up at the meeting of 6 Dec. 1875, by Major-Gen. Sir James Alexander. There had already been some correspondence in 1867, when Disraeli consulted the Trustees of the British Museum who advised against the plan on the ground that the hieroglyphics on the obelisk were not clear. The obelisk was finally set up in 1878.

ventured to think that the Bill was somewhat complicated and that the Societies named by Mr. Leighton might with advantage be substituted for the Trustees of the British Museum, still he would strongly deprecate the Council or the Society taking any step which might in any way imperil the passing of the Bill.'

A week later Franks read a translation of a paper by Worsaae on the preservation of ancient monuments in Denmark to provide them with a comparison for the proposed legislation in England. The Society decided to support Lubbock's Bill, and at the Anniversary of 1879 the President (Carnarvon) reported that he was in charge of it in the Lords.

At the Council of 17 June 1879 it was proposed by H. H. Howorth that a committee should be set up to implement the suggestions made by the President in his Anniversary Address: an archaeological survey, or at least a register of prehistoric monuments, a *Codex Diplomaticus*, and the publication of the Pipe Rolls and other records. It was not a wise suggestion, for it not only brought in the whole question of historical documents into a discussion of the preservation of monuments, but also tended to make the Society appear as offering alternatives to Lubbock's Bill. However, a committee was duly appointed,¹ which recommended² that a memorial should be sent to the Treasury asking for a grant of £2,000 in aid of the publication of historical documents under the direction of the Society, to supplement the Rolls Series. The Council generally approved, and it was duly sent in.

In December³ a reply was received from the Treasury saying that no vote for such a grant could be included in the estimate for the current year. The Council agreed to wait for a more favourable opportunity.

At the meeting of 19 February 1880 attention was called to the fact that the House of Commons had, by a majority of one, amended Lubbock's Bill to make the three great antiquarian societies of the three kingdoms Commissioners, instead of the Trustees of the British Museum.

On 11 March Carnarvon entered the meeting-room as the paper ended, to tell the Society that the Bill had been thrown out, chiefly because it was held to involve unjust interference with the rights of private property.

In 1881 Sir John Lubbock returned to the attack. At the Council on 22 February a letter from him to the President was read, saying that he proposed that year to proceed by resolution, as it was hopeless for a private member to carry an opposed Bill. A resolution of

¹ Reported to meeting, 27 Nov. 1879.

² Council, 25 Nov. 1879; the memorial (Ants. Corr.) is dated 28 Nov.

³ Council, 16 Dec. 1879.

sympathy with his renewed effort was passed, but it was evident that the Society was divided on questions of detail.

On 18 August 1882 Lubbock's Bill became law as the Ancient Monuments Protection Act. It gave the owner of any ancient monument the right to constitute the Commissioners of Works guardians of the monument, without giving up his own title to it, and charged the Commissioners with its maintenance at the public expense. It provided for the appointment of one or more inspectors of such monuments, and for penalties against those who injured or defaced them. It included a schedule of monuments which were to be included *ab initio*, all of them tumuli, dolmens, or stone circles.

Carnarvon reported to the Anniversary Meeting of 1883 that, though mutilated and crippled, it was still a Bill. Pitt-Rivers was appointed Chief Inspector. In 1886¹ a letter from him was sent by direction of the Council to all Local Secretaries, asking them what prehistoric monuments in their area should be scheduled.

At the Anniversary of 1887 Evans commented on another Act, which had modified the law of Treasure Trove. Under it finders were to receive not the mere bullion value of their find, but its true value, less 20 or 10 per cent. He strongly deprecated this diminution, together with the lapse of time before any payment was made.²

The Society continued its own official efforts to prevent the destruction of ancient monuments. In 1887³ the Council revoked the diploma of the Local Secretary for Somerset because of the treatment of the Roman Baths at Bath by a committee of which he was a member.

Most of the Society's activities in preservation were concerned with medieval buildings.⁴ There were here two dangerous points of view to be combated. On the one hand there was that of the owner of the remains of Glastonbury Abbey, who, when he was told they were in a bad state of repair, replied: 'Well, they are ruins now, and if they fall they will be ruins still won't they? What do you want more?'⁵ On the other hand was the danger of reckless restoration.

St. Albans Abbey was the most debated and probably the worst instance of such restoration. As early as 1832⁶ John Gage had drawn attention to injuries which it had recently sustained. As early as 1856 a scheme was afoot to restore the building and to make it

¹ 30 June.

² The Council of 28 Apr. 1911 set up a Special Treasure Trove Committee, which in 1912 reported to the Treasury.

³ Council, 22 Feb. The matter was discussed at length at the meetings of 3 Mar. and 10 Mar., and on 16 Mar. the diploma was restored to Major C. E. Davies with a strong reprimand. He was the City architect and in that capacity had built new walls and pilasters on the Roman bases. On further excavations see W. H. Knowles in *Arch.* lxxv. 1, a paper read on 20 Nov. 1924.

⁴ Among these was the Eleanor Cross at Waltham, first protected by the Society in 1718. On 13 July 1887 the Council subscribed £5 towards its necessary repair.

⁵ Letter from Rev. J. A. Bennett, *Ants. Corr.* 1889.

⁶ Meeting, 31 May.

the seat of a bishopric. By 1871 £7,000 had been collected, and in the next year work was begun, on a conservative basis.

In 1877 a benefactor came forward in the person of Sir Edmund Beckett (later Lord Grimthorpe), who so dazzled the authorities by his munificence that they were prepared to let him do what he liked with the abbey. John Evans, who lived near St. Albans, was one of the first to oppose Beckett's schemes of destruction; and Lord Carnarvon, whose views on such restorations were sound, sent a letter to be read at the first meeting of the session 1878-9 to protest against Beckett's plan to substitute a high-pitched modern roof for the surviving medieval one. The meeting of 28 November¹ was devoted to the subject, and a resolution against it was passed without a dissentient voice; but the Bishop replied rudely to the protest and Beckett had his way. At the Anniversary Meeting of 1879 Carnarvon spoke of St. Albans as the chief question of the year. 'I shall not here seek to revive a recollection of the singular manner in which, whether by argument or language, this remonstrance was met. The style adopted was happily so unusual that it probably remains fresh in your memory, though as a lesson written for our warning, rather than our imitation.'

The battle over the west front was waged chiefly in Hertfordshire by John Evans,² but the Antiquaries were behind him, and as late as 1885 the Society was still protesting in vain.³ In that year Beckett began to turn his munificent attentions to Lincoln's Inn and the Society had to protest⁴ (this time successfully) against the threatened demolition of the Gatehouse Court, together with the chapel, hall, and two ranges of chambers.

The Antiquaries were able to put a stop to other nefarious schemes. They successfully opposed the proposals to pull down the Guildhall at Worcester,⁵ Ashburnham House,⁶ and to carry railways through the precincts of Norwich Cathedral⁷ and through the Cursus at Stonehenge.⁸ Their protest against the defacement of the Coronation Chair with brown varnish in preparation for the Thanksgiving Service for Queen Victoria's Jubilee⁹ led to its removal. The Society wrote strongly against the removal of the pulpitum at Rochester,¹⁰ which Hole, the Dean, was pressing upon a reluctant Chapter. Finally the Dean wrote to John Evans as President:¹¹ 'You will be as delighted to read, as I am disappointed to write, that Mr. Pearson's design for substituting a Stone Open

¹ See also Council, 26 Nov.

² See Joan Evans, *Time and Chance*, p. 152.

³ Further accounts were given in the Anniversary Address for 1890.

⁴ 10 Dec. 1885.

⁵ 11 May 1876. The opposition is noteworthy as the building is of about 1700.

⁶ Meeting, 1 Dec. 1881. The house is now (1954) believed to be doomed.

⁷ Mar. 1882.

⁸ 22 Feb. 1883.

⁹ 23 June 1887.

¹⁰ Meeting, 20 June 1889.

¹¹ *Ants. Corr.*, 1889.

Screen in place of the existing masonry between the Choir and Nave of our Cathedral has been rejected by a majority of the Chapter; but it will not be long before the desire, almost universally felt, to beautify the House, and to facilitate the Worship of GOD, will prevail over all opposition.'

In 1892 the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln proposed to pull down the north walk of the cloister and the library built over it by Wren in 1675. Once more the Antiquaries protested,¹ and after much correspondence and some publicity the Dean's plans were changed. A plan to pull down the eighteenth century north-west tower of Rochester Cathedral provoked a discussion 'whether the eighteenth century work really came within the scope of the Society's interests', but the decision that it did and that a protest should be sent was carried by a large majority.²

In other directions their protests proved fruitless. Many of the City churches were under sentence of destruction by a vandal bishop, and a long series of remonstrances from the Society³ had little effect. Their protests against the destruction of redundant parish churches in York⁴ could save but few of them. Gladstone refused to appoint a Royal Commission to report on the alienation of part of the precincts of Westminster proposed in 1882.⁵ A wave of ill-advised church restoration in Wales⁶ could not be arrested. Tadcaster Church was completely pulled down and rebuilt before the Society heard of it.⁷

It was not without reason that when Ouvry, in his Presidential Address for 1877, recorded the foundation of William Morris's Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, he did so with a reminder that Morris was not the first in the field. In December 1887⁸ the Council decided to set up a small committee to draw up a memorandum to draw attention 'to the destruction of ancient monuments all over the country under the name of restoration'. It was decided to send 'to the Archbishops, Bishops and Chancellors of Dioceses, Deans, Archdeacons and Rural Deans of the Church of England' a letter reiterating the general view of the Society. It continued:

'It is constantly the case that on visiting a 'restored' Church it is found that monuments and painted glass, of which the existence is recorded in County Histories, have not only been removed from their original positions, but are no longer forthcoming; that inscribed Slabs from tombs have been used to bridge

¹ Meeting, 24 Mar. 1892.

² Ibid., 12 May 1892.

³ Extending from Council, 21 Jan. 1878, to the Meeting, 4 May 1882. A further protest was sent from the Meeting of 17 Jan. 1889 against the proposed destruction of St. Mary le Strand.

⁴ Meeting, 17 Mar. 1885.

⁵ Letter from the Secretary, 21 Feb. 1882, Ants. Corr.

⁶ Meeting, 8 Dec. 1887.

⁷ Ibid., 2 Dec. 1875.

⁸ Ibid., 1 Dec.; Council, 14 Dec. 1887; 2 Feb. and 22 Feb. 1888.

over gutters or to receive hot-air gratings, or have been covered with tiles; that the ancient fonts have been removed, the old Communion tables destroyed, the Jacobean oak pulpits broken up or mounted on stone pedestals, and not unfrequently the old and curious Communion Plate sold. The architectural features and proportions of the Churches have in innumerable instances been modified, especially so far as regards the East windows, and the character of the Chancels generally.

The Society cannot too strongly insist on the great historical value of our ancient Parish Churches, every one of which contains in its fabric the epitome of the History of the Parish, frequently extending over many centuries. What would appear to the Society to be the duty of the guardians of these National Monuments—is not to ‘restore’ them, but to preserve them—not to pretend to put a Church back into the state in which it may be supposed to have been at any given epoch, but to preserve so far as is practicable the record of what has been its state during all the period of its history. . . .’

In all this work the Society, after his appointment as Assistant Secretary in 1885, received the most distinguished help from St. John Hope. He travelled all over England inspecting churches and other buildings that were thought to be in danger, and his detailed reports on them¹ still deserve study. In 1890 alone he reported on Kirkstall Abbey, St. Frideswide’s shrine at Oxford, and several lesser churches, as well as conducting excavations, partly at the Society’s expense, at Castleacre Priory.

The Society also played some part in promoting the preservation of ancient documents. In 1877² a protest was passed against the proposed destruction of documents in the Public Record Office as ‘wholly useless’, without great caution and further examination. In 1883³ a memorial was addressed from the Society to the Lords Commissioners, praying them to purchase the Ashburnham Manuscripts, and in 1886⁴ a committee was formed to inquire into the question of the better preservation of Court Rolls, urgent in view of the recent enfranchisement of copyholds.⁵

The Society’s publications continued unchanged. In 1887 Evans could report⁶ that thanks to St. John Hope’s efforts both *Archæologia* and the *Proceedings* were published up to date. The only innovation lay in the methods of illustration. In volume xlv, published in 1880, a paper by Fortnum on the cameos in the Royal Collection at Windsor⁷ is illustrated by four collotype plates, and another on Roman wall decoration in sectile work⁸ by coloured photo-lithographs.⁹ The coloured lithographs of a paper on the

¹ In *Ants. Corr.*

² Meeting, 1 Mar.

³ 21 Feb.; *Ants. Corr.*

⁴ Meeting, 18 Feb.

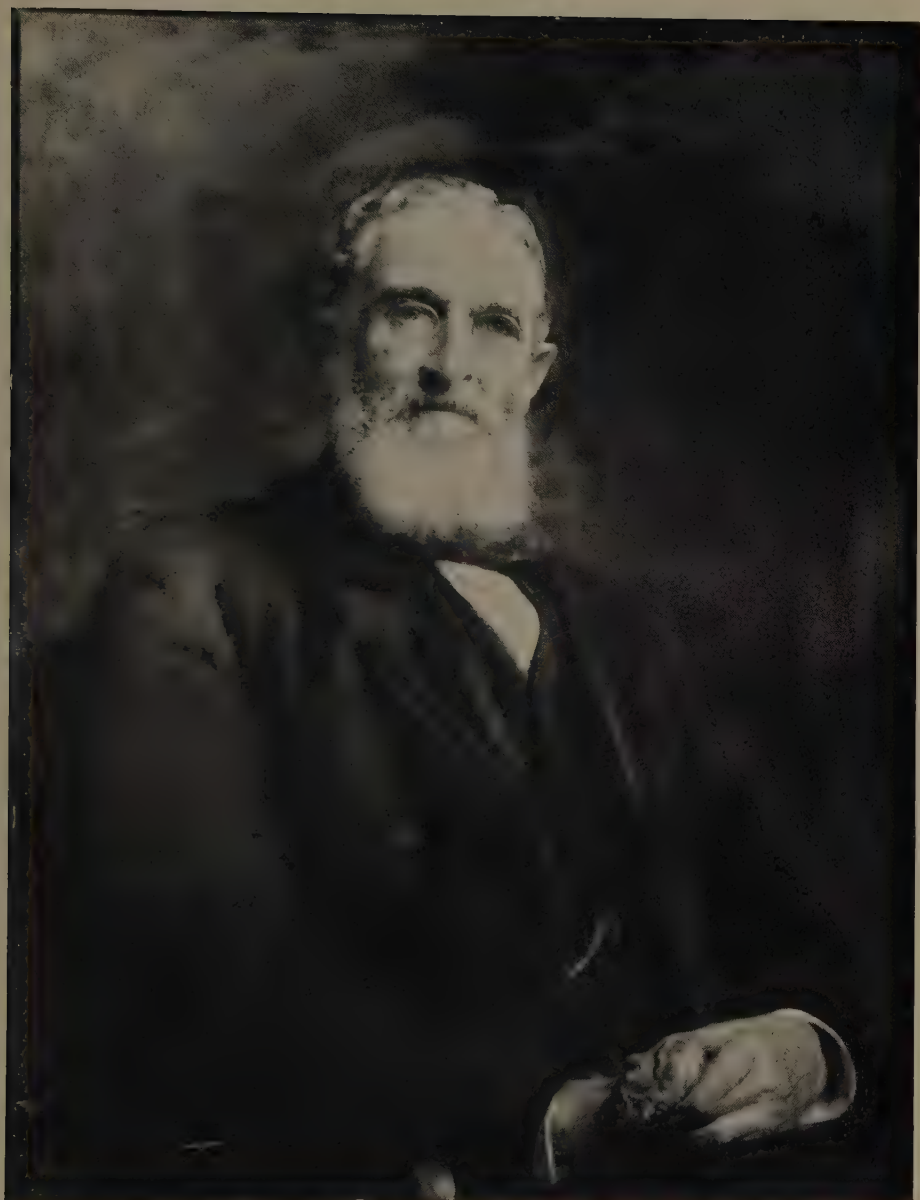
⁵ In its report, dated 18 Mar., the committee recommended local societies to take action to get them into the Record Office, British Museum, and university libraries.

⁶ Anniversary Meeting.

⁷ p. 1; read 12 Feb. 1874.

⁸ By A. Nesbitt, p. 267.

⁹ This process was also used in 1886 for J. H. Parker’s paper on *Ardea*, *Arch.* xlix. 169.



Sir John Evans, K.C.B., President 1885-92, by A. S. Cope

Royal Society



Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, K.C.B., Director 1858-67 and 1873-80,
President 1891-7, by C. Praetorius, 1897

Society of Antiquaries

Kempley wall-paintings¹ are now a valuable record of their departed glories. A dull paper on some towns in Mecklenburgh and Pomerania² is illustrated by phototypes of the author's drawings. It was still not unusual, however, for an important paper to be illustrated by old-fashioned engravings.³

In 1880⁴ the question of delivering *Archaeologia* to Fellows by a simpler method was raised, and ultimately agreed on. Fresh rules were drawn up for the distribution of offprints,⁵ and Mr. Bernard Quaritch was appointed agent for the sale of the Society's publications.⁶

Two plates⁷ of the covers of the Ashburnham Gospels were issued under Carnarvon's auspices⁸ after the manuscript had been exhibited to the Society. The *Vetusta Monumenta* has never been formally ended, but these were the last of its plates to be issued. Some fresh prints of the large plate of the Field of the Cloth of Gold were ordered to be struck off in 1887.⁹

In 1879 the Rev. W. C. Lukis worked at the survey of prehistoric monuments in Devon and Cornwall with the aid of grants from the Society. When he reported his findings to the meeting of 11 March 1880, Franks said that if sufficient support were forthcoming the Society might undertake the publication of a series of fascicules on prehistoric monuments. Carnarvon supported the plan in his Anniversary Address of 1881.

A circular was sent out before the 1883 Anniversary, stating that Lukis had 'been engaged for many years in surveying and laying down to scale the rude Stone Monuments of Brittany, the Hunnebeds of Drenthe in the Netherlands, and the same class of objects in the British Isles. He has completed the work in Cornwall and Devonshire, and is continuing it in other counties to which it is applicable.' He had placed his drawings at the Society's disposal, and if enough subscriptions were received they would publish it in parts, beginning with Cornwall. At the Anniversary Meeting it was announced that enough support had been received and that the Cornish section would be published at 15s. to subscribers. In fact this was the only part to be issued;¹⁰ at the Anniversary of 1884

¹ By J. T. Micklethwaite; *Arch.* xlv. 187.

² By A. G. Hill, 28 Feb. 1884; *Arch.* xlix. 301.

³ An instance is W. St. John Hope's paper on Mazers, read 21 Jan. 1886; *Arch.* l. 129. In 1888, however, notes on Maces were illustrated by coloured collotypes. *Arch.* li, appendix.

⁴ Executive, 23 June; 24 Nov. 1880; 15 Mar. 1883.

⁵ In John Evans's hand; *Ants. Corr.* 1885.

⁶ Council, 13 July 1887. The Executive Committee of 11 Mar. 1886 had recommended to Council that copies of the *Proceedings* should be sold to the public.

⁷ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vi, plates 47-48, 1883.

⁸ Anniversary Meeting, 1881.

⁹ Council, 16 Mar.

¹⁰ Its publication was announced at the Anniversary Meeting of 1886.

Carnarvon announced that all the drawings and most of the lithographs had been destroyed in a fire at the lithographers.

The chief progress in archaeology was made in the study of the Bronze Age period. Geikie's work on *The Great Ice Age and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man*, published in 1874, was mainly geological in its outlook, and Boyd Dawkins's *Cave Hunting* published in the same year contained little new material. Few sensational palaeolithic discoveries were recorded; the Marquis de Sautuola was excavating in the cave of Altamira in the late seventies, but hardly anyone believed in the palaeolithic date of the polychrome wall-paintings he discovered. Much was being done in Egypt. Petrie arrived in Egypt in 1879,¹ and began to excavate at the Pyramids in the following year. His publications were made through the Egypt Exploration Fund² and not through the Society, of which he was never a Fellow. His work in establishing links between Egypt and Greece at Naukratis in 1883 and between Egypt and Mycenae at Gurob and Kahun in 1891 was, however, of far more than specialist interest.

Schliemann's discoveries continued to be the chief focus of interest. In April 1874³ Charles Newton read a paper on Schliemann's finds at Hissarlik. A discussion followed in which Max Müller and Franks took part. It was agreed that the finds were pre-Hellenic, and the question of a Copper Age was raised and discussed. In 1875 Schliemann himself agreed to come to England to read a paper on the subject.⁴ The Minutes of the meeting⁵ described it as 'unusually large'. Schliemann's paper⁶ was a summary account of three years' excavations at Hissarlik. Gladstone, who attended by invitation, opened the discussion with a splendid eulogy of the lecturer; but declared that he could not believe Homer to be so remote in time as Schliemann's date for Troy.

'When many of us who are among the elders in this room were growing up,

¹ *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, p. 4.

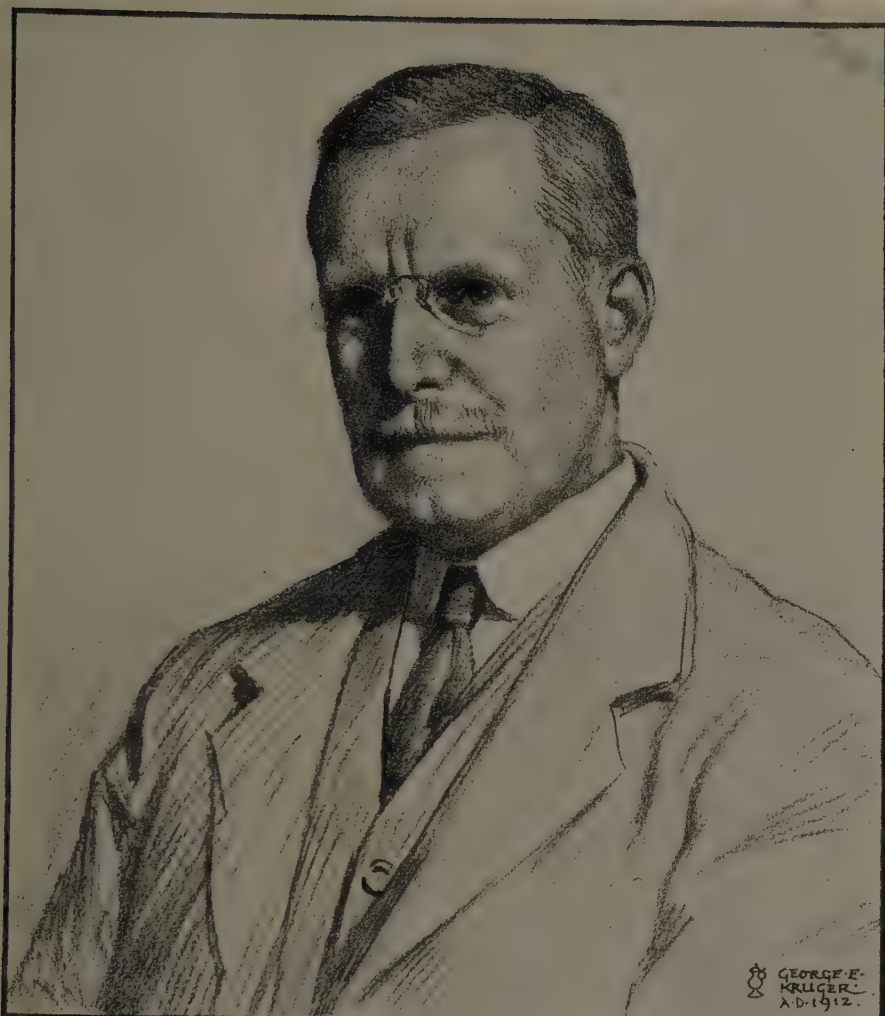
² Founded in 1883. Petrie was in charge of the Fund's excavations after 1885. In 1892 he was appointed to the newly founded Edwards Professorship of Egyptology at University College, London. Egyptian archaeology, and particularly the work of E. A. Wallis Budge, is mentioned in the Anniversary Address of 1890. A very long paper by Budge is published in *Arch.* lii. 393 and others will be found in *Arch.* liii. 83 and 433. His chief work, however, lay in the publication of Egyptian texts, which by complementing Petrie's discoveries of objects made Egyptology a part of general culture.

³ Meeting, 30 Apr.; Gladstone was invited to be present, but refused. In Dec. 1874 the Society petitioned the Government to ask the Turkish Government to protect the ruins of Troy.

⁴ At the Executive Committee of 17 June the President asked whether, in view of the large attendance expected to hear him, the tables in the meeting-room might not be removed and more seats put in, or whether alternatively the meeting should not be held in the Library. The committee considered either plan too difficult, but agreed that on this occasion tea should be served in the Library.

⁵ 24 June 1875.

⁶ *Arch.* xlv. 29.

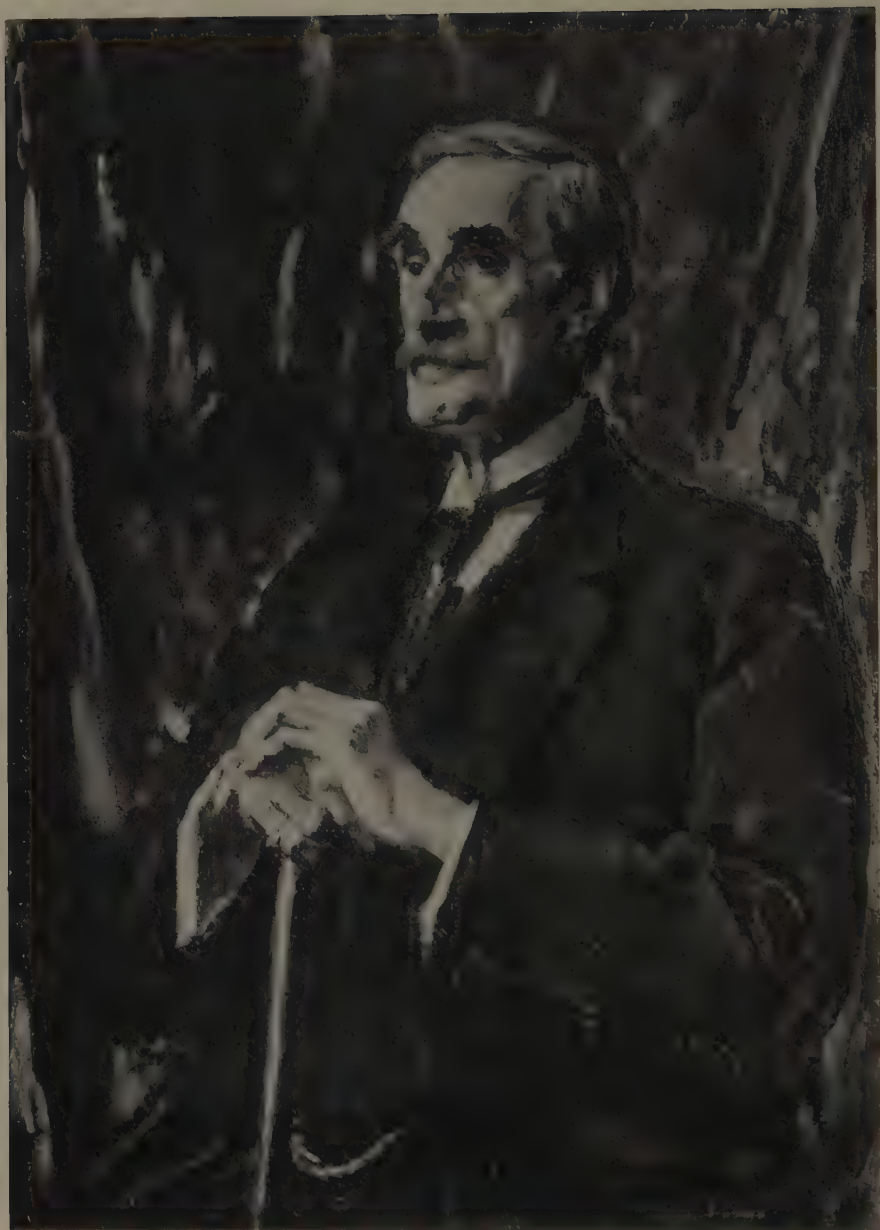


W·H·ST·JOHN·HOPE·M·A·



Sir William St. John Hope, Assistant Secretary 1885–1910, by
G. E. Kruger Gray, 1912

Maurice Hope, Esq.



Sir Hercules Read, President 1909-14 and 1919-24, by Augustus John

The Athenæum

the whole of the pre-historic times lay before our eyes like a silver cloud covering the whole of the lands that at different periods of history had become so illustrious and interesting; but as to their details we knew nothing. Here and there there was a shadowy—an isolated glimmer of light let in; but, if there was any attempt at connected efforts, it was purely for some local purpose of self-interest or pride. Now . . . we are beginning to see through this dense mist, and the cloud is becoming transparent, and the figures of real places, real men, real facts, are slowly beginning to reveal to us their outlines.'

Between 1874 and 1876 Schliemann was engaged in excavating the shaft graves at Mycenae. In 1877, at another brilliant meeting,¹ though without Gladstone, he gave a paper on his discoveries. Lord Houghton spoke in his honour, and the President delivered to him the diploma of Honorary Fellowship, with polite regrets that they could not present another to his wife. Two months later² Schliemann attended a paper of Charles Newton's on the links between Mycenae and Ialysos.³ Already, indeed, English archaeologists were beginning to find parallels with Schliemann's discoveries.⁴ In 1879⁵ Admiral Sprat exhibited engraved gems from Crete,⁶ which he recognized as being in relation with those found by Schliemann at Mycenae. Schliemann's discoveries of the Orchomenos tomb in 1880 and his excavations at Tiryns in 1884 and 1885 were not communicated directly to the Society; he did not again appear at its meetings before he died in 1890.

The study of Greek antiquities of the classical period became more systematic. In 1873 the Germans secured a treaty with Greece which enabled them to dig at Olympia. Their excavations were under way in 1875, and were closely followed in England.⁷ The publication of Klein's *Euphronios* in 1879 initiated the more scientific study of Greek vases: a study much followed in this country but little reflected in the publications of the Antiquaries. Detailed studies in Greek archaeology, indeed, tended more and more to appear in the *Journal* of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, founded in 1883, and in the *Annual* of the British School at Athens, founded in 1886.⁸ A fine Greek terra-cotta head

¹ 22 Mar. 1877.

² 21 May 1877.

³ In the discussion Percy Gardner first expressed his lifelong objection to finding Mycenaean (and later Minoan) antiquities so old as their discoverers supposed.

⁴ At the meeting of 1879 H. M. Westropp, who read a paper to demonstrate the Northern origin of the tombs at Mycenae, was severely snubbed by Franks. T. B. Sandwith's paper (4 May 1871, *Arch.* xlv. 127) on pottery from Cyprus illustrated, though it could not recognize, some sub-Mycenaean types.

⁵ Meeting, 1 May.

⁶ At the meeting of 29 June 1876 he exhibited a marble statuette of Venus found at 'Gnossus' in Crete twenty years before.

⁷ They are referred to in the Anniversary Address of 1881.

⁸ When the Executive Committee, on 5 July 1888, permitted the British School at Athens to hold their annual meeting in the Society's rooms, they stressed the fact that such permission could not be granted annually. In fact, nearly all such meetings have been so held.

from the Esquiline was published by Fortnum in *Archaeologia*¹ with a good collotype plate, and A. Higgins contributed a paper² on the game of *Κότταβος*.

No great advances were made in Roman archaeology in the Mediterranean field, though a number of short miscellaneous papers were published in *Archaeologia*,³ including Pirro Ligorio's manuscript notes on the City made in 1570.⁴ J. H. Middleton contributed a study of the chief methods of building construction used in Ancient Rome.⁵

The Bronze Age in England was being studied in a new spirit, with remarkable results. The Society held an important exhibition of bronze implements and weapons early in 1872,⁶ accompanied by papers by John Evans⁷ and Franks.⁸ Greenwell's *British Barrows*, published in 1877, was remarkable as a record of over 230 barrows in the north of England, more systematic and better illustrated than Bateman's, if somewhat lacking in plans and sections.⁹ Greenwell endeavoured to give an account of the social condition of the people buried, and to make a serious attempt to date the burials. He considered that the Long Barrows were neolithic, and the Round Barrows of an age centred on 500 B.C. In his view bronze had been introduced into England about 1000 B.C.¹⁰

John Evans, in his *Bronze Implements*, published in 1881,¹¹ refused to commit himself to any exact system of dating; he called his book 'a hoard of collected facts' and did not attempt much theorizing upon them.¹²

Lane Fox had inherited the Rivers estates of some 29,000 acres and had changed his name to Pitt-Rivers in 1880. He received his inheritance as a vocation.¹³ 'I felt . . . that an unseen hand had trained me up to be the possessor of such a property. . . . I at once set about organizing such a Staff of assistants as would enable me to complete the examination of the antiquities on the property within a reasonable time, and do it with all the thoroughness which

¹ *Arch.* xlix. 453.

³ e.g. vol. xlix, 1886.

⁵ 24 Feb. 1887; *Arch.* li. 41.

⁷ 23 Jan., 'Implements of the Bronze Period'.

⁸ 30 Jan., 'On Oriental Bronzes'.

⁹ The skulls found were examined and described by Professor Rolleston. The book was followed by Edwin Guest's *Origines Celticae* in 1883.

¹⁰ He read cognate papers to the Society on 17 Jan. 1889 and 23 Jan. 1890; *Arch.* lii.

¹¹ He apologizes in the preface for the delay since the short abstract, *Petit Album de l'âge du Bronze de la Grande Bretagne*, was presented to the Prehistoric Congress at Buda Pesth.

¹² He read a paper to the Society on a bronze hoard from Wilberton Fen, 20 Apr. 1882; *Arch.* xlvii. 106.

¹³ He had received a soldier's education and regarded himself in archaeology as a pupil of Greenwell's. For an admirable recent account of him see O. G. S. Crawford, *Archaeology in the Field*, p. 31.

² 8 Mar. 1888; *Arch.* li. 383.

⁴ By J. H. Middleton, 13 Dec. 1888; *Arch.* li. 489.

⁶ 16-30 Jan.

I had come to consider necessary for archaeological investigations. . . .¹

In this spirit he embarked on his great series of excavations in Cranborne Chase, which lasted until 1900. They were highly organized, heavily financed, and on a grand scale. His aim was the *total* excavation of his sites,² with a *total* publication of the results, with plans, sections, models, and unlimited illustrations. The touch of megalomania that distinguished him did more for the technique of excavation than the reasonableness and modesty of other archaeologists could do.

His chief principle was that all objects were of equal interest to the archaeologist; he finally exorcised the ghost of Taste. 'Tedious as it may appear to some,' he wrote,³ 'to dwell on the discovery of "odds and ends" that have, no doubt, been thrown away by their owners as rubbish . . . yet it is by the study of such trivial details, that Archaeology is mainly dependent for determining the dates of earthworks. . . . The value of relics, viewed as evidence, may on this account be said to be in an inverse ratio to their intrinsic value.'

He was conscious of the subjective element which dictated what was recorded and published from many excavations.

'Excavators, as a rule, record only those things which appear to them important at the time, but fresh problems in Archaeology and Anthropology are constantly arising, and it can hardly fail to have escaped the notice of anthropologists, especially those who, like myself, have been concerned with the morphology of art, that, on turning back to old accounts in search of evidence, the points which would have been most valuable have been passed over from being thought uninteresting at the time. Every detail should, therefore, be recorded in the manner most conducive to facility of reference, and it ought at all times to be the chief object of an excavator to reduce his own personal equation to a minimum.'⁴

His army training—he was Lieutenant-General, and founder of the School of Musketry at Hythe—had given him the power to command but not to collaborate. He had tried, and had watched others trying, to excavate 'by the voluntary combination of independent archaeologists sharing the work between them, or, as not infrequently happens, impeding one another',⁵ but decided it was always unsuccessful. He therefore worked with an assistant and two sub-assistants, all skilful draughtsmen, trained by himself in surveying. He visited any work in progress at least three times a day, and

¹ *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, p. xiii.

² He covered in his excavations carefully, and after 1880 inserted into the lower levels of each a little medal designed for him by John Evans with a pickaxe, skull, theodolite, urn, and spearhead on one side and on the other the legend 'Opened by A. Pitt Rivers, F.R.S.', usually stamped with the date.

³ *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, iii, p. ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, p. xvii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, p. xv.

had to be sent for immediately when anything of particular interest turned up.¹

He was conscious that not all men could follow his example.

'The expense [he admitted]² of conducting explorations upon this system is considerable, but the wealth available in the country for the purpose is still ample, if only it could be turned into this channel. The number of country gentlemen of means, who are at a loss for intelligent occupation beyond hunting and shooting, must be considerable, and now that a paternal Government has made a present of their game to their tenants, and bids fair to deprive them of the part that some of them have hitherto taken, most advantageously to the public, in the management of local affairs, it may not perhaps be one of the least useful results of these volumes if they should be the means of directing attention to a new field of activity, for which the owners of land are, beyond all others, favourably situated.'

The results of his work were nobly published, between 1887 and 1898, in the four volumes of *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, bound in leather stamped with a design taken from a fragment of Kimmeridge shale found by him in the Romano-British village at Rotherley. Pitt-Rivers, a handsome and choleric man with a great crest of white hair, was a familiar figure at Burlington House,³ but published little in *Archaeologia*.⁴

Less important work was carried on in east Yorkshire by J. R. Mortimer; this also received independent publication.⁵ H. S. Cooper wrote on the ancient settlements, cemeteries, and earthworks of Furness.⁶ Other investigators on a less grand scale read papers on tumuli near Dover,⁷ in Cornwall,⁸ and at Belbury Camp.⁹

A good deal of work was being done on the Early Iron Age. In 1876 the lake-dwellings at La Tène, at the northern end of Lake Neuchâtel, were discovered,¹⁰ and provided evidence of a later stage of Celtic civilization than did Hallstatt.

A paper by Franks, read in 1870,¹¹ initiated the establishment of an English La Tène period, and one by Arthur Evans, John Evans's eldest son, on a late Celtic urn-field at Aylesford, established further

¹ *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, p. xvii. After he was appointed Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments excavation was stopped when he went on his travels. Ibid., ii, p. xiv.

² Ibid., p. xv.

³ He served as Vice-President 1891-3.

⁴ (As Lane Fox) 'Excavations at Mount Caburn Camp near Lewes', 20 June 1878, *Arch.* xlv. 423.

⁵ *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, 1905. Mortimer was born in 1825, and the chief work was done between 1860 and 1905.

⁶ 12 Dec. 1889; *Arch.* liii. 389.

⁷ C. H. Woodruff, 12 Dec. 1872; *Arch.* xlv. 53.

⁸ W. Borlase, 3 Feb. 1881; *Arch.* xlix. 181.

⁹ E. Cunningham, 30 Mar. 1882; *Arch.* xlvii. 115.

¹⁰ Published by V. Gross, *La Tène, un oppidum Helvète*, 1886.

¹¹ 'On a Sword found at Catterdale, Yorkshire', 24 Nov. 1870; *Arch.* xlv. 251.

connexions with Gaul and the Adriatic,¹ brought out new elements in La Tène art, and identified the people buried at Aylesford with the Belgic invaders of south-eastern England.

Interest in Roman researches in England was centred on the Society's excavations at Silchester, which furnished a number of reports.² Besides these the Roman station at Cilurnum,³ remains in Warwick Square in the City of London,⁴ a newly discovered part of the Roman Wall of Lincoln⁵, and the Roman Villa at Spoonley Wood, in Gloucestershire,⁶ were discussed.

Saxon researches were being prosecuted without any sensational results. J. H. Middleton contributed a paper on Deerhurst Chapel,⁷ the Rev. J. T. Fowler one on a sculptured cross at Kelloe,⁸ and G. W. Thomson a report on the cemetery at Sleaford.⁹

A great number of the papers read to the Society and printed in *Archaeologia* were devoted to medieval subjects. The Society's interest in St. Albans was reflected in a paper on the heraldry of the ceiling of the Monks' Choir.¹⁰ Dean Stanley described the examination of the tombs of Henry III, Richard II, and Katherine of Valois¹¹ in Westminster Abbey¹² and John Evans the tomb of Edmund of Langley.¹³ Such medieval buildings as the church at Hedon in Yorkshire,¹⁴ the hospital of St. John Baptist at Wycombe,¹⁵ Gundulf's Tower at Rochester,¹⁶ Westminster Hall,¹⁷ Glastonbury Abbey,¹⁸ and Tiptofts Hall¹⁹ were considered. There were papers on wall-paintings

¹ His 'Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum' (*Arch.* xlvii. 1 and xlix. 1) had been largely in the Early Iron Age field.

² By the Rev. J. G. Joyce, 9 May 1867 (published 1881), *Arch.* xlvii. 329; 19 June 1873, *ibid.*, p. 344. By F. G. Hilton Price (after Joyce's death) 11 Feb. 1886; *Arch.* l. 263; by G. E. Fox and W. St. John Hope, 11 and 18 Dec. 1890; *Arch.* lii. 783. At the meeting on 27 Feb. 1890 the same two antiquaries made a plea, and offered a complete scheme, for the further systematic excavation of the site. A small committee was set up. At the meeting on 27 Mar. the President reported that enough had been collected (including £25 from the General Fund and £25 from the Research Fund) to meet the expense of excavating one complete *insula*.

³ *Arch.* xlvii. 1.

⁴ By A. Tyler, a member of the firm on whose land the discoveries were made, 5 May 1881; *Arch.* xlvii. 221.

⁵ By G. E. Fox, 11 Apr. 1889; *Arch.* lii. 609.

⁶ By J. H. Middleton, 5 Dec. 1889; *Arch.* lii. 651.

⁷ 26 Nov. 1885; *Arch.* l. 66.

⁸ 24 Jan. 1889; *Arch.* lii. 73.

⁹ *Arch.* l. 383.

¹⁰ By J. G. Waller, 14 June 1888; *Arch.* li. 427.

¹¹ 31 Jan. 1878; *Arch.* xlvii. 281.

¹² 26 June 1873; not printed until 1880, *Arch.* xlv. 309.

¹³ 21 Mar. 1878; *Arch.* xlvii. 297.

¹⁴ By G. E. Street, 16 June 1870; not printed until 1885, *Arch.* xlvii. 185.

¹⁵ By J. H. Parker, *Arch.* xlvii. 285.

¹⁶ By W. St. John Hope, 27 Mar. 1884; *Arch.* xlix. 323.

¹⁷ By E. Freshfield, 13 Dec. 1883; *Arch.* l. 1; by J. T. Micklethwaite, same date, *ibid.*, p. 5; by Somers Clarke, same date, *ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁸ By W. St. John Hope, 31 Jan. 1889; *Arch.* lii. 85.

¹⁹ By J. H. Middleton, 28 Nov. 1889; *Arch.* lii. 647.

at Kempley,¹ Friskney,² Canterbury,³ and in the churches of Athens.⁴ Hope contributed excellent papers on mazers⁵ (in connexion with an exhibition held by the Society), the stall plates of the Knights of the Garter,⁶ and the alabaster tablets known as St. John's Heads,⁷ and Freshfield a serious and careful study of the mason's marks at Westminster Hall.⁸ There were hardly any papers on illuminated manuscripts,⁹ but a great number of purely historical studies,¹⁰ such as the Rev. C. M. Church's lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells,¹¹ and W. Page's study of the Northumbrian Palatinates and Regalities.¹² Meanwhile Mill Stephenson, who had become a Fellow in 1888, was beginning those detailed studies of the monumental brasses of Britain, largely based on the Society's collection of rubbings, which made him the first authority on the subject¹³ and gave the inner Library where he worked the title of 'Mill's Parlour'. His work until his death in 1937 was closely bound up with the Society; among other things he acted as supervisor of their excavations at Silchester for some twenty years.

Later studies were represented by such papers as those by the Hon. H. A. Dillon on the arms and armour in the Tower and at Greenwich in 1657;¹⁴ by Captain J. E. Acland-Troyte on the Harmonies contrived by Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding,¹⁵ and by Scharf's perfunctory papers on Elizabethan pictures, not all of them authentic.¹⁶ Lionel Cust contributed a paper on the Society's portrait of Mary Tudor,¹⁷ which he ascribed to Lucas de Heere. W. J. Hardy wrote on the culture of tobacco in seventeenth-century England,¹⁸ and a Jesuit on the Kalendar and rite used by Catholics since the time of Elizabeth.¹⁹

The Executive Committee refused a paper on the shipwreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovell in 1707 on the ground that its date 'scarcely came within the scope of the Society',²⁰ but the Antiquaries con-

¹ By J. T. Micklethwaite, *Arch.* xlv. 187.

² By the Rev. H. J. Cheales, 12 May 1881 and 18 Jan. 1883; *Arch.* xlvii. 270; 15 May 1884 and 13 May 1886; *Arch.* l. 282; and 11 June 1891, *Arch.* liii. 427.

³ By the Rev. J. Morris, S. J., 23 May 1889; *Arch.* lii. 389; the good colour plates look as if they had been printed abroad.

⁴ By N. H. J. Westlake, 30 June 1887; *Arch.* li. 173.

⁵ 21 Jan. 1886; *Arch.* l. 129.

⁶ 22 Mar. 1888; *Arch.* li. 399.

⁷ 16 Jan. 1890; *Arch.* lii. 668.

⁸ 13 Dec. 1883; *Arch.* l. 1.

⁹ On 9 Mar. 1891 T. F. Kirby contributed a paper on the Chandler drawings at New College, Oxford. *Arch.* liii. 229.

¹⁰ Especially in *Arch.* li, published in 1888.

¹¹ 9 June 1887; *Arch.* li. 73 and 281; 7 Feb. 1889, *Arch.* lii. 89.

¹² 30 June 1887; *Arch.* li. 143.

¹³ His *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* was finally published in 1926.

¹⁴ 16 Feb. 1888; *Arch.* li. 219.

¹⁵ 26 Jan. 1888, *Arch.* li. 189 and 485.

¹⁶ In the discussion on his paper on a portrait of Mary Queen of Scots belonging to the Queen (22 Nov. 1888) Philip Calderon, R.A., Waller, and Evans all declared it to be a late copy.

¹⁷ 10 Mar. 1892; *Arch.* liv. 59.

¹⁸ 24 Nov. 1887; *Arch.* li. 157.

¹⁹ The Rev. John Morris, S.J., 28 Feb. 1889.

²⁰ Executive, 18 Jan. 1883.

sented to listen to a paper (unfortunately prepared at short notice and containing nothing new) on their own history.¹ They admitted, too, such exotic subjects as the ruins at Zimbabwe² and St. Augustine, Florida, 'the oldest city in the States'.³ Franks contributed a paper on Chinese rolls with Buddhist legends,⁴ and the Society admitted the new science of technology in a long paper on the composition of glass and the processes of its decay.⁵

The changes that took place at this time in the conception of the Society's studies are expressed in an article printed in 1881 in the *Edinburgh Review*:⁶

'A new departure has been made in the study of antiquity. We are tending towards the conviction that whatever is based upon written records is to be counted as modern history—that ancient history is concerned with evidence anterior to a time when any knowledge of writing had been arrived at by our early progenitors. In view of the long vista of ages during which it has been demonstrated that man existed upon our planet, it is impossible to accept the Christian era as a landmark from which to trace the development of races and institutions. From the kitchen middens of Scandinavia, the caverns of Dordogne, the lake dwellings of Switzerland, or the barrows of the Yorkshire wolds, strange messages have come to us. As yet inarticulate utterances, they are destined, perhaps, to work as prodigious a revolution in our popular notions even of religion and ethics as the researches of the Elizabethan Antiquaries brought about in the views of political philosophy current in their time. Meanwhile the rage for 'finding out something' by the spade and the pickaxe requires anxious watching. Amateurs, however well-meaning, cannot safely be left to their own devices. Some of them have already hidden more than they have disclosed. There is a need to instruct and discipline the free lances of archaeology, and it is exactly here that an organization like that of the Society of Antiquaries may be best utilised in the interest of scientific discovery. Whatever may be thought of the advisability of subsidising a learned corporation by a grant from the Treasury, there can hardly be a doubt that the recognition of a Society as a central board for controlling and systematising archaeological research would be a measure which could only produce excellent results. The want of such recognition has acted, and is acting, in the direction of distinctly discouraging research. While things continue as they are, our archaic monuments are rapidly being demolished; the very fact that attention is drawn to them makes them increasingly the prey of the ignorant sightseer on the one hand or the needy owner of the soil on the other. The first assumes that they belong to no one; the second, while insisting upon his rights of property, forgets that to such proprietary rights there are limits. Neither seems to dream of the duty of protecting a heritage which belongs to the nation, and which in equity no individual should be allowed to claim as his own.'

¹ By J. Winter Jones, 23 Apr. 1875; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd series, vi. 358.

² By J. Theodore Bent, 12 May 1892; he thought them Sabian.

³ Letter from Mr. Arthur Montefiore, probably 1889; *Ants. Corr.*

⁴ 18 June 1891; *Arch.* liii. 238.

⁵ By James Fowler, 30 Nov. 1876; *Arch.* xlv. 65.

⁶ July 1881, p. 120.

XVII

CONSOLIDATION

1892-1914

AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON FRANKS,¹ born in 1826, had been educated at Eton and at Cambridge, where he had read Mathematics and had devoted himself to the study of medieval sepulchral brasses. He had then done much to establish the Royal Archaeological Institute as a centre of medieval studies. In 1851 he had joined the staff of the British Museum; it was largely owing to his work that the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography had acquired its identity² and to his generosity that it had become rich in objects of art.

Franks had been Evans's closest friend since about 1865, and it was natural that he should be the official candidate for the Presidency and succeed him when Evans's term of office expired in 1892. Franks was a dreamy man, with an incurable habit of addressing himself to his top waistcoat button. His friends, indeed, said that these buttons served as a barometer of enthusiasm. If he were looking at an object which he liked very much indeed, he fingered the top one; if very much, the next; if moderately, the next, and so down the scale. Yet his dreaminess did not prevent him from getting things done.

He was less of an archaeologist, in the field sense, and more of a lover of art and a collector, than was Evans; he was neither geologist nor numismatist; but his knowledge in other fields was incredibly wide and exact. Few men have had a stronger or sounder reaction to an object of art than he, or have used their knowledge and their flair more wisely.

Franks had, however, less administrative capacity and fewer gifts for *représentation* than his predecessor. He knew this, and on his election nominated Evans as one of his Vice-Presidents, so that he could rely on his help officially as well as privately. In his Department he had a devoted aide in Charles Hercules Read—in 1892 a man of thirty-five—whom he had taken in as a boy of eighteen to be his ethnographical assistant in arranging the Christy Collection. His protégé had become an Assistant in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in 1880, and was now his right-hand man. Dillon's resignation of the Secretaryship, on acceding to the family

¹ I summarize from a brief account of him already published in *Time and Chance*, p. 143.

² See above, p. 293.

Viscounty, was announced at the Anniversary of 1892, and Read was elected in his stead. Henry Salusbury Milman, who had served as Director since 1880, died at the end of 1893¹ and Viscount Dillon was unanimously elected to serve in his place. He resigned in 1894, as he was living in the country, and F. G. Hilton Price was appointed in his stead.²

With such help Franks did not find the burden of the Presidency unduly hard. The first difficulty that arose was the continued abuse of blackballing which went on all throughout his presidency.³ In 1892 eleven out of forty-eight candidates had been excluded; in 1893, up to the Anniversary, fifteen out of forty-two.⁴ It was not unusual for four to be blackballed and one elected;⁵ at one meeting out of six candidates not one was elected. Welsh parsons and country doctors were notoriously unlucky, but more eminent men such as E. B. H. Cunnington⁶ and Charles ffoulkes,⁷ Bannister Fletcher and Monsignor Barnes,⁸ proved equally unpopular. The Society reverted to regular ballot nights,⁹ but with little result. After 1892¹⁰ candidates' addresses were included in the notices of ballots, but even this failed to make them individuals worthy of respect. That many candidates (some of them doubtless among those excluded) did not understand the proper conventions may be gathered from a letter from Read as Secretary to a rejected candidate.¹¹ 'We consider it most improper and most impolitic for a Candidate to canvass the Fellows of the Society in his own interest, and if you have done this, it is in itself quite sufficient to account for your being rejected. Theoretically the whole burden of the election of a Candidate rests upon his friends within the Society and the less he appears in the matter the better his prospects of Election.' In 1902¹² a notice had to be sent out with the blank certificates to state

¹ On 2 May 1892 he had written (Ants. Corr.) to Freshfield, the Treasurer: 'You know that for several years past I have received from the Society of Antiquaries as Director a yearly honorarium of £50, and that I have shared it with the Secretary.'

'Having learnt that Read does not desire to receive any such reward for his services I take this opportunity of resigning the honorarium altogether, this resignation to date from January last....'

'Part of my moiety has been from time to time applied in paying for the making of the Indexes to Archaeologia and Proceedings, a duty which appeared to fall upon the Assistant Secretary, but would have been a heavy charge upon his time or his money. I presume therefore that in future the Society will pay direct for these Indexes....'

² Anniversary, 1894.

³ The Cocked Hat Club habitually dined before ballots and scrutinized the list of candidates. Evans had a dislike of exclusive dining-clubs, derived from his knowledge of the British Association, and refused nomination to the Hats. Franks, too, was never a member. A want of connexion between the President and the Club may have had an influence on blackballing.

⁴ For a table of blackballings 1884-93, see *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd series, xiv. 351.

⁵ e.g. 7 June 1894; 4 June 1906.

⁶ 20 Apr. 1893.

⁷ 1910.

⁸ 6 Mar. 1913.

⁹ Council, 17 May 1893.

¹⁰ Circular for the Ballot of 18 Jan. 1892.

¹¹ Letter Book, 20 Feb. 1895.

¹² Meeting, 16 Jan.

that a candidate should not fill it up or ask Fellows to sign it.¹

Franks spoke against the 'professional' attitude of the Society in his Anniversary Address for 1893.

'It is the undoubted right of Fellows to express their opinion of a candidate as they think fit, and it is their duty to see that candidates not worthy of the honour should be excluded. But as a matter of good feeling this power of veto should not be exercised capriciously, nor on what I may call dog-in-the-manger principles. It must be remembered that while science pays well its votaries, and geography is popular, our pursuits are rarely of a remunerative character, and that we must largely look to amateurs. Good archaeologists, not a very numerous body, have the first claim upon us, but collectors and patrons of art, men of rank, country gentlemen and clergymen of good position may be very useful to us.'

None the less the trouble continued. In 1907 Lionel Cust wrote to the President² to express the opinion: 'in view of the recent rejection of certain candidates for election as Fellows, that the Statutes should be altered so as to allow (1) of persons nominated by the Council *honoris causa* being elected without ballot (if unopposed) and (2) of Ballots for the elections of Fellows being held in the afternoon instead of the evening'. Neither suggestion was accepted, and between 1909 and 1913 as many as 20 per cent. of candidates were blackballed.

In 1913³ the Executive was asked 'whether the ordinary fellowship of the Society is open to persons who are not British subjects', and decided that there was no objection to such candidatures. The only Royal Fellow elected at this time was the Duke of York.⁴

In spite of the blackballing the Society's membership and finances continued satisfactory. Numbers were up by sixteen in 1894, in spite of the raised subscription for new members. In 1893 sixty-four compounders gave £362, and three hundred subscribing Fellows voluntarily increased their subscription by a guinea, to bring them into line with the new rates. In that year⁵ it was reported at the Anniversary that with nearly £19,000 received from the Stevenson Bequest the Society's capital was now of the order of £30,000 all told. At the Anniversary of 1895 it was reported that the numbers were nearing their statutory limit. In 1908 it was decided⁶ that the admission fee should be raised to ten guineas, of which two should go to the Research Fund.⁷

¹ A suggestion made by a Fellow at the Anniversary Meeting of 1903 that a mark should appear in the list of Fellows against the names of those who had contributed papers failed to find a seconder.

² Executive, 5 Nov. 1907.

³ Ibid., 19 June 1913.

⁴ 8 May 1895. The Society followed tradition and closed its apartments on the death of Queen Victoria until after her funeral. No meetings were held for a fortnight.

⁵ Anniversary Meeting.

⁶ Council, 24 June; Meetings, 25 June and 10 Dec.

⁷ Council, 20 Jan. 1909.

Neither membership nor meetings showed any great change.¹ In 1902 another petition was presented to the Council, this time by Sir Ernest Clarke, that the time of meeting should be changed to 4.30 or 5 o'clock. A letter to him from W. H. Richardson² on the subject helps to show why the suggestion was not accepted.

'In the first place [he writes] I must be permitted to remark that, so far as I have observed, you rarely or never attend the meeting of the Society except on Ballot nights, and therefore *prima facie* I hardly consider you the most fitting person to bring forward a resolution such as you proposed.

In the next place I have further observed that whenever you do attend, it is apparently to air some grievance, or make some complaint, as on the recent occasion, and your manner of doing this is, to my mind, to say the least of it, captious and unpleasant. Moreover, I am of opinion, that the causes of your dissatisfaction on various occasions would have been remedied more effectually and with far greater propriety by communication with the Officers of the Society, than by your coming to meetings, and without any warning, suddenly throwing down apples of discord.'

Clarke and his friend H. B. Wheatley managed to get enough support for a ballot of the Society at large to be taken on the subject, but no change in the hour was made.

In 1905 Brabrook suggested to the Council³ that the Society might hold occasional meetings at places of interest near London, but the Executive⁴ rejected the scheme as impracticable. Two years later a meeting was for the first time held outside the Society's apartments. It was wished to examine the funeral effigies at Westminster known as 'the Ragged Regiment',⁵ but the Dean said⁶ they were too frail to be moved and suggested that the Society should come to Westminster instead. On 31 January 1907, an ordinary meeting of the Society was held in the College Hall, with papers by the Dean and St. John Hope.⁷

Franks was by nature a less hospitable man than Evans, and exhibitions and evening parties became less frequent.⁸ An important Heraldic Exhibition was held in 1893, but no exhibitions were held in the two following years, on the ground that such work fell heavily on the Secretaries.⁹ In 1896¹⁰ there was an exhibition of English Medieval Paintings and illuminated manuscripts, with many of the Society's drawings of wall-paintings, the Westminster and Norwich retables, the Newport and Winchester chests, the

¹ After the meeting of 21 June 1900 an exhibition of Fence of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was given in the Library.

² 12 May 1902; Ants. Corr.

³ 22 Mar. Letter from Brabrook to Read, 2 Mar. 1905; Ants. Corr.

⁴ 23 Mar. ⁵ Executive, 13 Apr. 1905.

⁶ Executive, 11 May and 13 Dec.

⁷ The latter, an important paper, is printed in *Arch. lx.* 517.

⁸ On 14 June 1893 the President gave an evening party to Fellows and others.

⁹ Anniversary Address, 1895.

¹⁰ 8 June to 20 June.

Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, the Winchester Bible, and many other treasures.

It was made the occasion for several papers. On 16 April 1896 J. G. Waller read a paper on the Norwich Retable, declaring it to be Italian work or painted by a man who had studied in Italy, but a fortnight later W. St. John Hope triumphantly proved that the picture was English from the study of its heraldry, and was even able to show that it was associated with Bishop Henry Despencer and his friends and probably painted in 1381.¹ In 1910 an Exhibition of English Medieval Alabasters was held,² which confirmed St. John Hope's work in showing their importance.

In 1894³ Brabrook suggested that the Anniversary Dinner should be revived. A small committee was appointed⁴ and the dinner was duly held in Mercers' Hall on the evening of the Anniversary of 1895; 107 Fellows attended. Tickets cost a guinea, including wine. The menu offered a choice of clear or asparagus soup; soles, salmon or whitebait; chartreuse de volaille à la Beaufort or *bonnes bouches à la parisienne*; saddle of mutton; ducklings, guinea-fowl or Cumberland ham; jellies and iced puddings; devilled shrimps, and a succession of sherry, hock, champagne, port, and claret. The dinner was repeated on a slightly less aldermanic scale at the Holborn Restaurant in 1896, at 7s. 6d. exclusive of wine, and was continued there until 1909. For 1910 it was decided⁵ to hold it in the Society's apartments, and the Library was turned into a banquetting room. The same procedure was followed in 1911 and 1912, but in 1913 the dinner was again held in a restaurant. In 1912 and 1913 the dinners were graced by programmes of music arranged by Dr. Frank Bridge, F.S.A.

A second dining-club, the Essay Club, was founded on 19 December 1907, 'for the purpose of furthering the interest of the Society of Antiquaries and promoting social intercourse among its members'.⁶ It comprised twenty-four members;⁷ the founders, headed by William Paley Baildon, an eccentric barrister, Robert Garraway Rice, and P. W. P. Carlyon Britton,⁸ tended to be more interested in documentary evidence than in that of the spade.

Franks died in May 1897.⁹ At the Council following Edwin

¹ His paper was the beginning of the study of English Primitives which culminated in the exhibition at the Royal Academy, under Lethaby's inspiration, in 1923.

² Opened 27 May 1910.

³ Meeting, 1 Mar.; Council, 14 Mar.

⁴ Ibid., 12 Dec. 1894.

⁵ Ibid., 18 Mar. 1910.

⁶ Its name is a pun on the Society's initials; no essays are read.

⁷ Later raised to thirty. The Society held its two-hundredth dinner on 26 Nov. 1946, and still flourishes.

⁸ Others were C. A. Bradford, Harry Plowman, W. Bruce Bannerman, and Sir Lawrence Weaver.

⁹ Council, 3 June. He had been too ill to attend the Anniversary Meeting. At the meeting of 16 Dec. 1897 it was decided to cast in bronze (by subscription) a life-size medallion of him in

Freshfield, Vice-President and Treasurer, and Lord Dillon were candidates for the Presidency, and the latter was nominated and in due course elected. Freshfield then resigned the Treasurership and Philip Norman (uncle of the future Governor of the Bank of England) was proposed to succeed him.¹

At the meeting of 3 June 1897 Franks's death and Lord Dillon's election were announced. 'Preceded by the Assistant Secretary bearing the mace, the president then entered the room, and took the chair amidst the respectful and hearty applause of the Fellows present, all of whom received him standing in their places.' Lord Dillon, with a look of his ancestor Charles I, was a man of handsome and indeed splendid presence. Nothing could make him look undistinguished, not even the Plimsolls he habitually wore or the canvas satchel full of books and biscuits that he habitually carried over his shoulder. He was a great expert on armour, and signalized his position as Curator of the Armouries in the Tower of London by always wearing a tiepin modelled upon the White Tower. One of his principles was never to give a negative reply to an inquiry; this did not mean that he gave a quick answer based on guess-work, but that he took trouble to return a considered reply on which he might have spent a good deal of labour. When he gave evidence in the judicial case between Lord Chesterfield and a London dealer over the sale of the Holme Lacy armour, he could inform Counsel in cross examination: 'My opinions *are* facts', without effrontery. He had started his career as a soldier, with twelve years in the Rifle Brigade. He needed no academic discipline to make him hate shams and love exact truth.² He served with distinction as Chairman of the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery and as a Trustee of the British Museum and of the Wallace Collection. He was, in fact, a great gentleman with a touch of the eighteenth-century eccentric about him; he and Browne Willis would have understood each other at once.

The chief subject of discussion in the early part of his presidency was that of the recording of the objects exhibited at meetings. In February 1897 it was arranged that all such things should be drawn by Praetorius, who was to attend once a week for the purpose, and to receive not more than £25 a year for his services.³ At the same time the Treasurer was empowered to buy a camera for the use of the Society. By November 1898⁴ it was recognized that photographs

wax by C. J. Praetorius. Enough was received for the Society to be able to offer a replica to the British Museum.

¹ An important event during his tenure of office was the exemption of the Society from income tax, which was secured in 1901.

² I have been glad to avail myself of the obituary notice of him written by C. Foulkes, in *Ants. Journ.* xiii, 1932, p. 174.

³ Finance Committee, 22 Feb.; Council, 24 Feb.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 Nov.

were more satisfactory than drawings and it was decided that they should be used instead.¹ A little later² it was found that some owners objected to having their possessions thus recorded, but the Council declared 'that the Society have the right to make photographs of any objects exhibited to the Society'.

The Antiquaries were beginning to ramify into collectors and field archaeologists; it was in the interests of the latter that the Executive Committee on 6 December 1900 recommended 'That in view of the inconvenience caused by Exhibitions taking up so much time at the Society's meetings, the Council be asked if it is advisable that the exhibitions should follow the reading of papers.'

A minor but embarrassing difficulty which arose during Dillon's presidency was that of the admission of women to meetings. John Evans was growing old and was failing in health, and his wife, who usually accompanied him to London, fell into the habit of entering the meeting-room and sitting by his side. A blind eye might have been turned on her, but for the fact that she was an Oxford graduate and a classical archaeologist: the sort of woman, indeed, who might some day aspire to election as a Fellow. Action was taken in 1901,³ when the relevant statute was amended to include the phrase: 'Ladies are not admitted'. Thenceforward Lady Evans had to wait in the hall, in face of a neatly printed placard excluding her.

The new Treasurer was less optimistic about the Society's finances than his predecessor. Ireland, the Library Clerk for forty-three years, retired at the end of 1895 and was given a pension of £160 a year.⁴ The Society was still paying Knight Watson a pension of £350.⁵ At the end of 1897⁶ Philip Norman pointed out that these heavy prior charges, together with the old rate of subscription still paid by a number of Fellows, left the Society with little margin for such things as printing and repairs. He estimated, indeed, that by the end of 1898 there would be a deficit. A general rise in the level of subscriptions eased the strain, and in 1904 the Treasurer announced that the financial situation was fairly good,⁷ though composition fees were still being used as income.

When Dillon's tenure of the Presidency came to an end in 1904, there was some difficulty in finding an acceptable successor. Read was not good at getting on with people, and his relations with St. John Hope were notoriously bad. Both were handsome and

¹ Mr. Clinch the Library Clerk took them for £15 a year. Executive, 20 Apr. 1899.

² Council, 24 Feb. 1899.

³ Meeting, 14 Mar. It was passed by 44 votes to 7. John Evans raised the question.

⁴ Meeting, 28 Nov. 1895. He died in 1909. Mr. George Clinch was appointed in his stead at a salary of £120 rising to £150, free of income tax.

⁵ He died on 30 Jan. 1901.

⁶ Council, 10 Dec. 1897.

⁷ He gave the average house expenses as £559; pensions, £366; salaries, £504; wages, £119; and other official expenses, £303. In this year, however, the Assistant Secretary's salary was raised to £400 and the Library Clerk's to £205, to rise to £250.

confident men; both had knowledge and taste; Hope had scholarship; and neither suffered the other gladly. Read had the peculiar touchiness of a man who has not been to a university and yet lives and works in academic circles; and Hope a not unnatural feeling that he was too good for his job. Evans, who appreciated them both, was kept busy trying to pacify them. Read would come hurrying down to Nash Mills to say that 'Hope had grown too big for his boots again', and Hope would write to complain that Read had been intolerably rude.

It was a difficult position. No one who goes through the Society's papers at this time can fail to realize that St. John Hope's work was the most distinguished part of the Society's official activities in the years round 1900. He received an immense number of letters of inquiry¹ from all over the country about every conceivable subject, and answered them well; each year he investigated and advised on a considerable number of buildings and monuments threatened by demolition, decay or restoration;² and he contributed a number of distinguished papers to the Society's meetings and the *Archaeologia*.³ He was a valued member of at least six provincial archaeological societies and probably the best known man at Burlington House.

Read's only interest in all this seems to have been to see that Hope did not neglect the routine business of the Society. At the end of 1898 Read got the Council⁴ to ask that they 'should be informed from time to time what archaeological investigations are being carried on on their behalf, that Mr. Hope be requested to report to the Council at each meeting his absences from the Society's Apartments with a note of the reason'. In 1901⁵ the matter was raised again, and Hope furnished a tabular statement of his absences during six years: eighty-three days at the Society's excavations at Silchester, forty-one on journeys on the Society's business, thirty-two for the Summer Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute, and seventy-five on other occasions, of which all but eight (duly sanctioned by the President at the time) were archaeological.

Read proceeded to suggest that Hope did not give him enough help in editing the Society's publications,⁶ although he had to admit that Hope prepared the papers and plates for the printers, and Hope added that he usually revised the first proof. The Council professed themselves satisfied with this, unless Read were prepared to submit a detailed complaint. Read then complained that Hope did not index the Minutes. This, the Council agreed, was by tradition part of the Assistant Secretary's duties, but it had been so long neglected

¹ Ants. Corr.

² His reports (in Ants. Corr.) are well worthy of study.

³ A bibliography of his writings edited by A. Hamilton Thompson, was published in 1929.

⁴ 16 Dec. 1898.

⁵ Council, 13 Dec.

⁶ The Director at this time took no part in the work, which was done by the two Secretaries.

that its want was not a serious indictment. On the whole Hope won on points; and Read was not nominated for the Presidency.

It was clearly advisable to choose a man who was not committed to either party. The Council's choice fell¹ on the kindly and innocuous John Lubbock, fourth baronet of a banking family, lately raised to the peerage as Baron Avebury. (John Evans, an old friend of Lubbock's, considered it presumptuous in him to take a title from so important a monument, and wondered if he would proceed to Viscount Stonehenge.) He had earned the gratitude of the Society and of all archaeologists by his persistent (and ultimately successful) advocacy of an Act for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, but, although he had been a Fellow since 1864, his life had been devoted to banking, anthropology, biology, and social service, rather than to archaeology. He was at the time of his nomination in 1904 a man of seventy in poor health and this, together with his slight interest in antiquities, roused a measure of opposition to his nomination. In due course, however, he was elected.²

The years of his presidency were both undistinguished and peaceful. Hope won a round in his fight against Read when in 1905³ the Council resolved: 'That subject to the Statutes, chapter xv, it shall be deemed to be within the scope of the duties of the Assistant Secretary, should occasion arise, to inspect or assist in any archaeological investigations or other matters calculated to promote the objects for which the Society is incorporated. All absences thereby occasioned shall be notified to the Secretary or the Director in advance and a record of them kept for the information of the Council.'

There was still war between the two, and the members of Council who realized how much the Society owed to Hope were not anxious to see Read President for a long period. In 1906⁴ it was resolved that the President should be ineligible for re-election after he had held the office for five years.

At the Anniversary of 1908 Avebury's resignation was reported and Read was elected President. He was a man who owed everything to his presence and personality. As a young man he had enjoyed Franks's support; in later years he gained prestige by his influence with Pierpont Morgan. He had great surface dignity, which enabled him when need arose to be rude with impunity, and this was of use to him in the councils and meetings of the Society. His knowledge was not very profound in any single particular, but

¹ Council, 18 Mar. 1904.

² He took his duties seriously, and though he sometimes wintered abroad attended 38 meetings and 19 councils during his presidency.

³ 28 June 1905.

⁴ Council, 19 Dec.; Meeting, 21 Feb. 1907. At the same time the rules for the Anniversary Ballot were slightly amended.

thanks to his training under Franks it was extremely wide; his presidential comments on papers and exhibits were usually both intelligent and effective. He had many friends in the two dining clubs, and owing to a number of deaths soon after his election was able almost at once to nominate Vice-Presidents who were his loyal supporters.

The Society of Antiquaries has always been a society of amateurs and students, excluding from its Fellows those engaged in the commerce of antiquities and works of art. Any serious collector may from time to time have occasion to sell duplicates or even whole sections from his cabinets, but there is a great difference in intention between making space for a collection to grow and buying objects of art in the hope of selling them quickly at an increased price.

At this time this distinction was not always recognized in the Society. Half a dozen or more Fellows habitually made money by buying works of art and selling them to the great dealers, or by telling a man such as Duveen where a bargain was to be found. The President was himself much at home in the dealers' world, and nothing was done by the Society to check the abuse. It was a reflection of the sometimes unfastidious wealth of the early years of the twentieth century; and when much of that wealth vanished in and after the First World War, such amateur dealing for the most part disappeared with it.

Read's place as Secretary to the Antiquaries was filled by the election of Charles Reed Peers, a professional architect trained under Sir Thomas Jackson, who had lately been appointed Architectural Editor of the *Victoria County History*. Two years later he was appointed by the Government to the Inspectorship of Ancient Monuments that had been vacant since Pitt-Rivers's death in 1909. F. G. Hilton Price, the Director, died in March 1909,¹ and Sir Edward Brabrook was elected in his stead at the Anniversary following. In 1910 the responsibilities long undertaken by George Clinch, the Library Clerk, were recognized by the bestowal on him of the title of Librarian.²

In 1910, less than two years after Read's election, St. John Hope expressed a wish to retire in order to have more time for his own work. Read announced the resignation at the Anniversary with perhaps the coldest praise that a President has ever given to a brilliant officer after twenty-five years' service.³ The Society, he declared, had treated Hope well in giving him a pension of £250. The Council accepted Hope's suggestion that his successor should

¹ Meeting, 4 Mar.

² Ibid., 27 Apr. 1911.

³ William St. John Hope's great book *Windsor Castle, an Architectural History*, appeared in 1913 and he was knighted in 1914.

not be resident, as more room was required; the porter was to reside in the basement.

Read was determined that the new Assistant Secretary should not be of Hope's calibre—indeed it would not have been easy to find such a candidate; he even preferred a man without archaeological experience. Eventually Hugh Sadler Kingsford was appointed: a modest man, of great patience and serenity, who before his appointment had been Assistant Secretary at the Anthropological Institute.¹

At the end of 1912² Read announced a proposed change in the Statutes which would again make it possible for the President to retain office for seven years. He encountered considerable opposition, led by Paley Baildon and Arthur Evans. Thirty-seven voted for the motion, and twenty-nine against; as this gave less than the two-thirds majority required for such a change, it was lost. On 13 March it was brought forward again *ad hoc* for Read's continuance in office for two more years, and was carried by fifty-two votes to three. In November³ it was carried by Council unanimously as a general principle, but was defeated at a special meeting of the Society. In January 1913⁴ Council resolved 'that it is in the interest of the Society that Sir Charles Hercules Read should continue to be President'; and at an extraordinary meeting⁵ resolved to suspend the time-limit for the current year.

At the Anniversary of 1913 Philip Norman resigned the Treasurership, and William Minet, John Evans's son-in-law, was elected. He was a man who had inherited wealth from generations of frugal Huguenot ancestors; the Society has never had a more punctilious and economical Treasurer. By 1914 the Society's credit balance on the year's running had risen from a little over £4 to £342, and a Repair Fund of £150 a year had been instituted. In that year the Society's possessions were insured for £28,600.⁶

The Research Fund, which had been increased by further gifts,⁷ was now administered by its own committee.⁸ Through it the Society

¹ He soon busied himself with the Society's collection of seal impressions.

² Meeting, 12 Dec.

³ Council, 13 Nov.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 22 Jan.

⁵ 20 Feb. 1913.

⁶ Executive, 20 Nov. 1913. Up to 1912 Statements of Accounts were published in the *Proc. Soc. Ant.* After that date they were published separately; a bound set is in the Antiquaries' Library.

⁷ In 1895 John Evans gave £500 invested in the preference shares of his paper-mills rather than bequeathing it, 'looking at the tyrannical and confiscatory nature of the Finance Act of the present Government'. He expressed the hope that if it were ever thought advisable to transfer it, it should be put into the preference or debenture stock of a sound commercial company rather than into Government stock.

⁸ When on 15 Mar. 1893 Council decided that weekly notices of meetings should be sent out to any Fellow who paid 2s. a year in advance, the balance of some £18 from the old Weekly Notices fund was paid into the Silchester Fund.

The results of the Silchester excavations were laid before the Society on many occasions: by G. E. Fox, 10 and 17 Dec. 1891 (with a map of all discoveries up to Nov. 1891), *Arch.* liii.

was enabled to continue excavations at Silchester,¹ the Tower of London,² Caerwent,³ Old Sarum,⁴ Pevensey,⁵ Stonehenge,⁶ Wroxeter,⁷ Hengistbury Head,⁸ Caister,⁹ and Cleve Abbey.¹⁰

In 1910 Lord Verulam gave permission for Verulamium to be excavated, and it was recognized that the existing Research Fund was quite inadequate. A special committee¹¹ drafted an appeal inviting contributions. After four years they had received a little over £26. In 1911 the President suggested¹² that the Society should apply to the State for financial help in research and excavation under the control of the Society, on the analogy of the Science Grant received by the Royal Society. Nothing, however, seems to have been done. The further suggestion that a benefactors' board should be set up, carved with the names of donors and the dates of their benefactions, above the chimney-piece in the Council Room, was not carried out.

In 1910 the President in his Anniversary Address made a plea for encouragement of research of another kind. He wished the Society to become more closely allied with the archaeological teaching then being given in universities.¹³

263; by him and St. John Hope, 23 Feb. and 2 Mar. 1893, *ibid.* 539; 9 Mar. 1893, *Arch.* liv. 157 and *ibid.*, p. 439. *Arch.* lv. 215; by Hope, *ibid.* 409; by them both 26 May 1898, *Arch.* lvi. 103, and 4 May 1899, *ibid.* 229; 3 May 1900, *Arch.* lvii. 87; 23 May 1901, *ibid.* 229; by Hope, *Arch.* lviii. 17; and 28 May 1903, *ibid.* 413; by Hope and Fox, 9 June 1904 and 22 June 1905, *Arch.* lix. 333; by Hope, 31 May 1906, *Arch.* lx. 149; 20 June 1907, *ibid.* 431; 18 June 1908, *Arch.* lxi. 201; 24 June 1909, *ibid.* 473; and by Hope and Mill Stephenson, 23 June 1910, *Arch.* lxii. 317. A later campaign in 1938-9 was published by Mrs. Aylwin Cotton in *Arch.* xcii. 21.

¹ Council, 26 May 1909.

² Anniversary 1905. The excavation was in open ground south-east of the White Tower; nothing was found.

³ A report by A. T. Martin and Thomas Ashby was read on 17 Jan. 1901, *Arch.* lvii. 295, and was followed by others in *Arch.* lviii. 119; 19 Mar. 1903, *ibid.* 391; on 4 Feb. 1904, *Arch.* lix. 87; 8 May 1905, *ibid.* 89; 17 May 1906, *Arch.* lx. 111; 30 May 1907, *Arch.* *ibid.* 451; 7 May 1908, *Arch.* lxi. 565; 14 Jan. 1909, *Arch.* lxii. 1; 26 May 1910 and 16 Feb. 1911, *ibid.* 405; by A. E. Hudd, *Arch.* lxiv. 439; by V. E. Nash Williams, 17 Dec. 1925; *Arch.* lxxx. 229.

⁴ Anniversary Meeting, 1908. The responsibility for the excavation (under the supervision of the Office of Works) was formally assumed at the Council of 9 Feb. 1909. A special committee was set up by the Research Committee on 30 June. Hope's first report was read on 28 Apr. 1910 and another on 25 Jan. 1912. At the Executive of 29 May 1913, it was resolved that a semi-official visit should be paid to the site during the summer, but not enough members wished to go. Hope continued to work on the site after he resigned the Secretaryship in 1910.

⁵ Anniversary Meeting, 1910; jointly with Sussex Archaeological Society.

⁶ Anniversary Meetings, 1909 and 1910; W. Gowland in *Arch.* lviii. 127.

⁷ Wroxeter was the first of the Society's excavations to be published in separate Research Reports. Vol. i appeared in 1912, ii in 1914, iii in 1916. Some further work there was done with the aid of a considerable grant from Sir Charles Hyde in 1923-7 and again under Sir Charles Marston's auspices in 1936-7.

⁸ Hengistbury Head was undertaken late in 1911 because the site was threatened by a building scheme. It was published by J. P. Bushe Fox in the Research Report in 1915.

⁹ Anniversary Meeting, 1911.

¹⁰ Investigated by Hope in Apr. 1912.

¹¹ Research Committee, 11 Feb. 1910.

¹² Anniversary Meeting, 1911.

¹³ *Proc. Soc. Ants.*, 2nd series, xxiii. 187.

'Our habit has been to confine our energies to our own sphere of action, our particular branches of research, the reading of papers, and the publication of one and the other. We have hardly ever looked outside and taken note of how the subject for which we exist is being treated by other bodies who have entered the field later than ourselves. We take no account of the scientifically trained archaeologists who are annually turned into our midst, though in many cases the men who have trained them are members of our own body. It is a mere chance if any one of these young men fresh from their triumphs in archaeology at Oxford or Cambridge, or perhaps from even more classical lands, offers himself as a candidate for our suffrages. I need not describe to you the method by which our members are recruited nor do I at this moment intend to criticize it. But it will be readily admitted that the method is in the main one of co-optation, and that the whole proceeding from beginning to end is of the most accidental character. I make no objection to such a line of action so long as it furnishes for our list of Fellows a sufficient and adequate number of members who have had an archaeological training. By the accidental method we may continue to do this, as I think indeed we have done up to the present. But I confess I should like to see the Society take some steps to ensure that training and knowledge on the part of a certain proportion of its members upon which its stability, its reputation and its successful continuance must depend. . . .'

He advocated the annual bestowal of a gold medal and a gift of books on a candidate who had pursued a course of study in the University of London.

At a Council in December¹ Read announced that he had been in communication with the authorities of the University, and that they welcomed an award from the Society and suggested that it should take the form of an annual scholarship of £50. A joint committee was set up, which recommended² that a Franks Studentship of £50 a year should be established for five years. The University³ wished it to be awarded on an examination open to both external and internal students, but the Society was not in favour of an examination and wished to exclude external students. It was in 1913 awarded to R. E. Mortimer Wheeler of University College.

The Society's publications continued with little change. *Archaeologia* attained its sixty-fifth volume in 1914, in a slightly smaller format.⁴ Its pages were often illustrated with admirable collotypes⁵ and by many colour-plates after water-colours by Praetorius.

In 1893 it was decided⁶ that for the future the Archaeological Survey of England by counties⁷ should be issued separately to

¹ 15 Dec. 1910.

² Council, 15 Feb. 1911.

³ Ibid., 15 May 1912.

⁴ In 1898 Fellows who desired it were invited to apply for Part 1 of *Archaeologia*, xxviii (1840), gratis, and the rest was pulped. The familiar brown cloth binding was first used for vol. lxiii, published in 1912.

⁵ e.g. E. Freshfield's paper 'On the Church now called the Mosque of the Kalendars at Constantinople', *Arch.* lv. 431.

⁶ Council, 20 Dec.

⁷ R. S. Ferguson and H. S. Cooper had contributed a survey of Cumberland and Westmorland on 28 Apr. 1892, printed in *Arch.* liii. 485, and John Evans one on Hertfordshire on

Fellows and not included in *Archaeologia*; in fact, owing to the foundation of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in 1908 the work was being done elsewhere.¹ In 1905 it was agreed that limited special editions should be issued of some of the more important papers published in *Archaeologia*.² In 1909 the President suggested³ that 'the annual reports on excavations undertaken by the Research Committee be printed separately from the other publications of the Society, and preferably of octavo size, and that they should contain a statement of the financial condition of the particular excavation and an appeal for subscriptions from the Society itself'. This was agreed to. In 1908 a General Index to *Archaeologia* was published.⁴

The inevitable time-lag between the reading of a paper and its publication in *Archaeologia* was met by the publication of a summary of the paper in the *Proceedings* even when it was later to be printed in full.⁵

In 1896 the *Proceedings* were extended to include reviews of recent books,⁶ and in 1904 to record discussions at meetings.⁷ In 1907 they included colour-plates for the first time.⁸ In 1893⁹ it was agreed that a resolution of Council made three years before,¹⁰ that Part I of volume vii should be the beginning of a new series of *Vetusta Monumenta*, should be rescinded; in fact no more were issued. The stock of the Cathedrals series was sold off, and various catalogues and other publications were pulped.¹¹

Few other publications were attempted. In 1906¹² Sir Edward Brabrook, V.-P., offered to compile a general history of the Society from the minute-books, but the Executive Committee decided that they would prefer to have the minute-books printed under the

26 Nov. 1891, printed in *Arch.* liii. 245. In fact, after a pause during which none were published, they continued in the *Archaeologia*. Captain J. E. Acland gave a report on Dorset, George Macdonald on Scotland, and E. C. R. Armstrong on Ireland, on 27 June 1918; William Dale on Hampshire, 27 Nov. 1919; R. Garraway Rice for Sussex, 5 Feb. 1920; these did not appear in the *Archaeologia*. A report of 1921 on Oxfordshire by P. Manning and E. T. Leeds was printed in *Arch.* lxxi. 227, and one on Scotland read by J. Graham Callendar on 31 Mar. 1927, in *Arch.* lxxviii. 87.

¹ Council, 25 Nov. 1904.

² Arthur Evans's *Tomb of the Double Axes*, reprinted from *Arch.* lxxv. 1 and published by Quaritch for the Society in 1914, is one of the rare instances of such publications.

³ Executive, 2 Dec.

⁴ It was prepared by Mill Stephenson, *Ants. Corr.*, 16 July 1903.

⁵ The Executive Committee of 29 June 1905 resolved: 'That in future, in the case of papers recommended for publication in *Archaeologia* the authors be requested to furnish an abstract, not exceeding half a page, for insertion in *Proceedings*.'

⁶ Council, 29 Apr. 1896; Library Committee, 12 Nov. 1897.

⁷ On 25 Apr. 1904 Reginald Smith offered to take them down in shorthand, and did so.

⁸ To illustrate an enamelled bronze brooch of Roman date found at Bonsall, Derbyshire, from a water-colour by Praetorius. Another will be found under 30 Jan. 1908.

⁹ Council, 17 May and 20 Dec. 1893; Executive, 18 Jan. 1894.

¹⁰ Council, 18 June 1890.

¹¹ Executive, 21 Feb. 1901.

¹² *Ibid.*, 5 July.

direction of a special committee. This was set up, and recommended¹ that the minute-books anterior to the publication of *Archaeologia* should be printed under the supervision of Mr. C. E. Martin. Nothing more was done in the matter, or in that of a suggested printed catalogue of the Society's manuscripts,² perhaps because of expense.³

Read and Hope fought over the Society's publications as over much else. In 1900 Read called attention at a Council⁴ to what he considered an objectionable terminology in a paper for *Archaeologia* by Mr. Harold Brakspear, where for example the choir of a church appeared as "quire" and dormitory as "dorter" from the French "dortoir", infirmary as "farmery", etc. The Secretary pointed out that these words were unintelligible to the bulk of the fellows and were undesirable on other grounds and as Mr. Brakspear had objected to the Secretary's replacing them by the usual modern words he asked the directions of the Council. The Council, Micklethwaite dissenting, backed up Read. Five years later Brakspear (supported by Hope) was still recalcitrant. Read wrote indignantly:⁵ 'I cannot and will not have terms and words that nobody understands, when there are good English terms that are universally accepted. Farmery, Quire and Dorter are simply bits of pedantry, and Infirmary, Choir and Dormitory are good English and will serve the purpose of *Archaeologia*. . . .' The letter shows that Read himself had fallen a victim to one of Hope's campaigns: the acceptance of the omission of the article when speaking of *the Archaeologia*.

A good many gifts and bequests were received by the Society.⁶ In 1893⁷ the Rev. I. G. Lloyd gave a planispheric astrolabe of the fourteenth century, probably made at Valencia. In 1896 the President gave a collection of drawings of objects from Hallstatt.⁸ In 1898 George Scharf left nearly all his antiquarian and topographical drawings to the Society, but for some reason—probably space—the bequest was not very acceptable.⁹ In 1901¹⁰ the Society received a valuable gift of four volumes of Willis's notes and architectural sketches, and in 1906 a portfolio of drawings and designs for Barry's and Pugin's Houses of Parliament.¹¹

¹ Executive, 14 Mar. 1907.

² Ibid., 21 Feb. 1907.

³ On 19 Jan. 1910 a Committee on Publications recommended that an Editorial Committee should be set up to advise the Assistant Secretary, chiefly on economy.

⁴ 30 Nov. 1900.

⁵ Letter from Read to Hope, 15 Sept. 1905; Ants. Corr. Brakspear was publishing a paper on Lacock Abbey.

⁶ A paper by the Director, Sir Edward Brabrook, on the Directors of the Society (27 Jan. 1910, *Arch.* lxii. 59) provoked a number of criticisms of the care bestowed on the Society's possessions.

⁷ Meeting, 18 May.

⁸ Ibid., 4 June.

⁹ Council, 25 Mar. 1898. The bequest was still under discussion in 1900. Ants. Corr.

¹⁰ Council, 18 Jan.

¹¹ Meeting, 21 June; they were given by Somers Clarke.

In 1906¹ the Director, Hilton Price, gave a large old glass goblet, which he had had engraved with the Society's name, to be used in counting the balls in the ballot. Two years later² Sir Edward Brabrook moved: 'That a decent and proper mace be made for the Society and that it be referred to the Executive Committee to consider and report upon the same.' The Executive considered the question³ and asked Hope, as Assistant Secretary, to give his views. He suggested a mace like that of a town, with the arms of George II as giver of the Charter.

'The mace should not be more than 2 feet 6 inches long, so that it may be used with the Society's velvet cushion, and round the head might appropriately be placed the Society's well-known badge, the four-armed lamp, with the motto *NON EXTINGVETVR*, alternating with shields of the Society's arms. These happily exhibit the Cross of St. George and the royal crown.

As regards the general design of the mace, it has been suggested that as the Society was first founded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some of the ornamental detail might be representative of that period. . . . The mace should be of silver gilt with the usual wooden core. . . .'

The Executive Committee accepted these suggestions in the main, but thought that no restrictions of style should be imposed on the designs that were to be invited. The question was then happily solved by the generosity of Colonel Croft Lyons, who on St. George's Day 1912 presented the Society with a silver mace designed by himself, with the arms of the Society in translucent enamel in the top.⁴

In 1908⁵ Sir Thomas Brooke, Bt., bequeathed to the Society a fine Antiphonal of SS. Cosmas and Damian. In 1909⁶ some wax busts and engraved portraits of former Fellows were presented by the Royal Archaeological Institute, who had given up their rooms at 20 Hanover Square, and in 1910 the Society inherited the admirable piece of Elizabethan furniture which served as the Noviomagians' Presidential Chair.⁷ In 1910⁸ they also received a bequest of £200 from their Fellow, Max Rosenheim, and in 1911⁹ the Rowlandson drawing of the *Reception of a New Member in the Society of Antiquarians* was given by Henry Pfungst. From the Society's own funds £200 was spent in 1901 on Lincolnshire drawings.¹⁰

¹ Meeting, 29 Nov. 1906.

² Council, 11 Dec. 1908.

³ 14 Jan. 1909.

⁴ Bicentenary Booklet, plate xviii.

⁵ It was exhibited at the meeting of 3 Dec.

⁶ Executive, 18 Nov.

⁷ Council, 23 Feb. 1910. The Council decided that the Noviomagians' mace should be sent to the British Museum. A plate recording the history of the chair was affixed to it, and it stands at present on the half-landing of the main staircase. See also Kendrick in *Ants. Journ.*, July 1946, p. 183. The chair was presented by Mr. Dillon Croker, son of Crofton Croker the President.

⁸ Council, 22 Nov.

⁹ Meeting, 30 Nov.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 Nov. 1901.

The chief acquisitions were made for the Library.¹ In 1894 it received manuscript collections for a history of the Savoy Palace, made by C. T. Martin for the late Rev. Henry White,² and a gift of £300 stock from Hugh Owen,³ to be expended 'preferably on books illustrating ceramics'. At the Anniversary of 1895 Franks as President announced important gifts of more than 1,100 books on heraldry from G. E. Cokayne, Clarenceux Herald, and of 800 others from himself. When Franks died in 1897 it was found⁴ that he had left the Society all his printed books on antiquities, art, history, and genealogy that were not already in the Library, his heraldic manuscripts, and any engravings or drawings they might choose. A special bookplate with Franks's portrait was engraved to distinguish this bequest.⁵ In November 1900 the Secretary received a letter⁶ from the Secretary of the Royal Archaeological Institute stating that they were giving up their rooms and were desirous of offering the Society any books they had which were not already in the Library, and that in return they asked that the members of the Institute should have the privilege of using the Antiquaries' Library. The offer was accepted, the privilege was granted, and a considerable number of books were received.⁷

Room was found for these acquisitions by a drastic weeding from the Library of little-used books, including the set of the *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*.⁸

A similar process of elimination was applied to the Society's collections. Their casts of ornaments on Staffordshire bells were in 1899 accepted by the Victoria and Albert Museum,⁹ and in 1901¹⁰ a proposal was brought forward 'that in view of the demand for more room for the Society's Library the Executive Committee be requested to consider the desirability of transferring the Society's Museum to the Trustees of the British Museum, and the terms of

¹ The Supplementary Catalogue issued in 1898 contains some 360 pages. Between 1899 and 1913 the purchase of books for the Library was in the hands of the Executive. Council, 14 Feb. 1899 and Executive, 12 Nov. 1913.

² Council, 2 May; they were given by the Rev. W. J. Loftie.

³ Council, 21 Nov.

⁴ Ibid., 3 June, 1897.

⁵ See report by St. John Hope, 15 Dec. 1899. The bequest comprised some 1,350 books and some 400 tracts.

⁶ Council, 30 Nov. 1900.

⁷ A proposal was made in 1901 (Council, 15 Mar.) by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies to deposit their library at the Antiquaries on similar terms, with the use of an office and the payment of a subsidy; and another from the Anthropological Institute was made a little later (Council, 26 Apr.). After prolonged discussion both were refused on the grounds that there was insufficient room.

⁸ Council, 3 July 1895. Some were offered to the Museum of Natural History and some to the Guildhall Library and the rest were sold. Council, 17 Jan. 1894. Further weeding was done in 1899; Letter Book, 6 Dec. At the Executive Committee of 8 Feb. 1900, it was reported that £90. 15s. 6d. had been received by the sale of such books.

⁹ Ants. Corr.

¹⁰ Council, 18 Jan. 1901.

such transfer'. A memorandum from Read as Secretary was read at the subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee.¹

'The bulk of the collection he considered as of trifling monetary value, but it contained some few objects of importance which, with other antiquities, would be useful additions to the British Museum collections.

Three particular items he thought should be retained by the Society: (i) the lamp used as the Society's badge; (i) the mace of Peter le Neve; and (iii) Dr. Prattinton's collection of impressions of seals.

Mr. Read would propose that the British Museum should, at a convenient time, pay to the exchequer of the Society a sum of £450 as a consideration for the transfer, which did not include the Society's collection of pictures, coins or impressions of seals.'

The Executive meekly accepted the memorandum and recommended it to the favourable consideration of the Council, which proved equally acquiescent. At the Anniversary, however, the President reported that a few protests had already been received; and when the proposal was put to the vote a 'very large' majority of those present moved that it should be postponed for six months while other means of accommodating the Library were sought for. In the end the porter and his family were evicted from the basement² and their quarters turned into bookstores; and only the Hoxne flint implements (and those only on loan) went to the British Museum.³

In 1906 Albert Hartshorne, Kerrich's grandson, wrote⁴ to suggest that the Society should give him back the family collection of coins,⁵ and the Executive Committee, the Council, and the Society at large concurred in granting the request,⁶ doubtless with the idea of making space.

After the Assistant Secretary went out of residence the two back rooms on the top floor were set apart for a museum,⁷ and at the Anniversary of 1912 the President announced that the Society's collections were being rearranged in them by Reginald Smith, his assistant in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum.

A great innovation was made in 1892. At the Executive Committee of 28 January it was agreed: 'That an offer by Mr. F. J.

¹ 28 Feb. 1901.

² Council, 28 June; Executive, Nov. 1901. His wages were raised to cover his rent. In 1912 the question of a night watchman was raised (Executive, 14 Mar. 18 Apr., and 9 May) and one engaged at £1 a week.

³ Council, 20 Mar. 1903.

⁴ Ants. Corr. He also suggested that his grandfather's name should be 'visibly associated' with his bequest of pictures.

⁵ See above, p. 257.

⁶ Executive, 13 Dec. 1906; Meetings, 24 Jan. and 7 Feb. 1907.

⁷ Executive, 7 Dec. 1911.

Haverfield, F.S.A., to give an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of inscriptions and architectural fragments found at Chester, be accepted with thanks if the lantern arrangements can be carried out.' A lantern was hired for this lecture, and again for two in 1895.¹ In 1896² the Society bought a second-hand 'electric' lantern and stand from the Royal Society for £10. This roused fears for safety, and after modifications³ was replaced by a more modern instrument.⁴ In 1900 the Council decided to embark on the formation of a slide collection,⁵ and issued a circular inviting the gift of slides from Fellows, which were to be lent like books, subject to a payment of 2s. 6d. per slide in case of loss or damage.⁶ A number were received⁷ and some were borrowed. In 1909 the question of who should pay for the slides used at meetings came up,⁸ and it was decided that they should be made at the reader's cost unless he applied for help on the grounds of hardship.

Haverfield had initiated the use of lantern slides, and in 1907 he suggested a further innovation in the installation of a telephone. His suggestion was later accepted.⁹ In 1909 the Society acquired 'a typewriting machine',¹⁰ and in 1913 improved the ventilation in the Library and modernized its lighting.

The Society's activities in preservation continued, and were paralleled by those of other institutions newly founded for the same end.¹¹ The London Survey Committee was founded in 1894 to undertake the recording of London;¹² the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty was founded in 1894, with power to hold houses and land as John Ruskin had wished the Society to do;¹³ and the National Arts-Collections Fund, to secure accessions for the Museums, was founded in 1903. In 1898¹⁴ the Antiquaries refused to co-operate with the National Society for the Checking of Abuses of Public Advertizing, 'as the object of the S.C.A.P.A. is foreign to the Society of Antiquaries', and in 1911¹⁵ declined to have anything to do with the Walpole Society as they

¹ 28 Nov. and 5 Dec.

² Executive, 20 Feb.

³ Ibid., 8 Apr. 1897.

⁴ Feb. 1899.

⁵ Council, 6 Apr.

⁶ Executive, 3 May 1900.

⁷ At the Executive of 29 Nov. 1900 it was announced that Sir Martin Conway had given his collection of slides of Egyptian and Chaldaean antiquities. In 1931 three to four thousand lantern slides left to the British Archaeological Association by Keyser were entrusted to the Society.

⁸ Executive, 13 May 1909. On 27 Jan. 1916 the Executive decided that payments of more than ten shillings in this respect must be referred to them.

⁹ Executive, 21 Mar. 1907; 18 Nov. 1909.

¹⁰ Executive, 1 July 1909. A typewritten sheet was stuck into the minutes of the Executive Committee for the first time on 10 June 1920.

¹¹ In 1900 the Antiquaries appointed a special committee to answer the questionnaire issued by the Government Committee on Local Records.

¹² At the Council of 25 Nov. 1896 a letter was read from the London County Council inviting the Society to co-operate in this work, and to appoint a representative to a conference on the subject. Philip Norman represented the Society.

¹³ See above, p. 309.

¹⁴ Council, 18 Nov.

¹⁵ Council, 28 Apr.

considered its interests too late for them; and they decided that the formation of a Society for the Survey and Investigation of British Earthworks, to be called the Pitt-Rivers Society, was 'unnecessary'.¹

Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Protection Act applied only to prehistoric monuments; as early as 1888² Albert Hartshorne had complained that it did not protect such monuments as the Eleanor Crosses from defacement. He asked for a short Act to enlarge the power of scheduling monuments. In 1890 Lubbock expressed his willingness to accept an amendment to extend the scope of his Act, and in 1892 the Antiquaries set up a committee to consider the possibilities. The Congress of Archaeological Societies at their 1895 meeting passed a resolution urging their members to press upon their representatives in Parliament the necessity of carrying out the provisions of the existing Act and the advisability of extending its scope to cover Romano-British and Early Christian monuments.³ They sent a copy of the resolution to the Antiquaries with a letter asking them to take the initiative in the matter, but the Council did nothing more than refer it to the Officers. Franks made his own inquiries of Pitt-Rivers, the Inspector appointed under the Act, and received a letter⁴ which left no doubts of the difficulty of the situation.

'The Ancient Monuments Act came into operation about the end of March 1883. My instructions then were to obtain a monument for the Act whenever an opportunity occurred; but that if it became expensive, the whole thing would be put an end to. Allowance was made for travelling expenses and personal expenses, but I found it so difficult to obtain the travelling expenses, that I found it more convenient to travel at my own expense. I also took about with me one of my private archaeological clerks, who did what was necessary for surveying, no clerk being allowed by the Government. A plan and section of every Monument put under the Act was sent in, and is now in the Office of Works. They were simple outline plans, necessary in order to detect any damage that might be done to the monuments in after times. For the first eight years the work went on actively, and 63 Monuments were placed under the Act, 23 of which were scheduled and 40 not scheduled. I was then informed that the Board of Works were unwilling to have so many Monuments added to the list and 'as the Act was permissive, the attitude of the Government towards it must be passive'. If owners desired to offer their Monuments, the Government were bound to do it, but I was prohibited from taking any further steps to obtain them. I was also told that they had not the necessary machinery for protecting them in different parts of the country. The Board of Works surveyors were unable to do the work satisfactorily.

Seeing that the Office of Inspector must become a sinecure under these circumstances, I informed the Board that I could not continue to accept any salary as Inspector, but should be glad to continue to give any advice upon the

¹ Council, 18 Nov.

³ 26 Feb. 1896.

² Meeting, 29 Nov. 1888.

⁴ 20 Apr. 1896; Ants. Corr.

monuments without pay, if they desired it. This they gladly accepted. . . . Since then only one Monument has been added to the list, which I fully expected, as from first to last no Monument has been offered to the Government by its owner. All have been applied to by me. . . .

There has been no demand for the services of the Act from first to last either by the owners, by archaeologists, or by the public. . . .'

The President referred to the subject in his Anniversary Address for 1896, advocating the scheduling of historical monuments on the French system under an extension of the Ancient Monuments Act. He recommended the setting up of a committee to investigate what was being done in other countries and to draft a petition. This was done; the committee duly investigated what was done in France, Germany, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Rome, Tuscany, Spain, Portugal, Greece, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States, and found that Russia alone had no legislation on the matter.¹ The ineffectiveness of the existing Act even in the protection of prehistoric monuments was well demonstrated in 1898, when the barrows at Afton Downs in the Isle of Wight were levelled to make a golf course.

In 1899 Lord Balcarres brought in an Ancient Monuments Protection Bill, with the general approval of the Society. His Act, which became law in 1900, empowered the Commissioner of Works at the request of the owner to become the guardian of *any* monument of which the preservation was a matter of public interest 'by reason of the historic, traditional or artistic interest attaching thereto'. The only monuments excluded were houses more fully occupied than by a caretaker and his family. County councils were empowered to buy and contribute to the maintenance of monuments; public access was to be granted to those in their guardianship as to those under the Commissioner.

The Society gave less help to the movement for a legal scheduling of ancient monuments than might have been expected; its general feeling was, in fact, divided between a proper wish for their preservation and a horror of intrusion on the rights of private property. In 1907² a letter was received from the British Association suggesting the preparation of a list not only of megalithic monuments but also of all ancient monuments deemed worthy of the national care, and the compulsory acquisition of such monuments. The Council expressed approval of the compilation of a list but declared that they deprecated 'anything of a compulsory character being added to the Act'.

This attitude of mind, widely shared outside the Society, was

¹ Anniversary Address, 1897. In 1898 Lord Salisbury as Foreign Secretary got similar information from Great Britain's diplomatic representatives abroad.

² Council, 28 June.

reflected in the purely permissive character of the 1900 Act, which required the consent and even the desire of the owner before a monument could be protected.

In 1908 the Government¹ appointed a Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, which met for the first time in November. Its scope was defined as being 'to make an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments and constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization, and conditions of life of the people of England, excluding Monmouthshire, from the earliest times to the year 1700, and to specify those which seemed most worthy of preservation'. The Society, which considered that the scheme had originated with them, was offended that it was not officially represented on the Commission. A special meeting of the Council was held² to consider the question, and a letter was drafted to be sent by Lord Dillon as President to Asquith as Prime Minister, expressing the Society's feelings of good will towards the Commission, but stating that

'At the same time it is within the knowledge of the Council that much prejudice and dissatisfaction have been created by the knowledge or assumption that whereas a number of Societies of less prominence and authority than the Society of Antiquaries of London have been invited to submit names of members of the Commission, the Society of Antiquaries has not been consulted in the same way, nor is it officially represented on the Commission. The inevitable fact that a certain number of members of the Commission are also Fellows of the Society cannot in any practical sense make these members officially representative.'

Dillon went on to point out that in the proposals for the Scottish Commission the President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was *ex officio* Chairman of the Commission, and the Secretary its secretary. The Council did not suggest a similar arrangement in England, but considered that a representative of the Society should be included.³

The Prime Minister replied⁴ that he was unable to increase the number of the members of the Commission and as in fact five out of eleven were Fellows he did not consider that the Society had been overlooked. At the same time Lord Dillon announced that he had been invited to be the first witness to give evidence before the Commission.⁵ The Council generously agreed that persons nominated by the Commission might use the Society's Library.

¹ 27 Oct.

² 28 Oct. 1908.

³ When the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments for Wales was appointed in 1908 the Society was not directly represented.

⁴ 3 Nov.; read at Council, 25 Nov. 1908.

⁵ In his Anniversary Address for 1908 Dillon said that in his position of witness before the Commission he had come to feel that the Society should have done more to compile lists of antiquities on a local basis.

By the spring of 1910 the Commission was able to appoint a staff of investigators to plan the systematic recording of the historical monuments of England up to 1715. The first of their inventories, that of Hertfordshire, was finished in 1910.

At the same time it was widely felt that recording was not enough. Early in 1911¹ a resolution was received from the Congress of Archaeological Societies: 'That the position of the Society of Antiquaries of London in respect of work hitherto accomplished in advising diocesan authorities on matters of Church restoration should be strengthened by the grant of additional powers through the Ancient Monuments (England) Royal Commission and that the Council of the Congress of Archaeological Societies of England and Wales recommends the appointment of the Society as the advisory authority for England and Wales in all matters relating to the fabric, furniture and monuments of Churches.'

In August² the First Commissioner of Works wrote to the Secretary, enclosing a copy of the Inspector's report for 1910-11, to invite the co-operation of the Society in making this work known:

'The influence of those learned societies whether national or local, which have for their object the encouragement of historical and antiquarian research, is a most valuable factor in arousing and sustaining public interest in the preservation of our national antiquities, and the First Commissioner hopes that your Society will help to advance this most desirable work, by making known as widely as possible the scope of the Acts as set out in the accompanying Official memorandum, and thereby securing for some of the many historical monuments of the country that permanent protection of which they stand so greatly in need.

I am to add that the preparation and transmission to this Office of a list of Monuments within the sphere of action of your Society which by the co-operation of their owners might be handed over to the custody of the Office under the Acts, would be a most valuable public service.'

Later in the year³ the Hon. Sir Schomberg McDonnell read a paper to the Society on the protection of ancient buildings and monuments. He was Permanent Secretary to the Office of Works, and a member of the Commission, and when he said that more power was needed his words carried weight. Yet though he stressed that scheduling did not cover occupied houses, and that there was no prospect of ecclesiastical buildings being transferred to the State, the discussion *à bâtons rompus* that followed his paper showed that there were still many Fellows who deprecated Government interference.

In 1913 an Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment

¹ Council, 11 Jan.

² 29 Aug. 1911. Antiquaries Library File, 'Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments'.

³ 7 Dec. 1911.

Act was passed which extended the power of purchase to local authorities, strengthened the position of the Commissioners of Works as guardians of monuments, and set up an Ancient Monuments Board with power to make Preservation Orders. The relation between the Society and the Government in the matter was finally settled in 1913,¹ when a letter was received from the Secretary to the Office of Works inviting the Society to nominate a member for the Advisory Board for England under the Act.

The appointment of the Commission made no difference to the Society's day-to-day work in attempting to protect the ancient monuments of England: work which was close to the heart of St. John Hope, and work in which he put forward his best powers.

In 1893 and 1894 interest was centred on the proposed destruction of Philae by the building of the Aswan Dam, and a strong protest was sent.² Later in 1894³ a protest was sent against the proposed demolition of St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate. Early in 1895⁴ the Old Jewry Wall at Leicester was preserved from demolition by a railway. In that year⁵ E. R. Robson drew the attention of the Society to the 'deplorable condition' of the royal monuments in Westminster Abbey. Forty-one years before, the Society had helped to avert their 'restoration', but since then nothing had been done. The Society asked Micklethwaite to inspect them, and he recommended further inactivity.

In 1896 the President reported⁶ that, despite the assurances of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and the officials of the Office of Works, the demolition of the Rolls Chapel had begun. A motion of censure was passed and sent, but no answer was received. A fortnight later⁷ he had to report that extra workmen had been engaged so that the demolition might be completed before Parliament met. A further protest evoked a reply that more attention would be paid to protests in the future.

The Society was beginning to take a more liberal view of the scope of its interests, and in 1896⁸ passed a protest against the proposed demolition of the Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, built by Hawksmoor between 1716 and 1719.⁹

In the same year¹⁰ the Society took action against a proposal to rebuild the upper part of the west front of Peterborough Cathedral. In March 1895 it had been damaged in a storm, and ever since the

¹ Council, 26 Nov.

² Anniversary, 1894. The complete submergence of Philae was for a time avoided.

³ 24 May. ⁴ 3 Jan.

⁵ Meeting, 9 May.

⁶ Meeting, 16 Jan.

⁷ 30 Jan.

⁸ Meeting, 27 Feb.

⁹ In 1906, however (Executive, 8 Mar.), it refused a paper on the lost portrait of Raphael as being outside its scope, and in 1907 (Executive, 30 May) refused to buy Groves's *Dictionary of Exhibitors at the Royal Academy* at half price as being of too modern a character.

¹⁰ Meeting, 26 Nov. Somers Clarke was at this time appointed Local Secretary for Egypt.

Dean and Chapter and their architects and William Morris and the S.P.A.B. had been arguing as to the amount of reconstruction the damage justified. Sir Arthur Blomfield now advised a drastic scheme, which received the approval of the local Restoration Committee. The Antiquaries had offered to send a deputation to wait upon the Dean and Chapter, but their reception had been postponed. On 25 November news was received that the work of taking down was to begin at once. The Society sent another letter of protest. On 30 November Hope went down to Peterborough, to find that work was about to begin and that the Society's letter was not to be considered until the Restoration Committee met at the end of January. A deputation to the Dean and Chapter was hurriedly arranged and was received on 4 December. The Society asked for three months' delay. On 16 December the Council issued a circular to the Fellows asking for subscriptions to a Preservation Fund, and by 14 January 1897 £725 had been promised, but the Dean and Chapter refused to consider any further delay or any further protests. Two representatives of the Society who visited Peterborough at the end of December were refused access to the west front, and the refusal was confirmed at a chapter meeting.

The Antiquaries sent out a further circular on 11 January 1897, to recount all this and to bring forward an alternative scheme of conservation prepared by five architects, all Fellows of the Society, who had studied the building from the scaffolding, and supported by fourteen more whose knowledge of it was less detailed. At the Anniversary Meeting of 1897 the President had to announce that the whole protest had been a failure except in rousing public interest in the general question of restoration.

The exhibition of English medieval paintings in 1896¹ drew attention to the state of the Westminster Retable. The Dean and Chapter first suggested depositing it on loan with the Society, but this was not what the Council wanted. It was eventually² returned to the Abbey, and repaired under the auspices of the Society at the expense of a few of the Fellows.

In 1897 the Society protested³ against the threatened disfigurement of the Hospital of St. Cross at Winchester by its legal guardians, and in the next year at the threatened destruction of many buildings, notably St. Bartholomew's Hospital at Oxford. In 1899⁴ the Society addressed a letter to the French authorities on the condition of the sculptures of the Hôtel Bourgtheroulde at Rouen. A fall of stones on the last day of 1899⁵ drew attention to the state

¹ See above, p. 349.

² Meeting, 23 June 1898.

³ Anniversary Meeting.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 21 Nov. 1918. A committee on Stonehenge appointed on 17 May 1881 had produced a report in favour of inaction in repairs there, and four minority reports. Meeting, 24 Nov. 1881.

of Stonehenge. The Society advised the owner on the precautions to be taken, and he accepted the control of a joint committee of the Antiquaries, the Wiltshire Society, and the S.P.A.B.¹

In 1900 J. L. Myres² roused the Society to protest successfully against the proposal to find stone for the harbour works at Fama-gusta by pulling down the curtain wall of the city, and in 1901 the Society was involved in the protest against the Treasury's attempt to secure possession of the Irish gold ornaments from the British Museum.³ In 1903⁴ it protested against the proposed removal of Peckitt's glass, set up in the east window of Exeter Cathedral under the auspices of Jeremiah Milles, to make room for a new window in memory of Archbishop Temple. In the following year the Society was busy trying to preserve the Whitgift Hospital at Croydon, Claypole Bridge in Lincolnshire, and other buildings.

In 1905 the Society paid for the repair of the mosaic pavements of the Roman Villa at Bignor,⁵ and also paid for the fixing to the Elsing brass of the figure of Roger Lord Grey of Ruthyn, which had been returned from Cambridge, and the protection of the brass by folding doors.⁶ In the following year⁷ a circular letter was sent to all bishops and archdeacons to protest against the sale of Church plate and other objects of antiquity. In the same year⁸ the Society worked with the Royal Geographical Society to get the record of ancient earthworks and other monuments on the Ordnance Survey brought up to date.

In 1907 Crosby Hall was threatened with demolition. The Society protested⁹ but could do nothing.¹⁰ In 1910¹¹ they heard, and supported, a good propaganda paper by George Jeffery, Curator of Ancient Monuments in Cyprus, on the state of the antiquities of the island, and notably on the destruction of ancient village churches under the British régime.

The two decades round 1900 were years when the tides of archaeological research flowed fast and high. A century before men had been content to consider single objects *in vacuo*; fifty years before it had been enough to arrange a type-series of objects from recorded sites. Then stratigraphy had brought a new vision; and

¹ In 1901 the leaning stone was successfully raised.

² Ants. Corr.

³ Meeting, 28 Nov. 1901.

⁴ Meeting, 29 Jan.

⁵ £46. 18s. was spent instead of the £20 authorized. An excursion to see the site was arranged for 13 July 1906.

⁶ A paper on the brass by Hartshorne and Hope, with excellent photographic illustrations, was read on 11 May 1905; *Arch. lx.* 25.

⁷ Council, 14 Jan.; Executive, 22 Feb. 1906.

⁸ Ants. Corr., May.

⁹ Meeting, 6 June.

¹⁰ The Hall was eventually re-erected at Chelsea and is the headquarters of the British Federation of University Women.

¹¹ 17 Mar. 1910; *Arch. lxii.* 125. Arthur Evans also spoke on the destruction of the classical antiquities in the island.

now, for the first time, the excavator's aim was to make his site yield a view not merely of objects but also of the men who had made and used them.

A fresh emphasis was laid on the geography of cultural movement. F. J. Haverfield demonstrated the relation between the Roman occupation and the geography of Britain; John Myres, at once historian, geologist, and geographer, began to set the problems of archaeology against a wider screen of knowledge. He soon found disciples in O. G. S. Crawford and Harold Peake. A landmark was set up by Crawford's paper on the distribution of gold torcs and double-looped palstaves in the *Proceedings* for 1912.¹ Their work was just coming to fruition when in 1914 the outbreak of war postponed its growth for several years.

The decades round 1900 were a great age of excavation, when the principles first laid down by Pitt-Rivers were worked out in many fields. There was no blind acceptance of them; each man found the method that suited his conscience and his temperament. Petrie wrote in 1904 '... In few kinds of work are the results so directly dependent on the personality of the worker as they are in excavating. The old saying that a man finds what he looks for in a subject is too true; or, it is at least sadly true that he does not find anything that he does not look for. . . .'² In his view broken nails and horny hands were the badge of the good excavator, for 'nothing can be a substitute for finger-work in extracting objects, or clearing ground delicately'. At the same time he envisaged the employment of hundreds of unskilled workmen under native foremen, with intermittent supervision that received its authority chiefly from an element of surprise. Strata did not particularly interest him; he still worked in terms of type-series. Minute recording of finds interested him still less; he was a great believer in a system of rewards for finds of special interest.³

Meanwhile the scientific use of stratigraphy in British excavation remained remarkably unequal. It had been almost ignored in the excavations sponsored by the Antiquaries at Silchester in the nineties, and played little more part in the later excavations at Caerwent. It was not until the exploration of Hengistbury Head and Wroxeter by J. P. Bushe-Fox in 1911-14 that stratigraphical analysis became an essential part of the Society's system of excavation.

¹ H. F. Bidder, in laying a paper on an early Anglo-Saxon burying ground at Mitcham before the Society in 1905 (30 Nov.) specifically noted that the excavation had been carried out on the plan adopted by the late Gen. Pitt-Rivers, and the greatest pains taken to keep the different levels distinct.

² *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, p. 1.

³ An excellent account and criticism of his methods will be found in Wheeler, *Archaeology from the Earth*, 1954, p. 14.

In every field it was recognized that recording was as important as discovery. Franks, though himself no excavator, declared in his Anniversary Address for 1895 that 'the great point is that when excavations are made the results should be clearly set down and published; otherwise it would be better that the mine had remained unopened', and cited Christy and Lartet, Greenwell, and Pitt-Rivers as exemplars.

Nine years later Petrie declared:¹ 'to empty the contents of [excavators'] note-books on a reader's head is not publishing'. Yet he admitted² that 'nowadays the main structure of a book of any descriptive science is its plates, and the text is to show the meaning and relation of the facts already expressed by form'.

In fact there has never been a time when the styles of publication have been more various. To take the single field of Aegean archaeology, they range from the picturesque and imaginative writings of Arthur Evans to the quasi-mathematical symbols to which Wace and Thompson tried to reduce Thessalian pottery.³

Men were beginning to realize that not only the type and provenance of an object but also its associations were significant. It was no longer enough to range a weapon or a fibula in a type-series; instead (in principle if not always in practice) the finds from different strata and different sites had to be so ranged.⁴

The Victorian philosophy of progress, too, had to go by the board, and regression be accepted as an alternative process in history, as men came more and more to study civilizations such as Egypt, Sumer, Crete, and Roman Britain, that had flourished and come to an end. Perhaps in consequence few archaeologists moralized about their finds or made them part of any great historic synthesis. Petrie advised them:⁵ 'It is well to work slowly over all the petty details of an important discovery, perhaps for half an hour, while considering all the facts and their meaning, before finally and irrevocably removing the main evidences of position.' When they had marked it on plan or section, given it a number, taken it up, cleaned it, measured it, photographed or drawn it, described it, and fitted it into a methodical scheme of publication, it needed to be a very strange object indeed if it were to provoke philosophical speculation.

It became necessary not only to encourage good excavators but

¹ Op. cit., p. 50.

² Ibid., p. 115.

³ A typological code is advocated by Petrie, op. cit., p. 122, and was attempted by him in describing his finds from Diospolis Parva in 1898.

⁴ Petrie (who tended to think in type-series) none the less wrote in 1904 (op. cit., p. 48) to criticize Museum authorities who 'divide up a tomb-group of objects . . . and foolishly scatter them up and down the galleries merely as second-rate specimens of what is already there, without any date or history. This is actually the case in the three largest national museums.'

⁵ Op. cit., p. 50.

also to dissuade bad ones. In this the Antiquaries did their best. After a paper read by a Fellow, John Ward, in February 1899,¹ on several barrows recently opened in Derbyshire, 'Mr. Read ventured to question the utility of such communications as the foregoing, in which no plans of the excavations or even of the district were produced to the meeting, and such aids are the more necessary when the relics are scarce. The account left him of opinion that these barrows had in some cases not been thoroughly explored. The absence of plans and sections, therefore, was not only an error in itself, but would effectually prevent proper exploration afterwards. He strongly deprecated the opening of barrows by any but competent explorers. Incompetence destroyed the evidence.'

Little was done in England in the palaeolithic field until the later years of these two decades. Benjamin Harrison's discovery of eoliths had churned up the waters, but prehistorians were still divided as to whether they should be taken seriously. John Evans, the chief opponent of their authenticity, died in 1908,² and after that they became more widely accepted.

When the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia was founded at a meeting at Norwich in October 1908, Dr. W. Allen Sturge said in his Presidential Address:³ 'There can be no question but that of late years our country has dropped behind some of its neighbours in the attention paid to the subject. Forty years ago we were in the forefront. . . . For some years past . . . our science has for all practical purposes gone to sleep.'

In 1912 Read in his Anniversary Address declared that prehistory, dormant for many years, now figured largely in the Society's meetings and publications. In 1911, indeed, R. R. Marett read a paper⁴ on Pleistocene Man in Jersey, and Reginald Smith one on a palaeolithic industry at Northfleet.⁵ In 1913⁶ Smith and H. Dewey contributed an important account of the stratification at Swanscombe revealed by excavations made on behalf of the British Museum and His Majesty's Geological Survey, and in the next year⁷ a report of similar excavations made on the High Terrace of the Thames.

Little was published on the Neolithic period. In 1910⁸ Wyman spoke on prehistoric pits at Peterborough and Reginald Smith on the development of Neolithic pottery; and in 1912⁹ Reginald Smith contributed a paper on the date of Grime's Graves and Cissbury

¹ 2 Feb. The paper was printed in the *Proceedings*.

² The Society met on the day of his funeral (4 June 1908) and deplored the loss of a man who had been for 56 years a Fellow.

³ *Proceedings*, i. 9.

⁴ 23 Feb. 1911; *Arch.* lxii. 449. He read a further paper on the subject on 27 June 1912; *Arch.* lxiii. 203.

⁵ 4 May 1911; *ibid.*, p. 515.

⁷ 2 Apr. 1914; *Arch.* lxxv. 187.

⁸ 30 June 1910; *Arch.* lxii. 333.

⁶ 17 Apr. 1913; *Arch.* lxiv. 177.

⁹ 9 May 1912; *Arch.* lxiii. 109.

flint mines. The excavation of the Lake Village at Meare continued and was followed in 1911-12 by Bulleid and Gray's investigation of the Lake Village at Glastonbury. In 1911¹ Reginald Smith read a paper on lake-dwellings in Holderness. Hadrian Allcraft in 1908 published his *Earthwork of England*, that provided a general survey of the whole country, with many plans. The importance of direct observation in these early periods was confirmed by the coining of the phrase 'field archaeologist', on the analogy of field naturalist, a little before 1915.²

It was a time of immense discoveries in every field of the Bronze Age. In Egypt, Petrie declared,³ a concession to dig was sought much like the grant of a monastery at the Dissolution; yet comparatively little Egyptological material appeared in the *Archaeologia*. Petrie and Quibell brought Predynastic Egyptian art to light at Naquada and Ballas in 1895, but no paper on the subject was read to the Antiquaries.⁴

In the Far East an epoch ended with the deaths of Austen Layard and Henry Rawlinson, reported at the Anniversary Meeting of 1895; and a new epoch only began with a fresh decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphs by R. Campbell Thompson in 1912.⁵

The great discoveries of the time were in the Aegean field. In 1892 Dörpfeld, working on the site of Troy, had assigned the sixth stratum at Hissarlik to the Homeric Age and had upset all Schliemann's chronology. Two years later Arthur Evans announced⁶ his discovery of prehistoric pictographs in the Aegean area, and claimed the existence of ninety-seven signs from a linear script. It had been generally accepted that the men of the Mycenaean Age were unacquainted with writing; yet on two vases from Mycenae he had seen signs scratched that seemed to him pictographic and comparable with others on the pottery from Gurob and Kahun⁷ which J. L. Myres had recognized as being of Cretan fabric. He thought, too, that he had found yet earlier symbols on Mycenaean gems and seals.

His visit to the island in the spring of 1894 secured additional

¹ 21 Nov. 1912; *Arch.* lxiv. 1.

² O. G. S. Crawford, in *Archaeology in the Field*, p. 36, says it was first used by Dr. Williams Freeman.

³ *Methods and Aims*, p. 1.

⁴ On 22 June 1899 F. G. Hilton Price read a paper on some Predynastic and early Dynastic antiquities in his own collection.

⁵ Petrie's Chair at University College, London, was now complemented by a Readership (later turned into a Professorship) in Egyptology, founded in 1901 and occupied by F. Ll. Griffith.

⁶ 'Primitive Pictographs and a Prae-Phoenician Script, from Crete and the Peloponnese' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiv, 1894, p. 270. (Reprinted with additions, Quaritch, 1895.) On this and his later work in Crete see Joan Evans, *Time and Chance*, chap. xvii, from which the present account is largely summarized.

⁷ See above, p. 338.

material. On the site of Knossos he found marks on stones which compared with those on some of his gems, and a 'Mycenaean' sherd. He soon determined to secure the site for excavation, but negotiation with its co-proprietors had to be prolonged. He came back to England in April 1894 with proof of the existence of a pictographic and a linear system of writing in the island.

In 1895 he returned with John Myres to the island. On 14 March Myres was able to read a paper to the Antiquaries on prehistoric polychrome pottery from Kamarais and to point out its close likeness to the XIIth Dynasty fragments from Kahun. Meanwhile the excavations conducted by the British School at Athens at Phylakopi in Melos had revealed pottery clearly from the same complex.

Political troubles postponed Evans's acquisition of the site of Knossos until the beginning of 1896, and his excavation until 1899. He went out in March, with D. G. Hogarth and Duncan Mackenzie, both more experienced excavators than himself, and the architect Theodore Fyfe. Hogarth soon went off on his own, and it fell to Evans and the rest of his team to reveal a new pre-Mycenaean civilization, for which, in 1904, he suggested the name Minoan.¹

The Antiquaries were deeply interested in discoveries as important as those of Schliemann, yet made by an Englishman who was one of their Fellows. In November 1904² the Council resolved to institute a series of Occasional Publications, with an account by Evans of his work at Knossos as the first volume. He envisaged a series of campaigns and preferred to publish independently, but on 19 January 1905 read an important paper on the prehistoric tombs of Knossos which was published in *Archaeologia*.³ The first volume of Evans's *Scripta Minoa* appeared in 1909. In 1913 he read a paper to the Society on the Tomb of the Double Axes at Knossos which was published in *Archaeologia*.⁴

The Bronze Age of England continued to be studied by Greenwell, who read papers on it in 1892,⁵ 1901,⁶ and 1909,⁷ and Montelius, who in 1908 read a paper on the chronology of the Bronze Age⁸ which was considerably criticized in the discussion by Arthur Evans. In 1912 the Hon. John Abercromby published his *Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland and its*

¹ At the British Association at Cambridge. The ninefold classification was first suggested at the Athens Congress of 1905.

² Council, 23 Nov.

³ *Arch.* lix. 391. Avebury hardly mentioned Evans's discoveries in his Anniversary Addresses, but spoke much of Lang's *Homer and His Age* in 1907.

⁴ 14 Dec. 1913; *Arch.* lxx. 1.

⁵ 5 May 1892, 'Bronze Age Antiquities from County Durham', *Arch.* liv. 87.

⁶ 5 Dec. 1901, 'On Some Rare Forms of Bronze Weapons and Implements', *Arch.* lviii. 1.

⁷ 29 Apr. 1909. 'The Origin, Evolution and Classification of the Bronze Spear-head in Great Britain and Ireland', *Arch.* lxi. 439.

⁸ 20 Feb. 1908; *Arch.* lxi. 97.

Associated Grave-Goods, with the first serious attempt at recording its chronology.¹ In the same year O. G. S. Crawford contributed an important paper to the *Geographical Journal*² on the Early Bronze Age and the Beaker People; H. Sandars read two papers to the Antiquaries on Bronze Age antiquities from Spain;³ R. Munro one on a Bronze Age cemetery at Largs⁴ and Arthur Evans another⁵ on a votive deposit of gold objects from the north-west coast of Ireland.

The prosperity of the Hellenic Society and of the British School in Athens caused most discoveries in the Greek field to be published by them. *Archaeologia* published few classical papers;⁶ and in 1908, indeed, the President declared in his Anniversary Address that such things should go to the Hellenic Society and the School publications. Similarly, the foundation of the British School at Rome in 1901 and of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies ten years later drew off all but a few papers in the classical Italian field from the Antiquaries.⁷

Studies in the historic ages were at this time chiefly centred in Britain herself. There was a good deal of work being done in the Iron Age field;⁸ the work on the Red Hills site is noteworthy as a corporate undertaking, resulting in an excavation report on a modern scale.⁹ Still more was done under Haverfield's influence¹⁰ in the Romano-British field. The Society's excavations at Silchester,

¹ It is interesting to compare his work with the table of pottery published by Pitt-Rivers in 1898 in vol. iv, p. 29 of his *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*.

² Aug. 1912.

³ 8 Mar. 1906, 'Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeña perros', *Arch.* lx. 69; 20 Feb. 1913, 'The Weapons of the Iberians', *Arch.* lxiv. 205.

⁴ 9 June 1910; *Arch.* lxii. 239.

⁵ *Arch.* lv. 391.

⁶ Oldfield, 'On the Reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus', 15 and 22 June 1893, *Arch.* liv. 273, and 26 Nov. 1896, *Arch.* lv. 343; Talfourd Ely, 'On the Vases of Magna Graecia', 31 Jan. 1895, *Arch.* lv. 113; O. M. Dalton, 'On a Byzantine Silver Treasure from Kyrenia, Cyprus, now in the British Museum', 15 Mar. 1900, *Arch.* lvii. 159.

⁷ On 25 Jan. 1900 a paper by Comm. G. Boni on the Niger Lapis at Rome was read, *Arch.* lvii. 175; on 22 Jan. 1903, one by R. T. Günther on the submerged Greek and Roman fore-shore near Naples, *Arch.* lviii. 561; and on 25 June 1908 one by Ashby on the Villa d'Este at Tivoli and its collection of classical sculpture. On 23 May 1912 R. T. Günther and J. J. Manley read a paper on a mural glass mosaic from the Imperial Villa near Naples; *Arch.* lxiii. 99.

⁸ J. Romilly Allen read a paper on metal bowls on 20 Jan. 1898, *Arch.* lvi. 39; W. R. Greenwell on Early Iron Age burials in Yorkshire, 23 Mar. 1905, *Arch.* lx. 25; Reginald Smith an important paper on the Desborough Mirror and allied objects on 3 Dec. 1908, *Arch.* lxi. 329; H. Hurd on a Late Celtic Village at Dumpton Gap, 27 May 1909, *Arch.* lxi. 427; H. E. Balch and R. D. R. Troup on a Late Celtic and Romano-British Cave Dwelling at Wookey Hole, 23 Mar. 1911, *Arch.* lxii. 565, and H. E. Balch, 26 June 1913, *Arch.* lxiv. 338. An exhibition of Late Celtic Antiquities from Welwyn, with papers by Arthur Evans and Reginald Smith, was held on 23 Nov. 1911, *Arch.* lxiii. 1.

⁹ Meetings, 19 Mar. 1908 and 17 Feb. 1910. See also Swinnerton in *Ants. Journ.*, July 1932.

¹⁰ The extent of this is well shown in Kendrick and Hawkes, p. 209.

though carried out with no systematic technique, none the less for the first time revealed the consecutive story of a Roman city in Britain. The Society's subsequent work at Caerwent carried such discoveries a stage further. The investigations at Corbridge were the subject of a series of communications to the Society.¹ Bushe-Fox's work marked a more significant stage in the evolution of a technique of excavation than his reports would suggest. Other excavations and discoveries at Clanville and Appleshaw,² Cardiff,³ London,⁴ and farther afield at Doclea in Montenegro⁵ were reported to the Society; and Lord Dillon in 1906⁶ noted with approval the fact that the Universities of Manchester and Leeds had both undertaken the excavation of Roman sites.

Reginald Smith in 1906⁷ contributed an important paper on the Samian Ware from the wreck on Pudding Pan Rock, Herne Bay, which was continued by Haverfield in 1910.⁸ Three years later⁹ Bushe-Fox read a paper on the use of Samian ware in dating the early Roman occupation of the north of Britain.

A good deal of interest was being shown in various aspects of the Dark Ages. O. M. Dalton read papers on the history of inlaid jewellery in 1902,¹⁰ and on the crystal of Lothair in 1904;¹¹ Read one on a Sassanian bowl in 1912,¹² and Reginald Smith one on Irish brooches in 1914.¹³ A. G. Hill studied some of the post-Visigothic churches of Spain in 1904.¹⁴

The Anglo-Saxon field was being studied by many archaeologists. In 1893 Read reported on excavations in a South Saxon cemetery at High Down, Sussex;¹⁵ in 1897 T. McKenny Hughes¹⁶ contributed a paper on Offa's Dyke;¹⁷ in 1905¹⁸ H. F. Bidder on an Anglo-Saxon burial ground at Mitcham; in 1906 Miss Nina Layard on one at Ipswich; and in 1911 V. B. Crowther Beynon on another at Market Overton.¹⁹ In 1912²⁰ E. Thurlow Leeds communicated a paper on the distribution of the Anglo-Saxon saucer-brooch in relation to the Battle of Bedford: one of the early papers to be illustrated by a distribution map.

In 1896 there was a question of opening the tomb of St. Cuthbert

¹ 26 May 1910; 15 June 1911; 8 May 1913. These were not printed in *Archaeologia*.

² 25 Nov. 1897; *Arch.* lvi. 1.

³ 21 Mar. 1901; *Arch.* lvii. 335.

⁴ 21 and 28 June, 1906, *Arch.* lx. 169; 20 June 1912, *Arch.* lxii. 257.

⁵ By J. A. R. Munro, W. C. F. Anderson, J. G. Milne, and F. Haverfield, 14 June 1894; *Arch.* lv. 33.

⁶ Anniversary Address, given by him in the absence of Lord Avebury.

⁷ 17 Jan.

⁸ 10 Mar.

⁹ 22 May 1913; *Arch.* lxiv. 295.

¹⁰ 20 Mar. 1902; *Arch.* lviii. 237.

¹¹ 10 Mar. 1904; *Arch.* lix. 25.

¹² 20 June 1912; *Arch.* lxii. 251.

¹³ 18 June 1914; *Arch.* lxv. 223.

¹⁴ 28 Apr. 1904; *Arch.* lix. 41.

¹⁵ 28 Jan. 1892; *Arch.* lvi. 465.

¹⁶ 30 Nov. 1893, *Arch.* liv. 369; 20 June 1895, *Arch.* lv. 203.

¹⁷ 30 Nov. 1905; *Arch.* lx. 49.

¹⁸ 29 Nov. 1906; *Arch.* lx. 325.

¹⁹ 30 Mar. 1911; *Arch.* lxii. 481.

²⁰ 1 Feb. 1912; *Arch.* lxiii. 159.

to find out whether the body found in 1827 were indeed his. The Society was invited to intervene to prevent it,¹ but with their Peterborough defeat still unhealed refused to do so. The exhumation revealed the body of St. Oswald, and a paper on the subject was read in 1899.²

Much work was done on the Middle Ages especially, under the leadership of Peers, Clapham, and Hamilton Thompson, in the field of monastic architecture. In 1906 W. R. Lethaby published his *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen* in which for the first time the figures of the masters of Medieval English architecture began to appear,³ and Francis Bond his *Gothic Architecture in England*, on which much detailed work was summarized with good photographic illustrations. Another landmark was the publication of Prior and Gardner's *Figure Sculpture in England* in 1912.

A good deal of attention continued to be given to the history of Wells,⁴ and fresh work was done on its sculptures.⁵ Papers were read on the architecture of the Cathedral of Albi;⁶ St. Albans;⁷ Cefalù;⁸ Durham;⁹ the Templars' Church at Temple Bruern;¹⁰ St. Michael Wood Street¹¹ (destroyed by the authority of the Bishop of London); Christ Church, Oxford;¹² Beverley Minster;¹³ St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield;¹⁴ Selby Abbey;¹⁵ Stanley Abbey;¹⁶ Romsey Abbey;¹⁷ Edward the Confessor's Church at Westminster;¹⁸ Malmesbury Abbey;¹⁹ Bristol;²⁰ the Dominican Priory in London;²¹ Lacock Abbey,²² and on the plan of Lincoln²³ and its sculptures.²⁴

¹ Letter from J. T. Fowler to Hope, Nov. 1896; *Ants. Corr.*

² By J. T. Fowler, 14 Dec. 1899; *Arch. lvii. 11.*

³ Its sequel, *Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, appeared in 1925.

⁴ By the Rev. C. M. Church, 21 Jan. 1892, *Arch. liv. 1*; 12 Mar. 1896, *Arch. lv. 318*; 6 Dec. 1900, *Arch. lvii. 201.*

⁵ By W. St. John Hope, 8 Apr. 1892, *Arch. lv. 81*; with W. R. Lethaby, *Arch. lix. 143*; by the Very Rev. Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, 11 Dec. 1913, *Arch. lxxv. 95.*

⁶ By R. W. Twigge, 6 Dec. 1894; *Arch. lv. 93.*

⁷ By William Page, 2 Dec. 1897; *Arch. lvi. 21.*

⁸ By George Hubbard, 27 Jan. 1898; *Arch. lvi. 57.*

⁹ Hope, on excavations of the foundations in the cloister, *Arch. lviii. 437.*

¹⁰ Excavated by Hope, 21 May 1908; *Arch. lxi. 177.*

¹¹ By P. Norman, 13 Feb. 1902; *Arch. lviii. 189.*

¹² Rather surprisingly by Haverfield, 25 Feb. 1909.

¹³ By John Bilson, 15 Mar. 1894; *Arch. liv. 425.*

¹⁴ By E. A. Webb, 25 May 1905; *Arch. lix. 375*; 13 Feb. 1913; *Arch. lxiv. 165.*

¹⁵ By Hope, 21 Mar. 1907; *Arch. lx. 411.* There was a bad fire in Selby Abbey on 20 Oct.

1906.

¹⁶ By H. Brakspear, 20 June 1907; *Arch. lx. 493.*

¹⁷ By C. R. Peers, 7 Feb. 1901; *Arch. lvii. 317.*

¹⁸ By the Very Rev. Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, 10 Feb. 1910; *Arch. lxii. 81.*

¹⁹ By H. Brakspear, 3 Apr. 1913; *Arch. lxiv. 399.*

²⁰ By R. W. Paul, 15 Feb. 1912; *Arch. lxii. 231.*

²¹ By A. W. Clapham, 18 Jan. 1912; *Arch. lxiii. 57.*

²² By H. Brakspear, 30 Nov. 1899; *Arch. lvi. 125.*

²³ By John Bilson, 25 May 1911; *Arch. lxii. 543.*

²⁴ By W. R. Lethaby, 6 Dec. 1906; *Arch. lx. 379.*

Papers were read on the Palace of Westminster in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,¹ and on the castles of Aydon,² Brougham³ and Ludlow⁴ and a characteristically pugnacious paper by J. H. Round (directed against Freeman) on the castles of the Conquest.⁵ Accounts were given of medieval paintings at Wenhamston,⁶ on Devonshire screens,⁷ on Friskney,⁸ the Infirmary Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral,⁹ on St. George's, Windsor,¹⁰ and of stained glass at Ockwells,¹¹ Great Malvern,¹² and Warwick.¹³ W. R. Lethaby read a paper on the Westminster School of Painting,¹⁴ and William Page one on that of St. Albans.¹⁵ There were various papers on weapons and armour,¹⁶ plate,¹⁷ ivories,¹⁸ scientific instruments,¹⁹ music,²⁰ wooden effigies,²¹ furniture,²² Exchequer tallies,²³ jousting cheques,²⁴ early card games,²⁵ British breeds of cattle,²⁶ and the *Album Amicorum*.²⁷ Hope communicated a paper²⁸ on the loss of King John's baggage train in the Wellstream in October 1216, expressing a wish to dig for it, and gave a detailed account of the funeral monument and Chantry Chapel of Henry V.²⁹

The 'Founder's Jewels' of New College, Oxford, were exhibited

¹ By W. R. Lethaby, 25 Jan. 1906; *Arch.* lx. 131.

² By W. H. Knowles, 3 Feb. 1898; *Arch.* lvi. 71.

³ By E. Lowry White, 12 Mar. 1903; *Arch.* lviii. 359.

⁴ By Hope, after excavation. 9 Apr. 1908; *Arch.* lxi. 257.

⁵ *Arch.* lviii. 313.

⁶ By C. E. Keyser, 15 Dec. 1892; *Arch.* liv. 119.

⁷ By C. E. Keyser, 25 Feb. and 25 Mar. 1897; *Arch.* lvii. 183.

⁸ By H. J. Cheales, 16 Mar. 1905.

⁹ By W. D. Caroe, 30 Nov. 1911; *Arch.* lxiii. 51.

¹⁰ By Hope and P. H. Newman, 14 Mar. 1912; *Arch.* lxiii. 85.

¹¹ By Everard Green, 15 June 1899; *Arch.* lvi. 323.

¹² By R. W. Paul, 13 June 1901; *Arch.* lvii. 353.

¹³ C. F. Hardy on the Music in the Painted Glass of the Beauchamp Chapel, 28 Jan. 1909; *Arch.* lxi. 583.

¹⁴ 11 June 1896.

¹⁵ 10 Apr. 1902; *Arch.* lviii. 275.

¹⁶ Baron de Cosson, Crossbow of Ulrich V of Wurtemberg, 3 Dec. 1891 and 3 Mar. 1892, *Arch.* liii. 93; by J. G. Waller on Chain Mail, 5 May 1904, *Arch.* lix. 57; by C. ffoulkes on Italian armour from Chalcis, 2 Feb. 1911, *Arch.* lxii. 381.

¹⁷ Dolgelly chalice, *Arch.* liii, Appendix; by Read, on cup with arms of William the Silent, *Arch.* lix. 83.

¹⁸ By Read, 12 Feb. 1903, *Arch.* lviii. 407; by Dalton, 7 May 1903, *ibid.*, p. 429.

¹⁹ By Read on a fourteenth-century planispheric astrolabe presented to the Society by the Rev. I. G. Lloyd, 18 May 1893; by Lewis Evans on a portable sundial made for Cardinal Wolsey, *Arch.* lvii. 331.

²⁰ By W. Barclay Squire, 17 Feb. 1898; *Arch.* lvi. 89.

²¹ By A. C. Fryer, 2 Nov. 1908; *Arch.* lxi. 487.

²² C. ffoulkes, 19 Mar. 1914, on a carved Flemish Chest at New College, Oxford, *Arch.* lxv. 113.

²³ By Hilary Jenkinson, 26 Jan. 1911; *Arch.* lxii. 367.

²⁴ By C. ffoulkes, 8 Feb. 1912; *Arch.* lxiii. 31.

²⁵ By R. Steele, 31 May 1900; *Arch.* lvii. 185.

²⁶ By T. McKenny Hughes, 14 June, 1894 and 17 Jan. 1895; *Arch.* lv. 125.

²⁷ By Max Rosenham, 9 Dec. 1909; *Arch.* lxii. 231.

²⁸ 15 Feb. 1906; *Arch.* lx. 93.

²⁹ 5 and 12 Feb. 1914; *Arch.* lxv. 129.

to the Society, with a paper by Hope.¹ The mitre had been in a fragmentary state and was restored under Hope's supervision. When the reconstitution was completed Read took a good deal of pleasure in showing that the mitre would no longer fit into its original case.

Exotic subjects were represented by papers on the dolmens of Japan,² a Mexican headpiece covered with mosaic,³ and the contents of burial mounds in British Honduras, Guatemala, and Yucatan.⁴ Technical papers were given on iron-casting in the Weald⁵ and the early metallurgy of copper, tin, and iron.⁶

Plurimi transibunt et multiplex erit scientia. There was a certain irony in the fact that as archaeology grew more exact and scientific it was itself extruded from the sphere of science. Since 1860 the Royal Society had tended to become exclusively scientific in the new narrow sense. In 1903 there were seventeen Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries left who were also F.R.S.; they were mostly Fellows of considerable seniority. In that year the British Academy was instituted,⁷ to serve as a centre for studies in the Arts as the Royal Society served for the Sciences. Its first annual meeting was held in the Antiquaries' rooms.⁸ It had four main sections: one of History and Archaeology (with Lord Bryce as Chairman), one of Philology, one of Philosophy, and one that united Jurisprudence and Economics.

Not only had archaeology become separated from the 'exact' sciences, but it had itself become subdivided. D. G. Hogarth, as early as 1899,⁹ had said that there were now three archaeologies in common parlance. In the universities, and particularly at Oxford, it was taken to mean the education of the aesthetic faculty by the study of style in antique art. In a wider world men still accepted Sir Charles Newton's definition of it as 'the science of all the human past'. Now, however, archaeologists and historians were dividing up a realm too great to be administered, and archaeologists were prepared to accept a lesser definition of their field as 'the science of the treatment of the material remains of the human past'.

Fourteen years later¹⁰ Read as President expressed his own fear

¹ 13 June, 1907; *Arch.* lx. 465.

² By W. Gowland, 29 Apr. and 6 May 1897; *Arch.* lv. 439.

³ By Read, 14 Dec. 1893; *Arch.* liv. 383.

⁴ By T. Gann, 25 Feb. 1897.

⁵ By J. Starkie Gardner, 12 May 1898; *Arch.* lvi. 133.

⁶ By W. Gowland, 8 May 1899, *Arch.* lvi. p. 267, and 9 May 1901, *Arch.* lvii. 359. M. S. Giuseppi read a paper, on 5 Dec. 1912, on the fourteenth-century iron works at Tudeley in Kent; *Arch.* lxiv. 145.

⁷ 26 June 1903. The Academy was allowed to use the Antiquaries as their address for their first year: Council, 6 Jan. 1903.

⁸ *Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane*, p. vi.

⁹ See F. G. Kenyon, *The British Academy: The First Fifty Years*, 1952. Its foundation had first been envisaged in 1899.

¹⁰ Anniversary Address, 1913.

of specialization in the antiquarian field. How would the Society be affected, he asked,

'if archaeological study continues to be subdivided into a still greater number of bodies with interests limited to specific fields? . . . The tendency is set strongly towards specialization, and the graduate in archaeology, as I may call him, is summoned, almost peremptorily, to devote his energies to some definite and limited study, epigraphy, early Greek culture, Roman trade, the pre-historic ages, or what not. . . .

Our problem is, what particular function in the body politic will be performed by the Society of Antiquaries in London in twenty or thirty years time? As I have said before from this chair, I am inclined to think that in the past half-century the Society has been too retiring, that it has not sufficiently asserted itself for the public good in the dignified way that is its right, that it has not been at the pains to claim its place in the front ranks of scientific work where it should always have the right to be. . . . A persistent policy of the kind will surely lead to stranding in a backwater.'

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XVIII

WAR AND RECOVERY

1914-29

WHEN Sir Hercules Read¹ told the Council early in 1914² that he did not wish to stand again for the Presidency, few people supposed that his successor's tenure would fall in time of war. Sir Arthur Evans was nominated and was elected at the Anniversary.

It was, perhaps, no bad choice, if a chance one, for the war years. Arthur Evans was like his father in his appreciation of any relic of antiquity and in his loyalty to the principles and disciplines that the Society of Antiquaries stood for. He had made his name by his Minoan discoveries, just as his father had done by his authentication of palaeolithic implements; but like him he had a wide range of historical knowledge based on the close study of coins. In most other ways he little resembled his father. His gifts of intuition were far greater than his gifts of administration; he was constitutionally against the Government; he was no peacemaker, but loved a fight; his ideas of finance were original but speculative; he hated paper-work and committees. He was quick and impulsive in his reactions and very slow to admit defeat.

These qualities, dangerous enough in ordinary times, had something to commend them in years of violent change. They were modified, too, so far as the Society was concerned, by a strong sense of its traditions. Evans was the first President to be the son of a President, the last to have attended meetings at Somerset House³ and one of the last to be also a Fellow of the Royal Society.⁴ He had known every President of the Antiquaries from Stanhope onwards. War broke out little more than three months after Evans's election. One of his first official actions was to send out a circular⁵ to say that he had as President associated the Society with the appeal of other kindred bodies to the American Ambassador to urge his Government to use their influence with the German authorities to put a stop to the wanton destruction of ancient buildings and treasures of art

¹ He had been knighted in 1912.

² 21 Jan.

³ He was not elected F.S.A. until 3 June 1875, when he was nearly twenty-five, but had attended meetings earlier as his father's guest. In Jan. 1867 he had heard John Evans's paper on implements from Lough Neagh.

⁴ Elected June 1901.

⁵ Dated 22 Sept. 1914.

by the German Army. The bombardment of Rheims, he wrote, 'must stand out through all Time as a crime against the human race'.

When the first meeting of the autumn session of 1914 was held¹ England already lay under the shadow of war. It was reported to the meeting that the Council had been considering the question of changing the hours of the ordinary meetings because of the dark condition of the London streets; but the motion for a change to five o'clock was lost at the next meeting.²

On 14 January 1915 John Bilson read a paper on the damage to Whitby Abbey caused by German bombardment a month before, and later³ Dr. D. H. S. Cranage gave consideration to the problem of the Gothic outer roof, provoked by the destruction of the roof at Rheims.

Evans was ill when the Anniversary of 1915 came round; no Presidential Address was given, but one chiefly taken up with accounts of the war damage in France and Belgium was printed.

Early in 1916⁴ the President informed the Society that he had been asked what was its attitude towards Government proposals to close the museums, and had written a strong letter of protest against them.

On 19 April the Council moved:

'That in the opinion of the Council of the Society, the recent shameful and horrible acts of the German Government, particularly at the Wittenburg Camp, have merited and received the emphatic condemnation of the civilized world.

As hitherto the proceedings of the German Government have been endorsed and even praised by the professional classes of that Empire, the Council feels that these men should not be dissociated from the acts of their Government.'

The Council recommended the amoval of any Honorary Fellows who as enemy aliens had been even passively associated with German atrocities, but added: 'In adopting this resolution the Council sincerely hopes that cases may be brought forward at a later date in which it will be shown that some at least of such Honorary Fellows have been guiltless of sympathy with or participation in these crimes, and thus be eligible for a renewal of their connection with the Society.'

Arthur Evans was still conscious of the solidarity of the learned world. At the Anniversary of that year he had to report the death of

¹ 26 Oct.

² The motion was again brought up on 25 Nov. 1915, and negatived on a show of hands by a large majority.

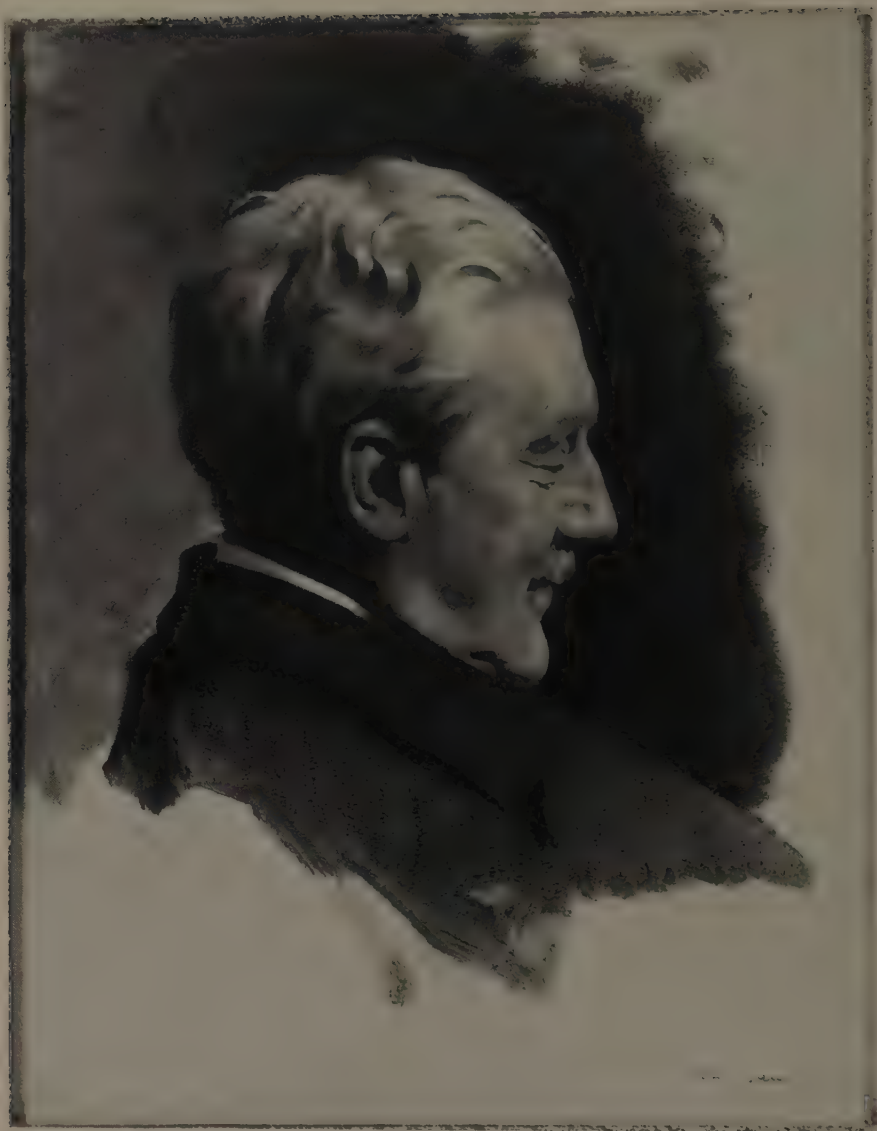
³ 22 Feb. 1917; *Arch.* lxxviii. 21.

⁴ Meeting, 17 Feb.



Sir Arthur Evans, President 1914-19, by Sir William Richmond, 1907

Ashmolean Museum



David Alexander Edward Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T.,
President 1924-9, by James Gunn

Lady Anne Fummi

three Fellows from wounds received at Loos, the Dardanelles, and near Poperinghe;¹ he also gave a dispassionate and generous obituary of a German Honorary Fellow, Dr. Wolfgang Helbig. He was aware, he said, that the question of the amoval of German Honorary Fellows from the Society was in the air, and that the learned societies should act together in the matter. For himself he was against such action.

'In these times of intolerable provocation, we, and members of kindred Societies, who stand on the neutral ground of Science, have a high duty to perform. That there should be a serious and prolonged estrangement of the peoples of the British Commonwealth from those of the German Empire has become inevitable. But this does not affect the immutable condition of all branches of Research, which is their essential interdependence. We have not ceased to share a common task with those who to-day are our enemies. We cannot shirk the fact that to-morrow we shall be once more labourers together in the same field. It is incumbent on us to do nothing which should shut the door to mutual intercourse in subjects like our own which lie apart from the domain of human passions, in the silent avenues of the Past.'

The matter came up at a Special Meeting on 29 June. The motion that Honorary Fellows who were enemy aliens should be suspended was amended that they should be amoved and admitted only after re-election, but the amendment was lost and the motion carried.² At the same meeting the subscription for Fellows on active service was reduced to a guinea, if they wished.³

At the Anniversary of 1917 Evans was able to report that though excavation had come to an end, the usual meetings of the Society had been held. His predecessor had planned celebrations for the Society's bicentenary in 1917;⁴ he regretted the impossibility of holding them theless since the true date of foundation was 1707. His address, indeed, was chiefly taken up by an account based on the manuscripts in the British Museum of the history of the Society in Wanley's time.⁵

A few weeks later⁶ Kingsford, the Assistant Secretary, went off to be a Temporary Assistant Paymaster in the R.N.V.R., but the

¹ The death of another Fellow on active service was announced at the Anniversary Meeting of 1918.

² Their formal suspension till further notice had been passed at the Council on 24 May.

³ Thirteen Fellows accepted the offer.

⁴ At the Council of 21 Jan. 1914 Read had suggested a *Festschrift* dealing with the various branches of English Archaeology. At the Council of 22 Nov. 1916 Brabrook (Director) suggested the printing of the Society's early minute-books, but paper rationing made this impossible. Ultimately the only celebration was a paper by Brabrook on 25 Jan. 1917, 'Bicentenary Observations on Antiquarian Longevity', with a list of the 'Fathers' of the Society who averaged 86 years of age and 58 years of membership. It stimulated the Society to send a letter to Dr. William Greenwell on 22 Mar. 1917 to congratulate him on entering his ninety-eighth year. He died at the end of 1917.

⁵ He did not admit the existence of a break between 1710 and 1717.

⁶ Council, 20 June 1917.

Society's ordinary activities continued. Soon Evans was leading the learned societies of England in a violent attack on the War Cabinet's proposal to hand over the British Museum as headquarters for Lord Rothermere and the Air Board.¹ The question is the main theme of his Anniversary Address for 1918.

'The old idea on which civilized States have hitherto rested, that no mean function of the prowess of the fighting forces was to maintain intact the continuity (of the work of research), seems . . . to have been thrown over by those who govern us. Already, early in the present struggle, a signal exhibition of this spirit was presented, when the galleries of the British Museum at Bloomsbury were entirely closed, to save, it was calculated, the British Treasury the expense of three minutes of the War. . . .

But the closing of the galleries, the cutting off of grants, the wholesale dislocation and complete paralysis of the Institution, the diversion of its personnel, the misappropriation of trained capacities thus entailed, were, it appears, only the prelude to a more serious attack, imperilling the building itself as well as the National Treasures within it.'

The Air Board had asked the War Cabinet for leave to requisition the Museum at the end of 1917. The unanimous protest of the Trustees had at first been disregarded, but Evans was able to announce that ultimately their protest had been effective: the Air Board had had to content themselves with the Savoy Hotel.

Evans in his Anniversary Address for 1918 had to announce that the publication even of the *Proceedings* had been threatened by the institution of paper rationing—'a wooden ordinance . . . which would impose upon them the identical restrictions that it applies to the purveyors of the most ephemeral trash'—and by what he described as 'the commandeering' of the Oxford University Press. In July an official notice² was sent that the restrictions on the use of paper and the increasing difficulties of printing and engraving made it necessary to curtail the Society's publications. It was decided to continue the *Proceedings* and to suspend *Archaeologia*, preparing the papers that would normally have been printed in it for press and storing them for the present.

At the Anniversary of 1919³ Evans could report the war over and the Society's membership little diminished. He looked forward to new fields of exploration in the former Turkish dominions. The possibility of such work made him realize that the field of the Antiquaries' interests had in some wise diminished.

¹ He reported the question to the Antiquaries at a Special Council on 2 Jan. 1918.

² *Executive*, 11 Apr. 1918.

³ He wished to avoid interruptions in his address by statutory business and had the Anniversary arranged (Council, 19 Feb.) with ballots, reports of Council and Treasurer, and obituaries in the afternoon. The meeting then adjourned to 8.30, when he gave his address.

'I am well aware that the division of labour necessary for modern archaeological research, the mapping out of separate provinces, and the concentration necessary for the proper treatment of special subjects, has done much to shear the Society of Antiquaries of many of its older functions. Egyptology, Assyriology, Classical Archaeology, Numismatics and certain Anthropological departments, have largely been withdrawn from our own sphere. We still claim, indeed—and rightly claim—to have no fixed boundaries in any of these directions, and are grateful to those who afford us occasional enlightenment on subjects of which other Societies and Institutes have now become the more regular exponents. But, by the force of circumstances, the Society of Antiquaries has been more and more led to devote special attention to subjects like the earlier Pre-historic Archaeology and the Late Celtic Age in these islands, to Anglo-Saxon and Medieval lore, to records and topography. As a result of this there has been certainly at times a tendency to treat these subjects from the purely insular, or even the 'parochial' point of view.

I think we should all fully realize that such treatment by no means does justice to the questions involved and sinks below the standard which we, as a Society, true to its older cosmopolitan traditions, should seek to uphold. . . .'

Arthur Evans's term of office, entirely in the war years, was over.¹ Sir Henry Howorth was considered for the Presidency, but his foundation of an institution rival to the Royal Numismatic Society had made him unpopular. Ultimately Sir Hercules Read was once more nominated and elected for a second term.²

At the Anniversary of 1921 the resignation of Sir Edward Brabrook was announced; he had held the office of Director for twelve years. C. R. Peers was nominated to take his place, and Ralph Griffin to serve as Secretary. Griffin was a medievalist, with a passion for monumental brasses; he devoted years of work to completing the Society's collection of rubbings. His letters³ reveal him as humorous, critical, and learned.

The First World War had many unforeseen consequences, and of these not the least surprising was its effect on the legal position of women. They had played their part in the war as nurses, civil servants, and members of the forces; and their work had given unexpected force to the agitations of feminists in the years before the war. As a consequence 'An Act to amend the Law with respect to Disqualifications on account of Sex' was passed at the end of 1919. Women were admitted to closed professions, such as law and accountancy, and the University of Oxford matriculated its first woman undergraduates in Michaelmas Term 1920.

¹ The deaths of Sir William St. John Hope and of Professor Haverfield were announced at the Council of 20 Nov. 1919.

² Exceptionally, at his request, Council met on 24 Nov. 1920, in the Board Room of the British Museum.

³ Our Fellow Mr. G. H. S. Bushnell has kindly lent me some in his possession.

The Antiquaries had long accepted papers from women,¹ though a proposal made by Sir John Evans in 1906² that 'Ladies making communications to the Society and those Ladies who for special reasons are authorized by the Officers to attend may be present at the Meetings' had been turned down. In 1892 Evans as President had at the Anniversary given an obituary of Miss Amelia Edwards the Egyptologist, and Franks had followed him in 1894 with one of Lady Charlotte Schreiber, not a Fellow but an exhibitor to the Society. Two years later he gave a similar notice of Mrs. Everett Greene, 'who could not be a Fellow of our Society, but whose labours in the cause of historical research³ are too considerable to be passed over'. The death of Miss Margaret Stokes had been similarly recorded at the Anniversary of 1901, as had that of Miss Mary Bateson in 1907.

Sir Martin Conway, a Vice-President of the Antiquaries and Member of Parliament for the United Universities, in 1919 raised an amendment in the House to have membership of the learned societies specifically included in the Bill. The Solicitor-General did not accept the amendment, but said in his speech that learned societies that refused to elect qualified women members would be acting in opposition to the will of the House of Commons and the intentions of the Government and that they could be dealt with under the Civil Service Vote when subsidies granted to them came before Parliament.

Conway raised the question whether the Sex Disqualification [Removal] Act were not relevant to the Society of Antiquaries in a letter to the Secretary early in 1920.⁴ It was considered at the Council of 21 January, when a sub-committee was appointed. Its members resolved 'that the President should take an early opportunity of reminding the Fellows that under the Sex Disqualification [Removal] Act, women were now eligible for election as Fellows, and that Fellows should take care that any ladies nominated for election should be worthy of the honour and such as would be likely to be elected'. They decided that this problem might be met by the Council deciding who among women antiquaries might best

¹ See above, p. 196. The Executive of 23 June 1859 recommended the printing of Mrs. Everett Greene's transcripts of Cromwell documents. Miss Stokes communicated several papers on Irish antiquities (e.g. 14 Mar. 1872 and 10 Feb. 1880). On 9 Mar. 1893 the Hon. Alicia M. Tyssen Amherst contributed a paper on a fifteenth-century treatise on gardening; *Arch. liv.* p. 157. On 21 Nov. 1895 Miss M. Dormer Harris contributed a paper on the Craft Guilds of Coventry, and on 29 Nov. 1902 Miss Layard one on an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Ipswich. On 21 Feb. 1918 a paper by Joan Evans on the enamelled lid of a nautilus cup at All Souls was read by her brother as President. He 'regretted the absence of a grille for lady visitors'.

² Council, 19 Dec. 1906. See above, p. 352.

³ She had edited thirty-five volumes of the Calendars of State Papers.

⁴ The Secretary's answer is dated 9 Jan.

be chosen to be proposed *honoris causa*. A list was submitted to Council. Paley Baildon (a member of the committee) wrote frankly to Conway:¹

'At the Committee on Thursday I urged the wisdom of electing one or two competent women as soon as possible. This will be some justification for rejecting unqualified women later on (we are bound to have them trying it on), and would be an answer to any charge that we were doing nothing. Frankly, I am afraid of this last possibility in view of the fact that we pay no rent to Government for our rooms at B[urlington] H[ouse]. My suggestion was pooh-poohed by some of the rather fossilized members then present. But nevertheless I think it is sound, and the danger I allude to is real and may at any moment become urgent.'

On 19 February the President 'reminded' the meeting that under the Act the Fellowship was now open to women and that it was therefore competent for Fellows to nominate women as candidates for election into the Society. At the Council of 25 February six ladies were chosen for nomination *honoris causa*: Mrs. Eugénie Strong, Mrs. Ella Armitage, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Miss Nina Frances Layard, Miss Rose Graham, and Miss Maud Sellers. Mrs. Armitage and Miss Sellers refused nomination; the others accepted. Mrs. Strong and Miss Graham were put up for election *honoris causa* and elected on 3 June 1920; Miss Bell on 13 January and Miss Layard on 3 March 1921. The first women elected in the ordinary way were Mrs. Reginald Lane Poole² and Mrs. Mortimer Wheeler.³ Miss Rose Graham was nominated and elected to Council in April 1927.

Another and more predictable consequence of the war was a financial crisis. The compulsory cut in publications enforced economies in war-time spending, and though income-tax was very high the Society was able, if with some delay, to recover it. By 1918 the Society had been able to buy £2,850 War Loan. By the end of 1919, however, the staff was back and prices were up, and only £1,114 was available for the arrears of *Archaeologia* and for the current *Proceedings*.⁴ At the meeting of the Executive Committee on 15 May 1919 the Treasurer pointed out that whereas the normal expenditure on publications had been about £1,200 a year, the immediate cost would rise by about £500 and the cost in the future would probably amount to double the actual sum. At the Council following⁵ it was agreed that the *Proceedings* should go on and

¹ 14 Feb. 1920. The letter has lately been added to Ants. Corr.

² 4 Feb. 1926. A woman candidate was blackballed in Nov. 1920 and another in Mar. 1930.

³ 1 Mar. 1927.

⁴ At the Executive Committee on 30 Jan. 1919 it was decided that the Society's copper-plates, other than the Historical Prints, and the surplus stock of publications should be pulped.

⁵ 21 May 1919.

economies be made in *Archaeologia*. An offer from a Fellow,¹ C. J. Phillips, of £25 to start a Publications Fund, to which contributions should be invited, was declined, as 'it was hoped that satisfactory arrangements had been made which would preclude the necessity of taking advantage of his generous offer'.

When in January 1920 Sir Martin Conway initiated discussion of the question of the admission of women to the Society, he made his suggestion part of a general scheme of reform that was to rehabilitate the Society's finances by setting it on a broader basis. He suggested the institution of a new class, Members, for whom no special qualification other than a general interest in archaeology should be required. They were to pay a low subscription—he suggested two guineas—to receive publications, consult the Library, and attend general meetings. At least twelve such meetings should be held each year for their benefit, with papers of a general character, especially on recent excavations. He estimated that they might come to number three or four thousand, and that the meetings should therefore be held in some such place as the Aeolian Hall.

'On the institution of the new body of Members [he wrote] elections to the Fellowship of the Society should for the time being cease, and for every five vacancies on the existing body of Fellows caused by resignation, death, or otherwise, one new Fellow might be elected, such Fellows in future being only elected out of the body of the Members. Fellows would continue to be elected as at present by the Fellows; Members would simply be elected by the Council. The Meetings of the Fellows in the Society's room at Burlington House should continue and these would not be open to Members unless they were brought as visitors in the ordinary way. The provisions of the above-mentioned Act would be satisfied by the election of men and women indifferently to Membership and it could remain the option of Fellows whether they elected into their body distinguished women archaeologists or no.

My idea is that the number of Fellows should be gradually reduced to whatever figure might seem advisable, so that the position of a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries should become an increasingly high distinction. . . . Assuming that the number of Members increased steadily to some two or three thousand and that their subscriptions amounted to two guineas a head a year, the Society's income would be large enough to enable it to put its publications on a new footing. I think it ought to publish as soon as possible a quarterly journal, intended ultimately to become monthly, corresponding in type to the *Geographical Journal*. . . .'

The Council sent his proposals to a sub-committee,² which also received alternative schemes of reform from Paley Baildon³ and from G. C. Druce.⁴ Baildon advocated an appeal to raise an Endowment Fund of £20,000, addressed not only to Fellows but also to

¹ Executive, 26 June 1919.

² 'The Financial Crisis, February 20, 1920'; Ants. Corr.

³ Ants. Corr.

⁴ Ibid., Considered, 25 Mar. 1920.

the public. Every donor of £250 or more was to be made an Honorary Fellow, and to receive the Society's medal in silver; donors of less than this but of £100 or over were to receive it in bronze. A list of donors was to be permanently exhibited in the hall. Druce considered

'that in view of the future the basis of the Society should be widened. Sooner or later we shall have a Labour Government, who may conceivably say to us (and to other kindred Societies): We are not going to regard you as a privileged body any longer, but only in strict relation to the work done by you for the public interest. You occupy Government premises. In future you must pay £1,000 a year rent, and you must widen your membership to an extent necessary to carry out antiquarian investigations. If not, you cannot occupy Burlington House any longer.

In view of the need of increasing our income I suggest that the Archaeological Institute be taken over, including the ladies. We have got to admit ladies. The Institute has between £3,000 and £4,000 funds, at present valuations. . . .

I cannot believe that the attitude of regarding these Societies as select bodies, with a small membership, can be maintained indefinitely.'

A publisher Fellow, William Longman, suggested economies in printing, binding in paper, raising the prices of publications to non-Fellows, and charging corrections over 25 per cent. to the authors. Emery Walker advised printing *Archaeologia* in two columns in twelve- or fourteen-point type.

The committee adopted a good many of these suggestions. They recommended that the subscription for Fellows thereafter elected should be raised to four guineas, existing Fellows being invited to raise their subscriptions to this amount, and compounders to contribute a further ten guineas to the Society. They thought that subscriptions and bequests should be invited towards a capital fund, of the order of £20,000, and that the names of donors of £250 or more should be permanently recorded in the Society's apartments. They thought that the selling prices of the publications might be raised, and that they might be issued in paper covers. They accepted two of Conway's proposals with slight modifications: first, that there should be a body of Associates, with a subscription of two guineas, elected by the Council on the proposal of two Fellows from the members of any Society in union with the Antiquaries; and second, that a quarterly journal should be substituted for the *Proceedings*, to contain minutes, summaries of papers and lectures, notes and reports on archaeological work at home and abroad, reviews of books and a current bibliography. It was to be issued gratis to Fellows and Associates; *Archaeologia* should go free of charge to Fellows, and at a reduced rate to Associates. They further suggested that a series of public lectures on archaeological subjects should be instituted, on the lines of those at the Royal Institution,

open to Fellows and Associates free and to the public on payment of an admission fee.

The meeting of 26 February was devoted to a general discussion of the subject by the Society at large. The sub-committee continued to meet and to consider suggestions, most of which offered but small variations and developments of those already recommended. F. Lambarde, for example, wrote in April to say 'that the necessity of the times is an advantageous one for the differentiation between Active and Passive Antiquarians: and that the subscription of the former should be 2 guineas, whilst that of the latter should be six guineas. The standard of qualification for the lower subscription should be a very high one. . . .'

On 29 April the committee reported that 284 answers to the appeal had been received, and about £810 promised to the Endowment Fund, some £250 in increased subscriptions. In May they were still considering the question of Associates.

Their report was considerably revised by Council.¹ A draft of proposed new Statutes was finally circulated in October for consideration on 9 December. These gave power to increase the number of Fellows; introduced the principle of postal voting; increased the subscription to four guineas and tightened the regulation as to payment; graded the composition fee according to the age of the Fellow compounding; allowed Fellows removed for other reasons than non-payment to offer a defence; instituted Associate Membership; named ex-Presidents Honorary Vice-Presidents; and added the Research Committee to the list of Standing Committees. Amendments were invited; those received were mostly verbal.

At the meeting the changes were voted except for the two radical ones: the postal vote and the Associate Membership. A circular was issued inviting a voluntary increase in subscription from existing Fellows and contributions to the Endowment Fund. £782 was received. By 1925 the Society had a deficit of £184; in 1926 of £168. In 1927 the Treasurer wisely sold the Society's Railway stocks and reinvested the money in Australian 5 per cent. and other gilt-edged stock. A legacy of £2,000 was received from Somers Clarke, and the residue of Croft-Lyons's estate of nearly £15,000,² charged with two annuities and intended for heraldic research. In that year the return of the Society's income-tax was for the first time refused; the test case had to be taken to the High Court, but was eventually won. In 1928, however, it was still in debate, and a deficit of £276 was recorded. In that year the last Stevenson

¹ 26 May.

² It was discussed at the Executive Committee of 27 Oct. 1927. The paper directing its use for heraldic work only was of doubtful legal validity, but the *ad hoc* committee reported in favour of its being proved with the will (Council, 20 Oct.; Executive, 27 Oct. 1926). Col. Croft-Lyons and Mr Somers Clarke both left the Society bequests of books.

annuitant died, the capital was divided, and the Society's income from the fund rose.

Read's Anniversary Address for 1920 said little of any proposed reforms, though he mentioned the inevitable rise in expenses. It reflected, indeed, the current mood of post-war disillusion. He deplored the eclectic character of English archaeology, as shown in the public collections and the general want of systematization. He only roused himself to indict our archaeological administration in Cyprus and India and to deliver a violent attack on the Director of his own Museum. Petrie had discovered a find of exquisite Egyptian jewellery at Lahun and had managed to get it out of Egypt. He had offered it for sale to the British Museum through the Director, who without consulting Budge, the Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities, had said that the Museum could only offer £2,000 for it. This was less than Petrie asked, and the Director did nothing to raise the remainder by private gift or public subscription. As a consequence Petrie sold the collection to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

The chief result of the 'financial crisis' was the demise of the *Proceedings* and the birth of the *Antiquaries Journal*.¹ In some measure the change reflected the passing of a generation of collectors, greatly interested in the record of what was exhibited at the meetings, and the rise of a generation of professional archaeologists, greatly interested in excavations and in the publication of new material. The first number contained a foreword by Read as President, saying that it was hoped that it would reach more of the general public² and maintain a closer contact with the provincial and foreign societies. After a number of articles based on papers read to the Society, it ended with notes on appointments, guide-books, museums, and the like, reviews of books, an analysis of periodical literature, obituaries, and a bibliography that also served as a Supplement to the Library Catalogue. The reviews are for the most part of the *compte-rendu* kind; but before long they developed into such interesting critiques as that of Lethaby on Strzygowski's *Origin of Christian Church Art*.³ The accounts of the Society's meetings were reduced to a minimum, with the briefest possible mention of exhibits.

Read's Anniversary Address for 1921 was printed as an article in the *Antiquaries Journal*⁴ under the title 'Museums in the Present and the Future'; the Anniversary meeting is very briefly reported.⁵ His address was a general one, that might equally well have been

¹ In July 1921 a circular was sent to the Local Secretaries to invite them to contribute notes and reports to the new publication.

² At the Anniversary of 1923 it was reported that the sales to the general public were increasing, but they have never been large.

³ Vol. iv, p. 280.

⁴ July 1921.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

entitled 'What is Good Taste?' In 1923 he spoke on International Archaeology, mourning all that the Russian Revolution stood for, and praising patriotism even if it were insular.

The year that followed was not a good one for the Society. The President was away ill, and a not very strong Council found itself unable to counteract the consequent tendency to inertia and lassitude.

It was recognized that some of the papers laid before the Society lately had been of a deplorable dullness. At the Council of 27 June 1923

'Mr. Sands called attention to a paper recently read at an evening meeting which appeared to some of the Fellows to be on a subject rather wide of the Society's usual interests and suggested that more care should be taken in selecting papers. There was some discussion on this matter and on certain other papers recently read, and in the result it was referred to the Executive Committee to consider whether any steps could be taken to limit the length of the papers and to secure that instead of reading his paper as a whole, the author should rather present the salient points in a form which could easily be followed by Fellows present so as to sustain their interest and thus lead to a satisfactory discussion at the end of the paper.'

The Executive Committee considered the question,¹ and declared that they already did their best. Authors should submit their papers first, and 'endeavours should be made to procure an abstract² from authors for circulation amongst a few of the fellows who would be interested and likely to take part in the discussion'.

At the Anniversary of 1924 Read resigned his office, after thirty-two years, except for one year's break, as an officer of the Society. He was too ill to compose an address.³

Lord Crawford was elected President, and the Society began to make headway. He gave an amusing Anniversary Address in 1925 on the mystifications of the year, including an exhibition of forgeries at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and recorded that through official channels he had succeeded in preventing a modern Druidic Society from being permitted to bury ashes at Stonehenge.

In 1926 he devoted his Anniversary Address to questions of preservation: the transfer of buildings and archives to the United States, the conservation of records, the work of Diocesan Advisory Councils, and the responsibilities of municipalities to ancient buildings.

In 1927 the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries was set up; the Carnegie Trustees began to investigate the state of provincial museums; and Sir Frederic Kenyon gave the Romanes Lecture at Oxford on Museums and National Life, stress-

¹ 5 July and 15 Nov. 1923.

² From 9 Dec. 1915 through the war such an abstract had been printed on the back of the notices of meetings.

³ He died at Rapallo, after five years' illness, on 11 Feb. 1929.

ing the work of individual collectors and the double mission of museums to specialists and non-specialists, 'from an archbishop to an errand-boy'. The President, his predecessor Sir Arthur Evans, and many Fellows took a part in the inquiries of the Commission. It had been created in order to suggest economies, but when it issued an interim report in September 1928 it was an indictment of Treasury meanness, and recommended that £779,000 should be spent at once, without waiting for its final report.

In May 1926 the ordinary meetings of the Society had to be suspended because of the General Strike. A paper was read on 6 May, after a show of hands among the small gathering had shown a wish to hear it. On 13 May there was a formal meeting to give notice of a ballot, but no paper was read.¹

The chief administrative events of Lord Crawford's presidency were financial. In March 1925² the Society joined the British Association in a deputation to the Treasury on the subject of the claims to income-tax made by the Commissioners on learned and scientific societies. A test case was brought by the Geological Society; the result was adverse.³ Finally, after many negotiations in which Lord Crawford's authority was valuable, the Treasury reported⁴ that the Society had been accepted as 'charitable' and exempted from tax.

The second event was the financing of a subject-index for the Library. The principle of having such an index made had been accepted as long ago as 1908,⁵ and some slight beginning made in 1924.⁶ This was, however, enough to show the magnitude of the task. In 1925 an unofficial correspondence between the Assistant Secretary and the Secretary of the Carnegie Trust explored the possibility of the Trust's making a grant to the Library, in return for the Society's agreeing to allow it to become an 'Outlier Library' in the Carnegie scheme. Preliminary negotiations were authorized in November⁷ and on 14 April 1926 the Trust formally offered a grant of £3,000 in three yearly instalments for the completion of the catalogues and the purchase and binding of books, on the generous basis that the Library should become an Outlier Library for the period during which the grant was paid.⁸ The Council accepted, and at the end of the period applied for another grant.⁹ This was, however, refused.¹⁰

¹ At a Special Meeting on 16 June 1926 the Council was asked to arrange that the Society's session should begin and end a month earlier—i.e. that it should run from October to May.

² Council, 25 Mar.

³ Ibid., 30 Mar. 1927.

⁴ Ibid., 26 Apr. 1929.

⁵ Anniversary Meeting, 1908; Library Committee, 10 Feb.; Council, 24 Mar. 1909.

⁶ Anniversary.

⁷ Council, 18 Nov. 1925.

⁸ Library Committee, 7 July 1926. The grant was to be divided into £200 for binding, £200 for books, and £600 for the subject-index.

⁹ Council, 14 May 1930.

¹⁰ 15 Oct. 1930.

The sudden death of Mr. Clinch, the Librarian, in 1921¹ left more responsibility in the hands of the Library Committee.² No librarian was appointed in his place, but his assistant became Library Clerk. The committee recommended a new author card catalogue, and this was begun in 1923.³ In 1926 the Council⁴ was '... glad to note that a growing number of accredited students of archaeology and history has of late been making use of the Library'.

The Society's membership during and after the war was strengthened by a number of elections *honoris causa*: Henry Balfour in 1915,⁵ Lord Curzon of Kedleston in 1925,⁶ and, in an effort to heal the breach which Read had made with the British Museum, G. F. Hill⁷ and Sir Frederic Kenyon⁸ and others from the Museum staff in 1926. The membership steadily increased, with few blackballings. In 1922 it was announced at the Anniversary that more candidates had been nominated in 1921 than in any year since 1900, and that although an extra ballot had allowed more Fellows to be elected, the number awaiting the ballot was as great as ever. The total number of Fellows, which in 1918 had been 671, had risen by 1928 to 789.

It was now customary for papers to be illustrated by lantern slides,⁹ and the old system of seating round a central table had ceased to be convenient. The question was considered in 1928, and money collected to pay for the change. At first it was suggested that the table should be retained but shortened by a third, with benches parallel to the officers' table put in the space. Reginald Smith then produced¹⁰ a scheme for a complete reseating of the meeting-room with tip-up seats. The *ad hoc* committee recommended¹¹ chairs, with a front row of ten seats for Vice-Presidents and for the officers when the lantern was in use. The ordinary meeting of 16 May rejected the idea of chairs. Finally it was decided that the table should be removed, the old benches kept, widened, and rearranged in ten rows parallel with the officers' table, with the first row reserved for Vice-Presidents and officers.

The story of the Society's possessions at this time begins with a loss. In 1915¹² the Society received a letter from the Archdeacon of Stow asking the Society to return to the Vicar of Bottesford the

¹ Council, 17 Mar. 1921. He was himself an archaeologist, especially on Kentish subjects, and contributed many papers to the V.C.H.

² Their formal minutes begin on 12 Nov. 1919.

³ Council, 21 Mar. and 25 Apr. 1923; Anniversary, 1924.

⁴ Anniversary Meeting.

⁵ 14 Jan.

⁶ 5 Jan.

⁷ 4 Feb.

⁸ 3 June.

⁹ In 1926 the Royal Archaeological Institute asked permission to exhibit a film at one of their meetings held at the Antiquaries. The Executive Committee (14 Oct.) granted permission 'provided that a professional fireman is in attendance and that the Insurance Companies make no difficulties'. It was not shown.

¹⁰ Executive, 14 Feb. 1929.

¹¹ Council, 26 Apr. 1929.

¹² Council, 24 Nov.

sacring bell formerly in that church, shown to the Society by Mr. Edward Peacock in 1870 and presented to it in 1893. The members of Council expressed themselves as sympathetic, but had doubts as to how safely the bell would be kept at Bottesford. The Archdeacon replied that it was none of their business and threatened legal proceedings. Peace being restored, and the safe keeping of the bell assured, it was handed back to the vicar and churchwardens.¹

The accessions were varied if not very important. In 1918² the Rev. C. E. Dewick, by the wish of his father, the late Rev. E. G. Dewick, F.S.A., presented two brasses, five manuscripts, and a collection of printed books on the coronation of French and English kings. Six more brasses were presented by Mill Stephenson in 1920.³ Under George Clinch's inspiration a number of prints of former Fellows were acquired and framed, the cost of thirteen out of twenty-two being met by Fellows. The Society had acquired a flagstaff (after some opposition from the Commissioner of Works) and a flag of its arms to be flown on St. George's Day and other state occasions in 1900; in 1926 George Kruger Gray presented a silk banner of the Society's arms, designed by himself, to be hung over the President's chair at the Anniversary.⁴

The Franks Studentship was continued. In 1926, however, the Council⁵ received a letter from the Board of Studies in Archaeology of the University of London pointing out that it was becoming extremely difficult to find suitable candidates to hold it. Research of the standard required was likely to take a longer time than the studentship was normally held,⁶ and the increased cost of living made the sum of £100⁷ quite inadequate unless the student had private means. They asked whether the Council would be willing to consider increasing the studentship. The Council replied that it could not do this, but that it could offer £200 every four years. The Board replied to suggest £150 once in three years. In 1929,⁸ however, it was decided not to offer the studentship in 1930, and it lapsed.⁹

The Antiquaries were not able to take up excavation after the war until 1919, when the Research Committee met on 17 January. They decided to postpone further work at Old Sarum¹⁰ and Wroxeter,

¹ Council, 26 Jan. 1916; Meeting, 27 Jan.

² *Ibid.*, 18 Apr.

³ Meetings, 15 Jan. and 3 June.

⁴ In 1924 the pavement of the hall was adorned with a marble medallion with the Society's lamp in brass. Executive, 24 May.

⁵ 24 Feb.

⁶ In theory one year, but it was usually renewed for a second year.

⁷ The Society gave £50 and Sir Arthur Evans £50.

⁸ Council, 13 Nov.

⁹ On 15 Oct. 1930 it was reported to Council that Lord Esher was giving a Studentship in London Archaeology to the University, and the Society was invited to nominate a representative to its committee.

¹⁰ The 1914 campaign was reported on 29 Apr. 1915. Three months' work had been done in 1915, and reported on at the meeting of 6 Apr. 1916. Trial excavations in the East Suburb were carried out in 1934 by J. F. S. Stone and John Charlton; see *Ants. Journ.* Apr. 1935.

and to consider Silchester closed, but to undertake excavation at Stonehenge and at the Roman fort of Segontium near Carnarvon. The Stonehenge investigations were begun in 1920 under Lieut.-Col. W. Hawley, and continued until 1926, when they were suspended.¹ They were not very fruitful, in the older antiquarian sense, and in June 1922² the President made the revealing statement, after receiving Colonel Hawley's third report, that 'the finds so far reported represented a poor return on the labour and expenditure involved, but such was the case with most megalithic monuments'. The fourth report³ was not well received; the Society found a catalogue of unelucidated facts unpalatable. In 1924 the report⁴ stated that there were still few results: 'The more one digs the more the mystery deepens. Not a single object has yet been found that would suggest a date or period, and it is useless to formulate theories when there is little to support them.' Reginald Smith was called in, and produced an interesting note on the worked flints, which were of unexpected types in unexpected associations. The 1925-6 report showed more careful stratigraphical study, but the Society was not sorry to liquidate its responsibilities towards the site by a handsome subscription⁵ towards the acquisition of the land by the nation in 1927. No comprehensive report on the work was published.

In 1921 the Society undertook the excavation of a Late-Celtic urn-field at Swarling in Kent, on a site discovered by Reginald Smith. The work was begun under Leonard Woolley and continued under J. P. Bushe-Fox.⁶

In 1920 the Society had not only started on the Stonehenge project but had also begun excavating the Roman Cemetery at Ospringe in Kent. The results were published in 1931.⁷ In 1922 they undertook a much more important project in the excavation of Richborough,⁸ an Office of Works site. Work continued here on a large scale for many years under the skilled direction of J. P. Bushe-Fox. A special appeal for a fund for the site was issued when it was undertaken, with initial grants of £150 from the Research Fund and £100 from the Haverfield Fund of Oxford University, but control rested with the Society of Antiquaries. Further funds were asked for in three years later, in a circular in which consider-

¹ Anniversary, 1927'

² Meeting, 22 June.

³ 19 Apr. 1922.

⁴ *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1926.

⁵ At the meeting of 1 Dec. the Society voted a hundred guineas to the Fund. The Fellows were circularized on 13 Dec., and contributed £235 more.

⁶ The report was issued in 1925 as vol. v of the Research Reports. Little was found besides pottery.

⁷ Research Reports, vol. viii: W. Whiting, W. Hawley, and T. May, *Report on the Excavation of the Roman Cemetery at Ospringe, Kent*.

⁸ Council, 28 Apr. 1922. William Rolfe had investigated the site long before; a paper on his work was read by C. Roach Smith on 29 Nov. 1849.

able progress could be reported, and in 1926, when it was admitted that the work had proved far more costly than had been anticipated. In this year the first volume of the Excavation Report appeared,¹ to be followed by four more, of which three have been published. They combine an archaeological and historical analysis of an outstanding site through more than four centuries with an assemblage of numismatic, ceramic, and other finds of lasting value to early historic studies in this country.

By 1923 it was evident that the Research Fund was not adequate for the Society's ambitious schemes. It was agreed² that no outside grants should be made for the present, that the £640 in hand should be divided between Stonehenge and Richborough, and that an appeal for further contributions to the Research Fund should be issued. This was done,³ but the response in donations and annual subscriptions was not heavy. In 1927⁴ Lord Bledisloe invited the Society to undertake the excavation of the site on the 'Dwarfs' Hill' at Lydney Park, where R. E. M. Wheeler and his wife worked in 1928 and 1929.⁵

Meanwhile attention had been drawn to the building activities being undertaken in the City of London, particularly at the Bank of England.⁶ Under the presidency of Lord Crawford attempts were made to organize the archaeological supervision of these operations. Eric Birley, G. C. Dunning, and F. Cotteril were successively appointed Inspectors of London Excavations for the Society, with working accommodation provided by the Trustees of the London Museum.

In 1926 the Society appointed a committee to draw up a scheme for research. Its report stated:

'It has never been the tradition of the Society of Antiquaries to confine its attention to our native antiquities, but there can be no question that the interests of British Archaeology must always be its chief pre-occupation. The Society's duty to take a foremost place in the investigation of the problems arising therefrom is clear, and the time seems opportune for the definition of a policy which may direct the energies of all workers to the aims to be pursued. . . .

It is now generally recognized that England is the most promising area for prehistoric research and recent work in East Anglia has taken man back to the period of the Cromer Forest Bed and perhaps still further into the Pliocene. Research in glacial and inter-glacial deposits is needed at various points. The following are likely to produce results:

¹ Research Reports, vol. vi: J. P. Bushe-Fox, *First Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough*.

² Council, 21 Feb. 1923.

³ Circular dated 4 June 1923.

⁴ Research Committee, 27 May.

⁵ Research Reports, vol. ix, 1932: R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler. *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric Roman and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Glos.*

⁶ Research Committee, 15 Jan. 1925.

The peat beds of the lower Thames.

The terraces of the lower and middle Thames.

The Ouse gravels at Bedford.

The Coombe rock of Sussex.

The Gravels north of Birmingham.

Caves in Derbyshire and Somerset.

Brick earth deposits at Hitchin and Gadesden.

Certain Tardenoisian sites.

Earthworks of the type of Windmill Hill and White Hawk Camp.

Dried up lakes, like Eherside Tarn in Cumberland.

Bronze Age barrows and cemeteries have received a considerable amount of attention, but occupation sites of this period are almost unknown, or at any rate unrecognized. The investigation of any such site would be a matter of first-rate importance. In the same way settlements of the Early Iron Age, both of the Hallstatt and La Tène periods, need a more extended examination, and especially is it desirable that inland sites, both of settlements and burials, outside the pedestal urn area, should be investigated, to show how and when the Bronze Age came to an end in various parts of the country.

The pre-historic earthworks with which the country is so well provided have never yet been dealt with on an adequate scale, and the possibility that finds in them may be scanty should not act as a deterrent: their archaeological value is not to be measured by the abundance of the relics they may contain.

The lines of ancient trackways and river fords deserve attention not only for the objects they may produce, but for their value as indicating the possible sites of pre-historic settlements.

The period of the Roman occupation, by reason of the abundance of its remains has received proportionately more attention than any other phase of our history. At each of the four legionary fortresses, Chester, Caerleon, York and Richborough, excavations have been carried to a certain point, according to the possibilities of the site. Only at Richborough is a complete examination possible: at Chester the open spaces within the city wall are scanty, and at York little beyond the wall itself can be examined in detail.

Many of the numerous military sites throughout the country have been partially examined, and it is unnecessary to point out the value of a careful investigation of a few picked sites of this character, seeing that in them the chronology of the Roman invasion, occupation and abandonment of Britain can most clearly be defined. The most impressive of all our Roman monuments, the wall of Hadrian, has for many years been the subject of independent digging, but only in recent times has anything like a reasoned scheme been adopted, with marked effect on the definition of crucial points. A complete excavation of any one of the forts on the wall is however yet to come. The line of coast fortresses, again, must assuredly provide valuable evidence of the course of history in Roman times, in relation to the pressure of the northern nations on the frontiers of the Roman Empire.

Romano-British towns offer ample scope for further work, but the material is at once so extensive and by the nature of the case so varied that it is difficult to put forward any uniform policy in this respect. It may however be agreed that the most valuable historical evidence is to be sought on sites where the Roman civilization overlaps the native, and where it lingers on after the formal sever-

ance of Britain from the Empire. The names of Verulamium and Camulodunum will occur to all, and of these two towns the site of the former is fortunately still for the most part open and unbuilt on.

Roman country houses or villas offer somewhat different problems, but their bearing on the history of the occupation is obviously an intimate one, and may throw much light on social and economic conditions. A few careful and thorough investigations in different parts of the country would well repay the time spent on them. The same may be said of village sites, where the semi-Romanized native continued to live in many respects the life of his pre-Roman forefathers, providing for us just that link between pre-history and the historic period which gives the continuity essential to the proper understanding of national development.

The Anglo-Saxon period, in spite of the documentary evidence available, offers more unsolved problems than any other. Pagan burial grounds have indeed been excavated in large numbers, but occupation sites of that and the early Christian period are almost unknown. The village excavated by Mr. Leeds at Sutton Courtenay must have many parallels but they have yet to be identified. The extraordinary rarity of pottery which can be assigned to this time is inexplicable at present, and our general ignorance of domestic life at this period is a reproach to our archaeology which should be removed without delay. Early monastic sites, where not sealed by later occupation, may be expected to yield useful information on these and other points.

From the eleventh century onwards materials become more plentiful, but the dating of mediaeval pottery is in nearly as unsatisfactory a condition as that of the preceding period. Nothing but careful excavation will remove this defect, as for example on the site of one of the adulterine castles thrown up in the troubled reign of Stephen and destroyed by Henry II. And the solution of many other problems, historical, architectural, or industrial, will hardly be achieved without the evidence which excavation alone can supply. . . .

The examination of ancient sites can no longer be regarded, as was unhappily the case in former days, as a mere search for antiquities. The thing found is of value, whether to history, art or science, but the circumstances of its finding are of even more evidential worth. The ideal excavation is one in which all the evidence is recognized and recorded, a task which demands no ordinary degree of knowledge and experience. It follows that such work should not be lightly undertaken, for with the best of intentions it is easy to do more harm than good. The choice of a site should not be at haphazard, but made with a particular problem in view. No work should be begun without the supervision of an archaeologist competent by reason of his experience and general knowledge to direct every detail. Provision must be made for complete and accurate record by measurements, drawings and photographs of all evidence disclosed. Supervision must be continuous. And a necessary condition of all such work must be that its results must be published as promptly and completely as possible. Where an excavation extends over a series of years, annual reports giving a summary of the progress made should be issued, leaving the full record to appear at the close of operations.

Archaeological excavation is only possible at a very considerable expense of time and money. The excavator who obtains his results with the least expenditure of either is to be commended, but only on the understanding that the

results are really obtained. A superficial examination is worse than useless. But since every excavation should have for its motive a definite line of enquiry, the extent of work on any site will vary according to the conditions. No hard and fast rule can be laid down, and indeed the point is one on which complete agreement is not to be expected. However this may be, it is at any rate evident that something like a general agreement on the direction of archaeological enquiry in Britain would be of the greatest possible value. By such means the energies of all the archaeological societies and institutions of the country might be concentrated on a definite programme of research, in which all might take part, avoiding side-issues and useless repetitions.

The publication of results in more or less uniform manner should not be impossible to achieve, and would not only be of signal advantage to ourselves, but could not fail to commend our British School of Archaeology to the learned of other nations.¹

Unhappily 1926 proved to be a year of industrial strife and financial difficulty, and nothing more was done; but the Antiquaries' views on work in the field clearly indicate the general position of research at the time.

The Croft Lyons Fund, limited by the testator's wish to the promotion of heraldic studies, was at first not very fruitful. Croft-Lyons had suggested the editing of Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armorial*s and rolls of arms, and the buying of books necessary for such work for the Society's Library. In 1928¹ it was decided to concentrate for the present on the purchase of books and on the publication of heraldic articles in *Archaeologia*.²

The Society's work of protection and preservation proceeded on a smaller scale now that there were other institutions to share the weight. In 1916³ the Secretary read a highly critical report, drawn up in collaboration with Bilson and Brakspear, on alterations that had been made to Durham Cathedral. In 1919⁴ Earl Ferrers raised the question of the preservation of old cottages and villages under the Housing Bill, and a motion was passed expressing the hope that the question would be specially considered by Parliament.⁵ In the same year⁶ Council's attention was drawn to the fact that there appeared to be a proposal on foot to demolish certain of the City churches, in order to divert their endowments to new churches in the suburbs. Council took the extraordinary view 'that under the circumstances the matter appears to be outside the scope of the Society'. By June 1920, however, the Society at large⁷ passed a

¹ Council, 22 Feb. 1928.

² Croft-Lyons Committee, 26 Nov. 1928.

³ Meeting, 3 Feb.

⁴ Ibid., 26 June.

⁵ At the Council of 30 Mar. 1927 invitations to become affiliated to the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and to send a representative to the Advisory Committee on the Preservation of Ancient Cottages of the Royal Society of Arts were both refused on the ground that they were 'not sufficiently germane to the activities of the Society'.

⁶ Council, 19 Nov.

⁷ Meeting, 10 June 1920.

protest against the Bishop of London's proposal to destroy nineteen City churches. In that year,¹ too, the Society passed another of its habitual protests against a scheme for demolishing the Whitgift Hospital at Croydon.

In 1922 the Law of Property Act enfranchised all lands of copyhold and customary tenure, and a little later² the Society passed a resolution on the importance of keeping Court rolls and other manorial records in county archives or the Public Record Office.

At the beginning of 1925,³ after it had been discovered that the death-watch beetle had attacked the roof timbers of St. Paul's Cathedral,⁴ Westminster Hall, and many lesser buildings, the Executive Committee recommended Council to issue a pamphlet 'to be circulated widely on the ravages of the death-watch beetle and the way to deal with it'. A sensible and practical eight-page booklet by Professor H. M. Lefroy was duly issued. In 1928 the Society took a considerable part in the controversy over a proposed new sacristy for Westminster Abbey, and the scheme was eventually dropped.

The Society was too busy in the active pursuit of archaeological research to spare much time for preservation. The war had destroyed much, especially in the medieval field in France, but it had perfected techniques that were bringing new life into antiquarian inquiries, especially through air-photography.

There was nothing very new about the idea or its application to archaeology: in 1858 Nadar had taken photographs of Paris from a balloon, and in 1891 Lieutenant G. F. Close had suggested to the Surveyor-General of India that the ancient ruined cities near Agra should be photographed from a balloon.⁵ In 1906 Colonel J. E. Capper, R.E., had exhibited to the Society⁶ an oblique and a vertical photograph of Stonehenge taken from a war-balloon by Lieutenant P. H. Sharpe, and these had been reproduced in *Archaeologia*.⁷ During the war the Germans sent Dr. Theodor Wiegand to take air-photographs of antiquities in the North Sinai peninsula, and very little later Colonel Beazeley, R.E., was photographing sites in Mesopotamia from the air.⁸

O. G. S. Crawford, as an observer in the R.F.C., began to develop his own technique of air-photography during the war and thought out its possibilities while he was a prisoner of war. In 1922

¹ Ibid., 6 May 1920.

² Ibid., 15 Mar. 1923.

³ Executive, 22 Jan.

⁴ In Jan. 1925 the Society gave fifty guineas to the St. Paul's Cathedral Restoration Fund.

⁵ Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air*, p. 3. Nothing was done about Lieut. Close's suggestion.

⁶ Meeting, 6 Dec. 1906.

⁷ *Arch.* lx, 1907, plates LXIX and LXX.

⁸ On the history of air photography see Crawford and Keiller, chap. i, and O. G. S. Crawford in *Sociological Review*, xxiv, 1932, p. 165.

he began, in co-operation with the Royal Air Force, to demonstrate the possibilities of the technique, by analysing old photographs and securing new ones. In 1923 he began to publish articles on Stonehenge Avenue as seen from the air.¹ In 1924 he and Alexander Keiller, who had been a pilot in the R.N.A.C., hired an aeroplane and took three hundred photographs of sites of archaeological interest, including Stonehenge, Yarnbury Castle, Scratchbury, and Maiden Castle.² They discovered missing portions of the Stonehenge Avenue, field divisions, Celtic lynchets, and other features invisible from the ground. In the following year Woodhenge, a site about two miles north-east of Stonehenge, that had been discovered by air-photography, was excavated under Mrs. Cunnington. It was followed by other sites similarly discovered—the 'Sanctuary' on Overton Hill, Durrington Walls, and others. *Wessex from the Air*, published by Crawford and Keiller in 1928, gave air-photographs of twelve camps, four villages, six barrows, and ten areas with ancient fields, as well as of Avebury and Stonehenge and other dikes and clumps. It was followed in 1929 by a book by Crawford explaining his technique.³

While new techniques were thus being perfected, it seemed as if the rigid discipline of war had narrowed the archaeologist's conception of his work. In 1921 Crawford⁴ answered the question 'What is archaeology?' by defining it entirely in terms of pots and potsherds, stones, bones, and earthworks. He conceived it as confined to the prehistoric field, in the narrowest sense; so soon as man became a member of a society he, as an archaeologist, ceased to be interested.⁵ A wholesome corrective was given in V. Gordon Childe's *Dawn of European Civilization*, published in 1925, in which he stressed the concept of culture rather than of epoch as a method of classification; but Childe too remained a prehistorian. A wider view appeared again in Cyril Fox's *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, published in 1923, that combined geography and archaeology down to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, with a true sense of history.

There was good reason for the predominance of prehistory at this time, for in that field great discoveries were being made. J. Reid Moir published his *Pre-Palaeolithic Man* in 1919⁶ and his study of the *Great Flint Implements of Cromer* in 1921,⁷ and Dorothy Garrod *The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain* in 1926. Both not only

¹ *Observer*, 8 and 22 July, 23 Sept. 1923, 24 Aug. 1924.

² See Ordnance Survey Professional Papers, new series, No. 7: O. G. S. Crawford, *Air Survey and Archaeology*, 1924; *Archaeology in the Field*, p. 45.

³ Ordnance Survey Professional Papers, new series, No. 12: O. G. S. Crawford, *Air-photography for Archaeologists*.

⁴ *Man and His Past*, p. 38.

⁵ He does include the Anglo-Saxon field (p. 48) but only this.

⁶ Followed by his *Antiquity of Man in East Anglia* in 1927.

⁷ The find was first published in the *Arch. Journ.* of 1921, p. 385.

added to the knowledge of the earliest artefacts found in this country, but also connected them more firmly with the finds in France and their classification. Crawford in *Man and His Past*, published in 1921, made an interesting study, partly psychological, of man as a tool-making animal.

The application of stratigraphical methods to palaeolithic sites continued in such excavations as those of Reginald Smith and H. Dewey at Rickmansworth¹ and Sturry,² of Worthington Smith at Maiden Bower³ and near Caddington,⁴ of R. R. Marett at La Cotte de Saint Brelade in Jersey,⁵ and of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia at Grimes Graves.⁶ Montelius contributed a paper to the Society on palaeoliths found in Sweden.⁷

Argument as to the significance of the pre-Chellean industries recognized by Benjamin Harrison and Reid Moir was paralleled by discussion of the existence of a connecting phase or phases between the Upper Palaeolithic and the Neolithic. As early as 1892 Allen Brown had proposed a 'Mesolithic' period, but it lacked definition until Macalister published his *Textbook of European Archaeology* in 1921.

Reginald Smith continued his typological studies in the Neolithic field.⁸ Excavations carried out by A. Keiller at Windmill Hill, by E. Thurlow Leeds at Abingdon⁹ and by Elliott and Cecil Curwen in Sussex,¹⁰ began to build Neolithic industries into cultures and to isolate groups of artefacts of varying continental ancestry.

Such cultural associations, based on stratigraphy, gave a new solidity to Neolithic studies. No longer could it be said of the Neolithic period, as Cyril Fox said of it before 1923, that it was 'an ill-defined dumping ground for stone implements (other than Palaeolithic and Mesolithic) not known by clear-cut associations with datable grave-deposits to be of the early metal age'. The excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro in 1924 revealed the chalcolithic civilization of the Indus valley.

The Bronze Age everywhere was further elucidated. In 1920, at the suggestion of Sir Arthur Evans, the British School at Athens

¹ 20 May 1915; *Arch.* lxvi. 195. The excavations were made in 1914 on behalf of the British Museum.

² 11 Mar. 1915.

³ 10 Apr. 1924; *Arch.* lxxiv. 117.

⁴ 30 Mar. 1916; *Arch.* lxvii. 49.

⁵ 25 Nov. 1915; *Arch.* lxvii. 175.

⁶ See Kendrick and Hawkes, p. 75. They list others at Easton Down, Wiltshire, Harrow Hill and Blackpatch, Sussex, and elsewhere.

⁷ *Ants. Journ.*, Apr. 1921.

⁸ 'On the Chronology of Flint Daggers', 27 Nov. 1919, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1919-20, p. 6; 'Hoards of Neolithic Celts', 26 May 1921, *Arch.* lxi. 113; 'Flint Implements of Special Interest', 26 Jan. 1922, *Arch.* lxxii. 25; 'The Perforated Axe-hammers of Britain', *Ants. Journ.*, 16 Dec. 1920, *Arch.* lxxv. 77.

⁹ *Ants. Journ.*, Oct. 1927, Oct. 1928.

¹⁰ E. Cecil Curwen, *Prehistoric Sussex*, 1929.

undertook supplementary excavations at Mycenae under the direction of A. J. B. Wace. Their object was to answer a number of outstanding questions connected with the Grave Circle, the Treasury of Atreus, and other monuments, questions which had been rendered more pressing by Evans's discoveries in Crete. The results of the excavations of the chamber tombs, carried out over three years, were published in the eighty-second volume of *Archaeologia*,¹ which they filled. Wace concluded that the Treasury of Atreus, the Cyclopean Walls, and the Lion Gate were not contemporary with the Shaft Graves of the sixteenth century B.C., but were some two centuries later. This conclusion, which was disputed at the time, has been confirmed by his subsequent excavations on the site. He further inferred that Mycenaean civilization was not merely a provincial version of Minoan, as Evans had supposed, but that it had its roots in the Middle Helladic culture, and though obviously under Minoan influence in the sixteenth century, retained its individuality throughout.²

1923 was the year of the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb, but at this time Egyptian discoveries received specialist publication. The Society, however, was clearly shocked that all the objects found in such discoveries were now to remain in Egypt. On 11 January the President proposed a resolution regretting the new Egyptian Antiquities Law, which forbade excavators to have any share in their finds. It was carried unanimously, but was naturally ineffective.

In 1918 the British Museum (together with the University of Pennsylvania) began to finance a series of excavations at Ur and Eridu; the sensational discoveries made there under C. L. Woolley provided some of the most excited and crowded meetings the Society's rooms have known.³ The publication in the *Antiquaries Journal* between 1922 and 1934⁴ of the series of Woolley's reports on his excavations at Ur came to be looked upon as major archaeological events, at once sequels and summaries of the special exhibitions of his finds held at the British Museum.⁵ The excavator's skill in presentation, and the scale of publication permitted by the Society, revealed the importance of his discoveries not only to specialists. They were particularly informative upon a period which they have revealed as the most flourishing in all the long history of

¹ Additional publication was given in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vols. xxiv and xxv.

² Ventris's recent decipherment of the Linear B script as Greek and his conclusion that Greek was spoken at Knossos in the fifteenth century B.C., goes far to substantiate Wace's claims for mainland civilization.

³ 13 June 1929, 15 May 1930, 14 May 1931, 12 May 1932, 11 May 1933, 10 May 1934.

⁴ *Ants. Journ.*, Oct. 1923, p. 311; Jan. 1925, p. 1; Oct. 1925, p. 348; Oct. 1926, p. 385; Oct. 1927, p. 415; Jan. 1928, p. 1; Oct. 1929, p. 305; Oct. 1930, p. 315; Oct. 1931, p. 355; Oct. 1932, p. 355; Oct. 1933, p. 359; Oct. 1934, p. 355.

⁵ The remainder of the reports are in the press.

Babylonia: the last epoch of the still not fully literate Sumerian culture.

Other papers on Mesopotamian subjects were contributed by R. Campbell Thompson,¹ R. W. Hutchinson,² and S. Langdon.³

Arthur Evans began the publication of his *Palace of Minos*⁴ and Zammit his reports on Hal-Tarxien.⁵ E. T. Leeds communicated a paper⁶ on the dolmens and megalithic tombs of Spain and Portugal, and S. Casson one on the Bronze Age in Macedonia.⁷ Salomon Reinach⁸ endeavoured to make the Antiquaries share his belief in the discoveries at Glozel, but the English antiquaries led in revealing their want of authenticity.

Much was done in the British Bronze Age field. In 1915 E. C. R. Armstrong contributed a paper, with good maps, on the distribution of various types of bronze celts in Ireland;⁹ in 1922 Crawford published his *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*¹⁰ with a melancholy account of destruction; in 1923 W. Parker Brewis gave a paper on the bronze sword in Britain;¹¹ and in 1924 Gordon Childe initiated a discussion on the date at which the Beaker Folk arrived.¹² Crawford and Wheeler reported on the Llynfawr Bronze Age hoard and related finds.¹³ Dr. H. H. Thomas investigated the source of the stones of Stonehenge¹⁴ and found that the blue stones came from the Prescelly Mountains in Pembrokeshire.

The shift of publication to specialist societies is shown by the fact that only one paper of any importance on a classical Greek subject was published,¹⁵ and none on Roman antiquities in Italy.¹⁶ The decade between 1923 and 1933 was, however, that of the publication by H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham of their five volumes on *The Roman Imperial Coinage*.

The Early Iron Age was represented by papers by Read on a

¹ 'The British Museum Excavations at Abu Shahrain in Mesopotamia in 1918', 30 Jan. 1919; *Arch.* lxx. 101.

² R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, 'The Excavations on the Temple of Nabû at Niniveh', 31 Jan. 1929; *Arch.* lxxix. 103.

³ 'Sumerian Origins and Racial Characteristics', 5 Feb. 1920; *Arch.* lxx. 145.

⁴ Five volumes were published between 1921 and 1935.

⁵ 29 June 1916, *Arch.* lxxvii. p. 127; 28 June 1917, *Arch.* lxxviii. 263; 24 June 1920, *Arch.* lxx. 179.

⁶ 10 Apr. 1919, *Arch.* lxx. 201.

⁷ 22 Nov. 1923, *Arch.* lxxiv. 73.

⁹ 10 June 1915.

⁸ *Ants. Journ.* Jan. 1927, p. 1.

¹⁰ Second edition 1925.

¹¹ 15 Feb. 1923, *Arch.* lxxiii. 253.

¹² He thought they came not much before 1900 B.C. 27 Mar. 1924, *Arch.* lxxiv. 159.

¹³ 10 Feb. 1921; *Arch.* lxxi. 233.

¹⁴ 19 Apr. 1923. On 3 May 1923 Rear-Admiral Boyd Somerville read a paper on 'Orientation in Prehistoric Monuments'; *Arch.* lxxiii. 193.

¹⁵ Professor E. S. Forster on 'A Bronze Head of Athena at Burleigh Court, Gloucestershire'; *Arch.* lxxiii. 85.

¹⁶ G. Jeffery read a paper on 'Rock-cutting and Tomb Architecture in Cyprus in the Graeco-Roman Period', 17 Dec. 1914, *Arch.* lxi. p. 159.

Late Celtic bronze,¹ by Arthur Evans² on other objects of the period, by Reginald Smith³ on pre-Roman remains from Scarborough, and by R. E. Mortimer Wheeler⁴ on a Romano-Celtic Temple discovered near Harlow. Reginald Smith⁵ read a paper on Celtic bronzes from Lorraine, and another (with Read)⁶ on Avebury's finds from Hallstatt, which the finder had bequeathed to the British Museum.

Romano-British studies were represented by a few excavation reports. Frank Lambert's investigations of the Roman rubbish-pits on the site of the General Post Office⁷ produced praise from Reginald Smith. He said that he 'thought it no small achievement to spend three months searching rubbish pits in circumstances that were not uniformly pleasant. Such devotion to modern methods of research had been well rewarded, and the accurate grouping and dating of plain pottery was a very tangible result. . . .' Haverfield read a paper on Roman Cirencester,⁸ Thomas May one on Roman pottery from the waste heaps at Sandford,⁹ A. Bulleid and Dom Ethelbert Horne reported on the Roman house at Keynsham,¹⁰ and A. Heneage Cocks on a Romano-British homestead in the Hambleton Valley.¹¹ R. G. Collingwood read a paper¹² on Hardknot Castle and the tenth Antonine Itinerary. W. L. Hildburgh read a paper on a find of Ibero-Roman silver at Cordova¹³ and A. O. Curle gave an account of the great find of silver at Traprain Law.¹⁴ The post-Roman period in the East was represented by papers by Stephen Gaselee on lettered Egyptian textiles,¹⁵ by Alfred Clapham on the monastic buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem,¹⁶ and by E. H. Freshfield on drawings of the buildings of Constantinople made in 1574.¹⁷ O. M. Dalton provided an admirable basis for study by his book on *East Christian Art*, published in 1925, and in his *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* published in 1911.

Anglo-Saxon studies had lately been enormously developed and systematized in Baldwin Brown's great work, *The Arts in Early England*, but continued to advance. In 1915 William Page communicated a paper on the churches of the Domesday Survey¹⁸ and in 1917 Reginald Smith another¹⁹ on Roman roads and the distribution of Saxon churches in London. In 1918 St. John Hope read a

¹ 28 Jan. 1915; *Arch.* lxvi.

³ 17 Mar. 1927; *Arch.* lxxviii. 179.

⁵ 21 Mar. 1929; *Arch.* lxxix. 1.

⁷ 11 Feb. 1915; *Arch.* lxvi. 225. Further excavations were reported on 3 Feb. and 8 Dec. 1921; *Arch.* lxxi. 55.

⁸ 13 Dec. 1917; *Arch.* lxix. 161.

¹⁰ 14 May 1925; *Arch.* lxxv. 109.

¹² 27 Jan. 1921; *Arch.* lxxi. 1.

¹⁴ *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1921.

¹⁶ *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1921.

¹⁸ 21 Jan. 1915; *Arch.* lxvi. 61.

² *Arch.* lxvi. 569.

⁴ *Ants. Journ.*, July 1928.

⁶ 25 May 1916; *Arch.* lxvii. 145.

⁹ *Arch.* lxxii. 225.

¹¹ 22 Mar. 1917; *Arch.* lxxi. 141.

¹³ 16 Mar. 1922; *Arch.* lxxii. 161.

¹⁵ 22 Mar. 1923; *Arch.* lxxiii. 73.

¹⁷ 15 June 1922; *Arch.* lxii. 87.

¹⁹ 21 June 1917; *Arch.* lxviii. 229.

long paper on the first cathedral at Canterbury.¹ In 1922 G. H. Fowler wrote on the devastation of Bedfordshire and the neighbouring counties in 1065 and 1066;² J. Humphreys and his assistants on an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Bradford-on-Avon³ and E. T. Leeds on a Saxon village at Sutton Courtenay.⁴ In 1924 Reginald Smith read a paper on some examples of Anglian Art,⁵ and C. R. Peers one on the sculptured stones of Lindisfarne.⁶ In 1926 W. H. Knowles investigated Deerhurst Priory,⁷ and C. R. Peers and Alfred Clapham the Saxon Abbey at St. Augustine's, Canterbury.⁸ In the following year Clapham communicated a paper on the sculptures at Breedon on the Hill,⁹ which he considered to be probably of the eighth century, and C. R. Peers one on the Saxon church and cross at Reculver.¹⁰

A considerable amount of *Archaeologia* was at this time taken up by medieval papers; volume lxxviii, for example, published in 1917, contains no less than six important papers that fall within this period. Many were occupied with questions of monastic architecture; Clapham wrote on the Cistercian Abbey at Tower Hill,¹¹ the architecture of the Premonstratensians,¹² and, with Rose Graham, on the Order of Grandmont and its houses in England;¹³ Sir William St. John Hope on St. Augustine's, Canterbury;¹⁴ Harold Brakspear on the dormer range at Worcester,¹⁵ and some excavations at monasteries in Wiltshire;¹⁶ Canon Westlake on Westminster;¹⁷ the Rev. C. Swynerton on the priory of Leonard Stanley,¹⁸ Dr. Cranage on the Cluniac Priory of Much Wenlock;¹⁹ Charles E. Keyser communicated a paper on the sculptures from Reading Abbey,²⁰ C. J. P. Cave one on the roof-bosses of Tewkesbury Abbey,²¹ and Sir Martin Conway one on the medieval Treasury of Saint Denis, identifying the picture of its high altar in the fifteenth-century painting of the *Mass of St. Giles* in the National Gallery.²²

No paper resulted from it, but in December 1918 the Dean and Chapter of Westminster gave Fellows the opportunity of seeing the coffin of Edward the Confessor before it was finally closed to view.

¹ 11 Apr. 1918.

² *Arch.* lxxii. 41.

³ 23 Feb. 1922 and 22 Feb. 1923; *Arch.* lxxiii. 89; 20 Mar. 1924, *Arch.* lxxiv. 27.

⁴ 23 Nov. 1922; *Arch.* lxxiii. 147, *Arch.* xcii. 79.

⁵ 24 Jan. 1924; *Arch.* lxxiv. 233.

⁷ 10 Mar. 1927; *Arch.* lxxviii. 141.

⁸ 24 Mar. 1927; *Arch.* lxxviii. 219.

¹¹ 18 Feb. 1915; *Arch.* lxvi. 353.

¹³ *Arch.* lxxv. 159.

¹⁵ 17 Feb. 1916; *Arch.* lxvii. 189.

¹⁷ 21 Mar. 1918; *Arch.* lxix. 31. In 1923 he published his important book *Westminster*

Abbey.

¹⁸ 29 Nov. 1917; *Arch.* lxxi. 199.

²⁰ 22 June 1916. The paper, in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, is illustrated by 26 pages of half-tones.

²¹ 17 Jan. 1929; *Arch.* lxxix. 73.

²² 4 Feb. 1915; *Arch.* lxvi. 103.

⁶ 14 Feb. 1924; *Arch.* lxxiv. 255.

⁸ 11 Mar. 1926; *Arch.* lxxviii. 200.

¹⁰ 27 Oct. 1927; *Arch.* lxxviii. 241.

¹² 12 Apr. 1923; *Arch.* lxxiii. 117.

¹⁴ 10 June 1915; *Arch.* lxvi. 377.

¹⁶ 14 Dec. 1922; *Arch.* lxxii. 225.

¹⁹ 9 Feb. 1922; *Arch.* lxxii. 105.

Other medieval papers were on Our Lady of the Pew at Westminster,¹ choir screens of the twelfth century,² the tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort,³ Corfe Castle,⁴ and Fromond's Chantry at Winchester.⁵ There were studies of monumental effigies by Bristol craftsmen,⁶ of alabaster tables,⁷ and P. B. Chatwin contributed an important paper on the sculptures of the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick.⁸ Heraldic studies, stimulated by the Croft Lyons Bequest, were represented by papers on the heraldry of the Canterbury cloisters,⁹ and the Chichele porch,¹⁰ Elizabethan heraldic roundels,¹¹ and Rolls of Arms.¹² There were a number of papers on seals,¹³ household accounts,¹⁴ armour,¹⁵ scientific instruments,¹⁶ music,¹⁷ metalwork,¹⁸ and any number of documents.¹⁹ Hilary Jenkinson contributed a paper on medieval tallies,²⁰ and Tancred Borenius another on the iconography of St. Thomas of Canterbury.²¹

A certain amount of work was done on the history of London,

¹ By C. L. Kingsford, 17 Dec. 1916, *Arch.* lxxviii. 1.

² By W. St. John Hope, 1 Feb. 1917; *Arch.* lxxviii. 43.

³ By R. F. Scott, 29 Apr. 1915; *Arch.* lxvi. 365.

⁴ By Sidney Toy, 13 Dec. 1928; *Arch.* lxxix. 85.

⁵ By H. Chitty, 21 May 1925; *Arch.* lxxv. 139.

⁶ By A. C. Fryer, 29 Nov. 1923; *Arch.* lxxiv. 1.

⁷ By W. L. Hildburgh, 15 May 1924; *Arch.* lxxiv. 203.

⁸ *Arch.* lxxviii. 313.

⁹ By Ralph Griffin, 24 June 1915; *Arch.* lxvi. 447.

¹⁰ By Ralph Griffin, 20 Nov. 1925; *Arch.* lxxi. 125.

¹¹ By Ralph Griffin and Mill Stephenson, 13 Feb. 1919; *Arch.* lxx. 57.

¹² By Mill Stephenson and Ralph Griffin, 20 June 1918; *Arch.* lxix. 61.

¹³ C. H. Hunter Blair, 'Mediaeval Seals of the Bishops of Durham', 14 Nov. 1921, *Arch.* lxxii. 1; 'Post-Reformation Ecclesiastical Seals of Durham', *Arch.* lxxxviii. 164; H. S. Kingsford, 'The Epigraphy of Mediaeval English Seals', 6 Dec. 1928, *Arch.* lxxix. 149; R. C. Fowler, 'Seals in the Public Record Office', 22 May 1924, *Arch.* lxxiv. 103.

¹⁴ M. S. Giuseppi, 'Wardrobe and Household Accounts of Bogo de Clare, 1284-6', 23 Jan. 1919, *Arch.* lxx. 1; H. le Strange, 'A Roll of Household Accounts of Sir Hamon le Strange of Hunstanton, 1347-8', 22 Nov. 1917, *Arch.* lxix. 111.

¹⁵ C. Foulkes, 'Some Aspects of the Craft of the Armourer', 18 Oct. 1928, *Arch.* lxxix. 2; J. G. Mann, 'Notes on the Armour of the Maximilian Period and the Italian Wars', 18 Apr. 1929, *Arch.* lxxix. 217.

¹⁶ O. M. Dalton, 'A Portable Dial in the form of a Book with Figures derived from Raymond Lul', 28 Feb. 1924, *Arch.* lxxiv. 89; R. P. Howgrave Graham on Clocks and Jacks, 4 Nov. 1926, *Arch.* lxxviii. 256. R. J. Günther also contributed a paper on the Renaissance period, 'The Uranical Astrolabe and other Inventions of John Blagrave of Reading', 21 Mar. 1929, *Arch.* lxxix. 55.

¹⁷ A paper by the Rev. E. H. Fellowes on Elizabethan Madrigals, read on 17 June 1920, was illustrated by madrigals sung by the Elizabethan singers.

¹⁸ O. M. Dalton, 'Two Medieval Bronze Bowls in the British Museum', 19 Jan. 1922, *Arch.* lxxii. 133; 'The Warden Abbey and Chichester Croziers', 19 Mar. 1925, *Arch.* lxxv. 211.

¹⁹ e.g. W. St. John Hope, 'The Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, 13th Earl of Oxford', 6 May 1915, *Arch.* lxvi. 275; 'The Sarum Consuetudinary', 10 May 1917, *Arch.* lxviii. 111; Bishop G. F. Browne, 'On Portions of a Temporale of 1350-80', 3 May 1917, *Arch.* lxviii. 127; W. Paley Baildon, 'The Trousseaux of Princess Philippa, wife of Eric, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden', 29 June 1916, *Arch.* lxvii. 163; C. L. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt', 15 May 1919, *Arch.* lxx. 71; M. C. Andrews, 'The Study and Classification of Mediaeval Mappae Mundi', 12 Mar. 1925, *Arch.* lxxv. 61.

²⁰ 31 Jan. 1924; *Arch.* lxxiv. 289.

²¹ 28 Feb. 1929; *Arch.* lxxix. 29.

both medieval¹ and later. C. L. Kingsford read papers on Paris Garden and the bear baiting,² on some London houses of the early Tudor Period,³ on Bath Inn or Arundel House,⁴ on Essex House, formerly Leicester House and Exeter Inn,⁵ and on a London merchant's house and its owners, 1360-1614.⁶ John Humphreys read an important paper on Elizabethan Sheldon tapestries,⁷ and Lawrence Weaver published the complete building accounts of the parish churches in the City designed by Sir Christopher Wren.⁸

Even if we take only the papers published in *Archaeologia*, it is a formidable record of fifteen years' work, of which four were years of war. Yet even now the value of the archaeologist's work was not widely recognized, although the post of Archaeology Officer of the Ordnance Survey had been instituted in 1920. Macalister, in the first volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*,⁹ published in 1923, expressed the view of the pure historian. Archaeological finds might be 'occasionally of value even to the historical critic', in exposing anachronisms, but he considered such evidence to be often ambiguous.

¹ P. Norman, 'Recent Discoveries of Mediaeval Remains in London', 9 Dec. 1915; *Arch.* lxvii. 1.

² 25 Mar. 1920; *Arch.* lxx. 155.

⁴ 18 May 1922; *Arch.* lxxii. 243.

⁶ 17 Jan. 1924; *Arch.* lxxiv. 137.

⁷ 3 Apr. 1924; *Arch.* lxxiv. 181. Read's attempted identification of a panel of tapestry of about 1400 as English (15 Mar. 1917, *Arch.* lxviii. 35) does not now find acceptance.

⁸ 10 Dec. 1914; *Arch.* lxvi. 1.

³ 14 Apr. 1921; *Arch.* lxxi. 17.

⁵ 18 Jan. 1923; *Arch.* lxxiii. 1.

⁹ Chap. iii, p. 112.

XIX

MODERN TIMES

1929-51

At the Anniversary of 1929 Lord Crawford's resignation of the Presidency and Ralph Griffin's of the Secretaryship were announced. C. R. Peers, the Director, was nominated for President, Reginald Smith for Director in his place, and Alfred Clapham for Secretary in place of Griffin. For the first time in the history of the Society these offices were simultaneously held by professionals. Peers was Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Reginald Smith Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum, Clapham Technical Editor to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. They made a distinguished team: Peers was notable for his capacity for representing the Society on great occasions and his knowledge of affairs, Smith for his unrivalled knowledge of British prehistory, and Clapham for his no less remarkable knowledge of English sculpture and architecture of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval date. Unhappily Peers was not on easy terms with Smith (as he had not been with Griffin) and the Director never spoke at Council meetings if Peers were in the Chair.

The Society's membership reached the figure of 826 in 1930, and kept round about it for a decade.¹ In 1929² Her Majesty Queen Mary signified that she would be pleased to accept election as a Royal Fellow, and the Society elected the first of such Fellows—the Prince Consort perhaps excepted—whose knowledge would have justified election as a commoner. Her Majesty's election was followed in 1935³ by that of a no less well-qualified Fellow, H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden. In 1929, after a discussion that continued over more than one meeting, John Pierpont Morgan was nominated⁴ and elected an Honorary Fellow.

In 1932 Thomas Davies Pryce raised the question of abolishing the election of Fellows *honoris causa*, and suggested that instead not more than forty British subjects should be admitted to the Honorary Fellowship. A sub-committee on the question was appointed, but reported against the change.⁵

¹ In 1940 it was 847.

³ Council, 12 Dec. 1935.

² Meetings, 26 Apr. and 24 Oct.

⁴ Ibid., 11 Dec. 1929.

⁵ 16 Mar. 1932.

In his Anniversary Address for 1931 the President advised that the idea of a gold medal should be revived, with freedom for the Society to select the recipient not only from among its own Fellows nor only from among British subjects. The matter was proceeded with, and at the end of 1933 the design for the medal which George Kruger Gray offered to the Society was approved.¹ Early in 1934² the Council resolved on the regulations for its award.

'That the medal be awarded for distinguished services to archaeology.

That the medal may be awarded to any person, whether a British subject or otherwise, who has the necessary qualification.

That the medal be presented at the Anniversary Meeting in every alternate year, or annually when the Council so decide. . . .

That the first award of the medal be made to Sir Arthur Evans, a past President of the Society.'

In 1935 it was resolved³ that the medal should be presented to Sir Aurel Stein, and that instead of the presentation taking place between the elections and the Presidential Address, the elections should be held in the afternoon and the presentation of the medal in the evening, after the medallist had been entertained at dinner.⁴

The general administration of the Society ran smoothly, the Executive, Library, and Finance Committees having been strengthened by a resolution⁵ that one non-official member of each should retire annually and not be eligible for immediate reappointment.

The question of the Society's Museum was again considered, but no action was taken,⁶ though the Society became more generous in lending objects from it. Sir George Duckworth in 1929⁷ asked that smoking might be permitted at the meetings of the Society; permission was refused. In 1933 three unofficial candidates, each nominated by five Fellows, were proposed for election to the Council. One was accepted for the official list; the two others were included but not starred as recommended for election. In 1934⁸ it was agreed that Council Meetings should be held on Thursday instead of Wednesday, and that the Executive should meet on some

¹ Council, 13 Dec. 1933. The cost of the die was borne by two Fellows who remained anonymous. For the medal see *Bicentenary Booklet*, plate xi b.

² Council, 21 Feb. 1934.

³ *Ibid.*, 24 Jan.; 21 Feb. 1935.

⁴ The evening meeting was held at 9. At the Anniversary of 1930 Evans's plan of an evening address was adhered to. Peers as President suggested on that occasion that the time allowed for ballots might be cut and the meeting begin at 8 p.m. with the Presidential Address at 9. This was done in 1931. In 1932 (24 Feb.) it was decided that the meeting should begin at 8.30 and the Presidential Address be given at 9.15.

⁵ Executive, 18 Feb. 1926.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 9 May 1929.

⁷ Meeting, 17 Oct.; Executive, 24 Oct. 1929. Smoking had been forbidden in the Library in 1914; Executive, 27 Feb.

⁸ Executive, 15 Nov. 1934; Council, 12 Dec. The Council of 25 Jan. 1935 resolved that tea should be provided before the Council meeting.

other day than Thursday. In 1935¹ it was agreed that when there was a likelihood of a meeting being overcrowded² the Royal Society should be asked for the loan of its meeting-room.

The finances improved once the exemption of the Society from income-tax as an educational (technically a 'charitable') body had been secured; a small balance was usually reached after various research expenses had been met. The electric lighting was reconditioned;³ the meeting-room, council room,⁴ library,⁵ hall and staircase⁶ redecorated after many arguments; more bookstacks made in the basement;⁷ certain pictures cleaned and restored,⁸ and the best (notably from the Kerrich Bequest) hung in the meeting-room.⁹ The Subject Index was continued at the Society's own expense; a grant was made towards the printing of the Proceedings of the International Prehistoric Congress in London;¹⁰ and general indices to vols. xxi-xxxii of the *Proceedings* and of the early volumes of the Minutes prepared.¹¹

The death of William Minet, Treasurer for twenty years, was reported early in 1933,¹² and Robert Holland Martin was elected in his stead. In 1935¹³ a resolution of congratulation was passed to H. S. Kingsford on completing twenty-five years' service as Assistant Secretary, and of thanks for his loyalty, efficiency, and courtesy.¹⁴ He was awarded the O.B.E. in the Birthday Honours. In 1938 William Kennett, the Society's porter for forty years, retired on pension, much regretted.

The Society received several valuable bequests. In 1935¹⁵ Miss Jane Alice Morris, daughter of William Morris, left the Society her residuary estate, subject to her sister's life interest, to form the William and Jane Morris Fund, of which the income was to be applied by the Society towards the protection and repair of ancient churches and other ancient buildings or monuments in the United Kingdom, such protection and repair to be in accordance with the principles of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. A sum of some £15,000 was received.¹⁶ In the same year

¹ Council, 11 Apr. 1935.

² Fellows had been asked not to introduce guests at the ordinary meeting of 10 May 1934, when Woolley reported on his excavations at Ur.

³ Council, 24 Jan. 1934.

⁴ Council, 11 Apr. and 9 May 1935.

⁵ Council, 29 Apr. and 12 May 1938.

⁶ Council, 14 May, 1936.

⁷ Council, 29 Apr. 1938.

⁸ Council, 21 Feb. 1934 and 18 Nov. 1937.

⁹ Council, 11 Apr. and 17 Oct. 1935.

¹⁰ Council, 9 Mar. 1934.

¹¹ Council, 17 Oct. 1935. The work was undertaken by Miss Vera Dallas.

¹² Council, 25 Jan. 1933.

¹³ Council, and Meeting 12 Dec. 1935.

¹⁴ A presentation was made to him from subscriptions from Fellows, limited to 5s.

¹⁵ Council, 17 Oct. 1935. A Special Committee to administer it was set up, which met for the first time on 11 May 1939.

¹⁶ In 1940 (Executive, 28 Nov.) the Society received from Miss Morris's estate a collection of the original blocks of William Morris's *Cupid and Psyche*. These they presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Albert Whiting, an American Fellow, left the Society 5,000 dollars,¹ which the Society decided to spend on indexes.

In 1936² the Society accepted a fund of some £570 collected as a memorial to Tessa Verney Wheeler, to be used for the training in field-work of those taking up archaeology as a career. In 1937 Robert Garraway Rice, a former Vice-President, left the Society securities to the value of £5,428, for research.

The Croft-Lyons Bequest for the promotion of heraldic studies³ came into use. In 1931⁴ Major Thomas Sheppard was engaged to work on Papworth's *Ordinary* at a salary of £5 a week and his travelling expenses, but he proved to be a pensioner rather than an active researcher. He died in 1937,⁵ and the scheme was reorganized to undertake the publication of Rolls of Arms,⁶ beginning with that belonging to the Society⁷ under the editorship of Oswald Barron, and continuing with the Erdewicke Roll under S. M. Collins's editorship and a catalogue of the Rolls by A. R. Wagner.⁸ In 1940 the plan of a new edition of Papworth was again taken up, and Collins and Wagner were appointed its editors.⁹

Many other gifts were received by the Society. In 1933 W. P. D. Stebbing presented a late-fifteenth-century brass of seven daughters from a larger monument,¹⁰ and Aymer Vallance early oil-paintings of Richmond Palace and Wakeford Bridge.¹¹ In 1934 a badge for the President¹² and two silver ash-trays were designed and given by George Kruger Gray,¹³ and a black and white portrait of Sir Charles Peers by Francis Dodd, A.R.A., one of two presented to Peers on behalf of the Fellows, was given by him on relinquishing the Presidency.¹⁴ In the same year Walter Tower presented his full-size drawings of the Tewkesbury glass.¹⁵ In 1938, not long before his death, G. McN. Rushforth gave the Society a Bolognese painting of the Crucifixion, probably of the fourteenth century, and a Byzantine picture of St. John Baptist. In 1937 Arthur Evans presented¹⁶ the bust of himself by David Evans that had been bought by subscription. Ten years later Miss Alyson Beanlands and her sister presented a fine Elizabethan copper-gilt chalice in memory of their father, the late Canon A. J. Beanlands. The Society bought a collection of bell-rubbings¹⁷ and a collection of plans and slides,¹⁸ and

¹ Council, 9 May 1935.

² Executive, 26 Nov.; Council, 10 Dec. 1936.

³ See above, pp. 399 and 402.

⁴ Croft-Lyons Committee, 27 Nov.; Meeting, 16 Dec. 1931.

⁵ Executive, 8 Apr. 1937.

⁶ Council, 16 Dec. 1937.

⁷ MS. 136, part 1.

⁸ Council, 25 Jan. 1940.

⁹ Two articles on the edition were published in the *Ants. Journ.*, Oct. 1941 and Jan. 1942.

¹⁰ Meeting, 19 Oct. 1933.

¹¹ 26 Oct. 1933.

¹² Council, 28 Apr. 1933.

¹³ Meeting 6 Dec. 1934.

¹⁴ Council, 17 Oct. 1934.

¹⁵ *Bicentenary Booklet*, plate.

¹⁶ Council, 21 Oct. 1937.

¹⁷ Council, 15 Nov. 1933; 21 Feb. 1934.

¹⁸ Council, 14 Nov. 1935. See *Bicentenary Booklet*, p. 18.

received a bequest of architectural drawings, plans, and books from Roland Paul.¹

In 1934² the President informed the Council that one of the manuscripts in the Society's collection³ was an Account Roll of New College, Oxford, for the years 1593-4, and suggested that it should be presented to the College. This was done.

The Society's excavations continued on an even larger scale than before. At the Anniversary of 1930 the President reported that the work at Lydney was nearly finished; that work at Richborough was continuing; that the sites of new buildings in London were being investigated under the supervision of the Society's inspectors, and that excavation was to be undertaken at Verulamium and Colchester.

The Richborough work had involved a further purchase of land in 1929, for which subscriptions were invited from Fellows.⁴ In 1930 it was agreed⁵ that no outside grants should be made from the Research Fund, and that a gross grant of £200 should be made to the excavations at Verulam and Colchester and of £25 to those at Chysauster. In 1931 the work at Richborough was helped by an Unemployment Grant received through the Office of Works. The Society made grants in this and the following year to work in London, Richborough,⁶ Verulamium, and Colchester. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler's work at Verulamium,⁷ which began in 1930, was continued after 1933 by Kathleen Kenyon and A. W. G. Lowther. Further excavations under the auspices of the Society were carried out at Kidwelly Castle and jointly with the Somerset Archaeological Society at Glastonbury in 1930.⁸

Peers, in his Anniversary Address for 1933, suggested yet other possibilities. 'I have always', he said, 'considered that a fairly extensive examination of one of our really large hill-fortresses would be a very suitable occupation for us.' He also wished to see further investigation of tenth-century earthworks and of early Norman castle mounds.

As a consequence the Council later in 1933 began to consider the project of work at Maiden Castle,⁹ which was carried out with great success by R. E. Mortimer Wheeler¹⁰ from 1934 to 1937. By 1934 excavation at Verulamium was nearly over; that at Colchester

¹ Council, 23 Jan. 1930.

² 24 Jan. 1934.

³ MS. 520.

⁴ Circular, May 1929. The land purchased was conveyed to the Commissioners of Works.

⁵ Research Committee, 4 Apr. 1930.

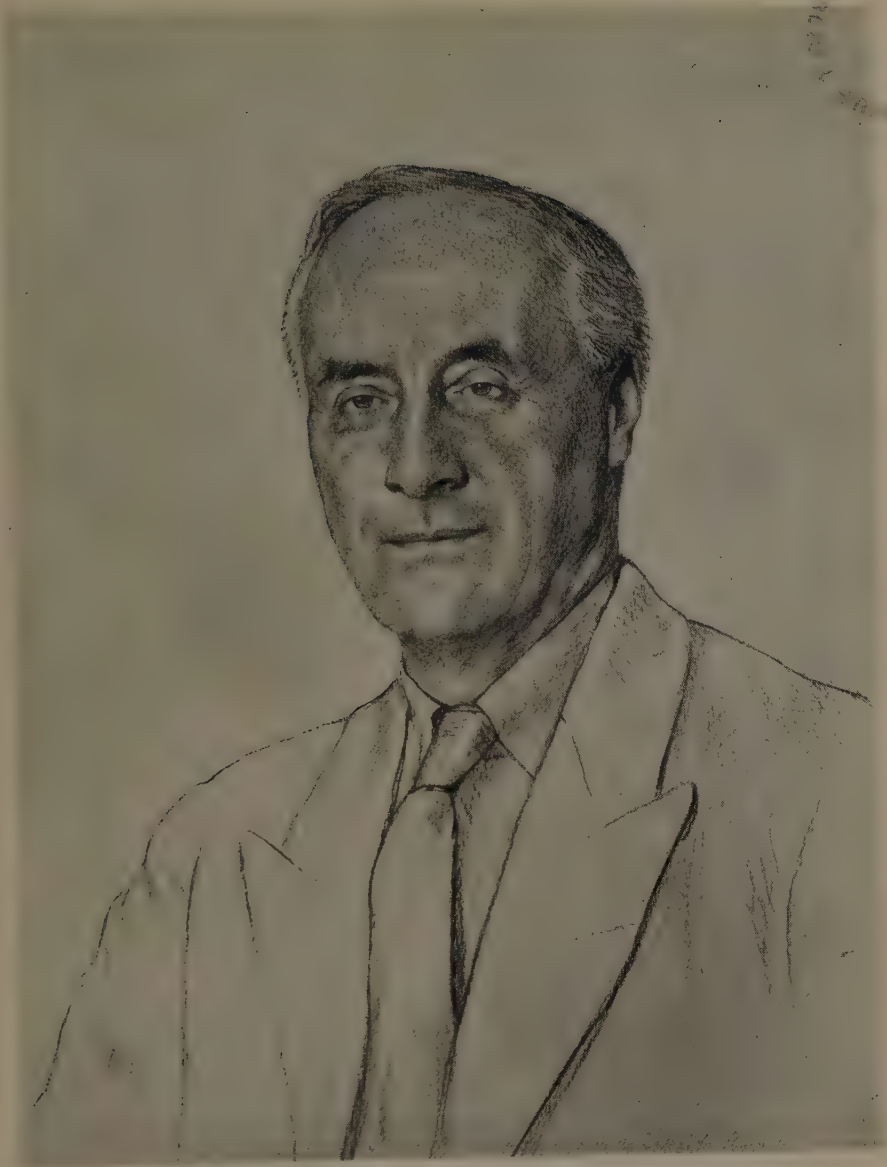
⁶ Work at Richborough was suspended in 1933; Meeting, 22 Mar. 1933.

⁷ It was reported to the Society 28 Feb. 1935, *Ants. Journ.*, July 1935; 27 Feb. 1936, *Ants. Journ.*, July 1936; 25 Feb. 1937, *Ants. Journ.*, July 1937; and in the Research Report, vol. xi. Work continued for five seasons, 1934-8. The systematic excavation of the site had been considered by Council as early as 9 Feb. 1909. Allied excavations were carried out at Prae Wood in 1931.

⁸ Council, 30 Apr. 1930.

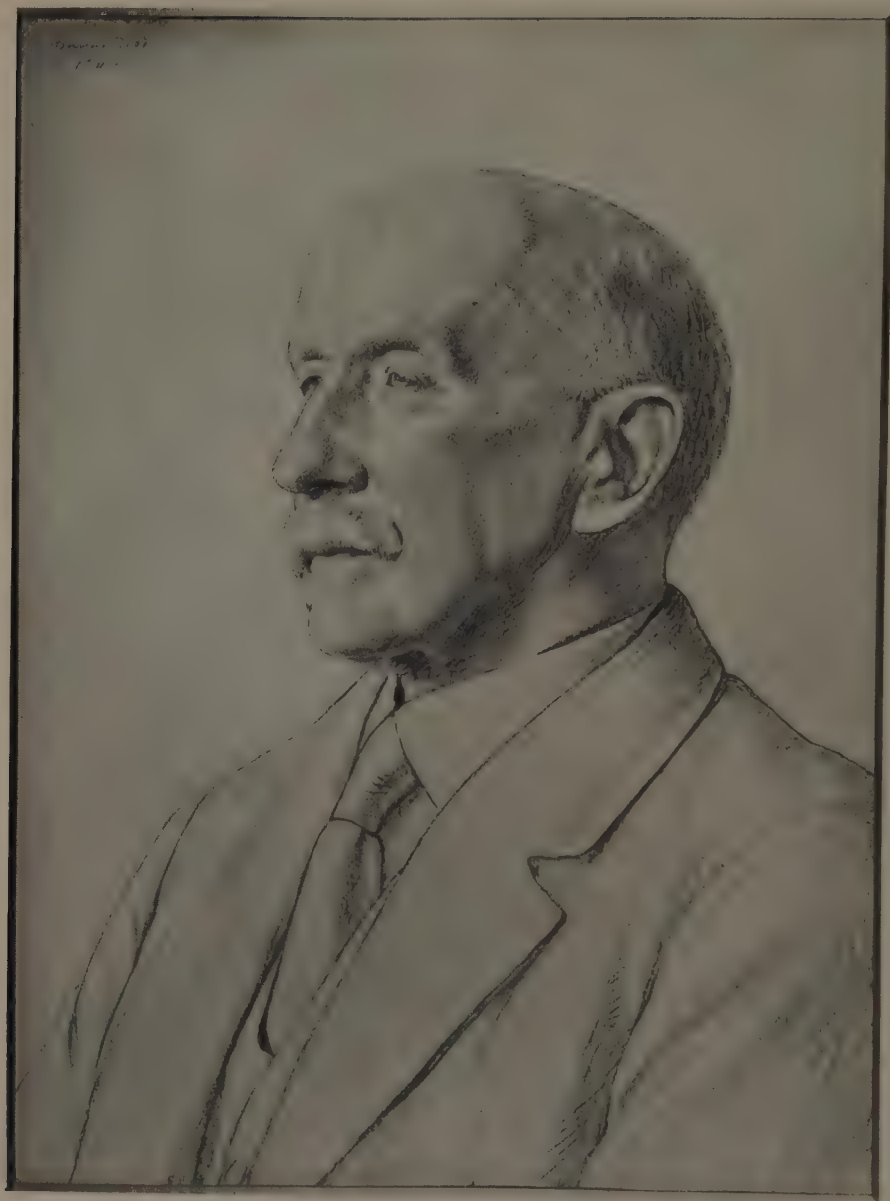
⁹ Council, 18 Oct.; Research Committee, 8 Dec. 1933.

¹⁰ Research Report, xii, 1943.



Sir Charles Peers, President 1929-34, by Francis Dodd, 1934

Society of Antiquaries



Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., President 1934-9,
by Francis Dodd, 1945

Society of Antiquaries

was being actively pursued, and some work was done on the Saxon *burh* at Witham in Essex.¹ In that year the Society reverted to the principle of limiting their own excavations and making many small grants to other workers.²

At the Anniversary of 1933 Peers resigned from the Presidency and retired from the Chief Inspectorship in the same year. Sir Frederic Kenyon was elected his successor, the first President to be also Director of the British Museum. Kenyon was an admirable scholar, but not strictly an archaeologist; his tastes lay rather in books than objects. He was a good administrator, who had commanded the Inns of Court training battalions during the War of 1914-18. He represented those who saw archaeology in other terms than excavation alone, yet in October 1934 he enjoyed the unique experience of presiding over a meeting at which his daughter presented an excavation report on the Roman theatre at Verulamium.

In his first Presidential Address in 1935³ he said:

'I have heard it whispered that we have too much of excavations, and certainly the large majority of our communications were more or less the result of work with the spade. There were fewer papers than at some previous periods in the history of the Society on medals or inscribed stones, on seals or charters, on architecture or sculpture or painting. But the focus of interest shifts from time to time, and research develops along different lines. . . .

It remains true that excavation holds the front of the stage today. With the assistance of the powerful new tool of air-photography and with the perception that through a more exact and minute technique of excavation much of the early history of our land may be discovered of which our ancestors had no inkling, our leading archaeologists, backed by an army of enthusiastic volunteers, are devoting themselves to revealing the secrets which lie beneath the surface of ancient earthworks and buried buildings. . . . We must redeem the time, because the days are evil.'

Two things were needed, men and money, 'but more, in my judgement, money than men. If the money is available, the men will be forthcoming. . . . There are scores of young people ready to put their hands to the work—laborious and exacting as it is, unremunerative as it always must be—if only it were made possible to support themselves and to earn a bare subsistence.'

His address in 1936 was tinged by the melancholy political outlook; tranquillity and prosperity, it seemed, were too much to hope for. He spoke of the good work done by women, especially in excavation, and declared that the Antiquaries had done well to admit them. 'The Society may well, after fifteen years of experience,

¹ *Ants. Journ.* xiv, Apr. 1934, p. 190.

² Research Committee, 19 Apr. 1934.

³ Anniversary Address, 1931.

4 8 Oct. 1934.

congratulate itself on the accession of strength to its cause which it has gained by this reform.'

He considered that the later periods were once more coming into their own. 'It has sometimes been hinted that the Society was devoting too much of its attention to prehistoric, pre-Roman and Roman excavations, to the exclusion of the interest in medieval antiquities, which were formerly more prominent in our Proceedings. I do not think that criticism can be applied to the past session; for while four evenings have been devoted to prehistory and three to the Roman or immediately pre-Roman period, no less than seven have been definitely medieval.'¹

He regretted that the days of great books seemed to be over. 'It may be that the mass of material now available deters scholars from undertaking works of large scope; though I think it is true that we need men with the courage to grapple with *magna opera*, in which wide conclusions, even if they are inevitably more or less provisional, may be attempted. Otherwise we shall fail to see the wood for the trees. But I think it is also true that fewer scholars can afford to devote their lives to a single great enterprise. They have to earn their livings. . . . Even if scholars could produce works on this heroic scale, they could not get them published. . . .' He presented the Gold Medal to the Abbé Breuil.

The time had come when the systematic study of visible objects in other fields than that of classical antiquity was to receive academic recognition. In the 1920's W. G. Constable interested Lord Lee of Fareham in the idea of providing academic training in the history of art in London on the lines of that provided in Europe and America. A committee was formed about 1927, with Lord Lee as Chairman. The possibility of developing such a centre at University College, alongside the Slade School, had to be abandoned for financial reasons. Mr. Samuel Courtauld then promised generous support, and ultimately, in 1932, the Courtauld Institute of Art was opened at 20 Portman Square as an independent Institute of the University of London, with W. G. Constable as Director and Professor, and James Mann as Reader and Deputy Director.²

The foundation of the Courtauld Institute of Art was paralleled by that of the Institute of Archaeology. In 1926 R. E. Mortimer Wheeler drafted a scheme for it, which for financial reasons had to be laid aside for a time. In 1932³ the President reported that, on the invitation of the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Archaeo-

¹ In his address for 1939 Kenyon made a further plea for medieval studies.

² Its field was originally defined as Western Europe, mainly during the Christian Era; Byzantium and the Near East during the same period; and the Far East. A technical department had been envisaged from the first, and was opened in 1934, thanks to the generosity of Sir Percival David.

³ Council, 24 Feb. 1932.

logy in the University of London, he had as President convoked a conference of representatives of the principal societies in the field to formulate a scheme for establishing an Institute of Archaeology in the University and for inviting subscriptions. The Institute was opened in 1937 under the direction of its moving spirit, R. E. M. Wheeler. The institution of these two centres of study, both under the guidance of Fellows of the Society, did more than is always realized to raise the general level of competence among students of art and archaeology. The undergraduate or recent graduate no longer ploughed a lonely furrow, but worked as one of a band of people with professional qualifications.

The Society's importance was recognized by invitations to send representatives to various bodies both temporary and permanent, and occasionally to take the lead in a scheme. In 1930¹ the Prime Minister appointed the President of the Society for the time being to be *ex officio* a Trustee of the London Museum. In 1933² the Society was invited to send two delegates to the International Congress of Ethnological and Anthropological Sciences, held in London in 1934. In 1935 R. E. Mortimer Wheeler was appointed³ to represent the Society on the Ancient Monuments Board for England, and Miss M. V. Taylor on the Congress on the Map of the Roman Empire.

The Society continued its efforts in preservation in many fields. A paper read by G. F. Hill in 1930⁴ on the law and practice of treasure-trove bore fruit⁵ in a Government regulation granting the full market value of the object found to the finder. In 1934⁶ the Society granted twenty guineas towards the purchase of the Codex Sinaiticus for the British Museum, and considered the question of the preservation of collections of photographic negatives of archaeological and architectural subjects. In 1936 the Society joined the S.P.A.B. in petitioning the Privy Council against the proposed destruction of All Hallows, Lombard Street,⁷ but the petition was unsuccessful. In 1937 the Society protested against a proposal to cut a road through the town of Conway,⁸ and against quarrying and housing estates on the Roman Wall.⁹ When the Society gave its Gold Medal to Sir Charles Peers in 1938 it was recognized that it was not only a personal tribute but also an acknowledgement of the work of his department.

The thirties witnessed the continued development of prehistoric studies.¹⁰ The Prehistoric Society, founded before 1914 on an East

¹ Executive, 3 Apr.; Council, 30 Apr. 1930.

³ Council, 21 Mar. 1935.

⁵ See *Ants. Journ.* xi. 172.

⁷ Council, 22 Oct. 1936; 18 Mar. 1937.

⁸ Council, 20 May 1937.

¹⁰ See Kendrick and Hawkes, *Archaeology in England and Wales, 1914-31*. Their work stops at the Anglo-Saxon period.

² Council, 15 Nov. 1933.

⁴ Meeting, 30 Jan. 1930.

⁶ Council, 24 Jan. 1934.

⁹ Council, 24 Mar. 1938.

Anglian basis, was in 1934 extended to cover the whole country. Under Gordon Childe's presidency it enjoyed a greatly increased membership and was able to publish two parts of its *Proceedings* every year. It is possible at this time to find three or four consecutive issues of the *Antiquaries Journal* of which at least three-quarters of the contents are on prehistoric subjects.

Not much, however, was done in the palaeolithic field. J. Reid Moir and J. P. T. Burchell read a paper in 1930¹ on flint implements from below the uppermost Boulder Clay in Norfolk and Yorkshire, and Burchell one on the date of the Northfleet Submergence.² Grahame Clark studied the Mesolithic Age in Britain,³ and with Dr. H. Godwin introduced into this country methods of research, notably pollen analysis, which had already been developed in Scandinavia and Germany.

In 1936 Alexander Keiller read an important account of many years' work which he and Stuart Piggott had carried out at Avebury.⁴ Several papers were read on the Bronze Age cairns in Wales⁵ and one on the excavation of the Long Barrow at Notgrove in Gloucestershire,⁶ and another on the Giant's Hills Long Barrow at Skendleby.⁷ E. T. Leeds reported on his continued work at Chun Castle,⁸ and H. O'Neill Hencken on that at Chysauster.⁹ E. Estyn Evans gave an account of the evolution of the bronze spearhead,¹⁰ Seán P. O'Riordáin of the Bronze Age halberd,¹¹ and H. C. Beck and J. F. S. Stone of the faience beads of the British Bronze Age.¹²

The most sensational discoveries of the decade continued to be those of C. L. Woolley at Ur of the Chaldees.¹³ M. E. L. Mallowan began to excavate at Arpachiyah on behalf of the British Museum in 1933 and Winifred Lamb at Kisura, near Afyun Karahissar, in 1934.¹⁴ In 1936 Woolley first reported on his excavations near Antioch, which resulted in the long series of investigations at Atchana Alalakh.¹⁵ Garstang was working at Jericho from 1930 to

¹ 3 Apr. 1930; *Ants. Journ.*, Oct. 1930.

² 3 Nov. 1932; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 67.

³ *The Mesolithic Age in Britain*, 1932; *The Mesolithic Cultures of Northern Europe*, 1936.

⁴ 5 Nov. 1936. See also H. St. George Gray, 'The Avebury Excavations 1908-22', 15 Nov. 1934; *Arch.* lxxxiv. 99.

⁵ W. J. Hemp, 'The Chambered Cairn of Bryn Celli Ddu', 27 Mar. 1930; *Arch.* lxxx. 179; 'The Chambered Cairn known as Bryn yr Hen Bobe', 22 Nov. 1934, *Arch.* lxxxv. 253; C. F. Fox, 'Two Bronze Age Cairns in South Wales', 31 Mar. 1938, *Arch.* lxxxvii. 129.

⁶ By Mrs. E. M. Clifford, 12 Mar. 1936; *Arch.* lxxxvi. 119.

⁷ By C. W. Phillips, 14 Mar. 1935; *Arch.* lxxxv. 37.

⁸ 19 Mar. 1931; *Arch.* lxxxi. 33.

⁹ 'An Excavation by H.M. Office of Works at Chysauster, Cornwall,' 4 May 1933, *Arch.* lxxxiii. 237.

¹⁰ 'The Bronze Spear-head in Great Britain and Ireland', 23 Mar. 1933; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 187.

¹¹ *Arch.* lxxxvi. 195.

¹² 5 Dec. 1935; *Arch.* lxxxv. 203.

¹³ See above, p. 406.

¹⁴ *Arch.* lxxxvi. 1; lxxxvii. 217.

¹⁵ 22 Oct. 1936, 4 Nov. 1937, *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1938; 20 Oct. 1938, *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1939; *Ibid.*, Jan. 1948; *Ibid.*, Jan. 1950. *Research Report*, 1955.

1936, and Wace at Mycenae rather earlier.¹ P. Dikaios excavated some Early Bronze Age tombs at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus.² Professor Ellis Minns, who was awarded the Society's Gold Medal in 1943, was working on the small bronzes from northern Asia,³ brought into fashion by Rostovtzeff's *Animal Style in South Russia and China*, published in 1929.

The Early Iron Age in Britain received a good deal of attention. In 1931 C. F. C. Hawkes proposed a threefold division for it.⁴ The Hill Forts were studied by him⁵ and J. B. Ward Perkins, and by Professor Gordon Childe.⁶ Professor R. G. Collingwood made an interesting study of the survival of Celtic art into Roman times in Northumbria.⁷ The Roman period in Britain was represented by the Society's research reports on Richborough,⁸ Verulamium, and Colchester and by papers by Kathleen Kenyon on the Theatre at Verulamium⁹ and on excavations at Viroconium.¹⁰ I. A. Richmond and O. G. S. Crawford read a paper on the British section of the Ravenna Cosmography.¹¹ At the Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences held in London in 1932 under the presidency of Sir Charles Peers as President of the Antiquaries, Sir Cyril Fox gave his now famous synthesis of British prehistory, published as *The Personality of Britain* in that year.

Mediterranean archaeology figured in papers on the castles of the Bosphorus,¹² excavations at the Golden Gate of Constantinople,¹³ the Church of Asinon in Cyprus,¹⁴ the Constantinian mosaics in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem,¹⁵ medieval finds at Al Mina in north Syria,¹⁶ Coptic Egypt,¹⁷ and the sculptures of Visigothic France.¹⁸

In the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon field much work was done. Nils Åberg's *Anglo-Saxons in England* appeared in 1926; E. T. Leeds

¹ See *Arch.* lxxxii, A. J. B. Wace, 'Chamber Tombs at Mycenae'. On the Aegean discoveries of this period see J. L. Myres's Huxley Lecture of 1933, *The Cretan Labyrinth*.

² *Arch.* lxxxviii. 1.

³ See his article in *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1930. A paper on a collection of Luristan bronzes by Stefan Przewojski was printed in *Arch.* lxxxviii. 229.

⁴ *Antiquity*, v. 60.

⁵ *Hill Forts*, 1931.

⁶ 'Excavations at Castlelaw, Midlothian, and the Small Forts of Britain', 27 Oct. 1932.

⁷ 21 Nov. 1929; *Arch.* lxxx. 37.

⁸ 8 Nov. 1934; *Arch.* lxxxiv. 213.

⁹ *Arch.* lxxxviii. 175.

¹⁰ The third was published in 1932 and the fourth in 1949.

¹¹ 28 Jan. 1937; *Arch.* xciii. 1.

¹² S. Toy, 12 Dec. 1929; *Arch.* lxxx. 215.

¹³ T. Macridy Bey and S. Casson, 10 Nov. 1927; *Arch.* lxxxi. 63.

¹⁴ The Bishop of Gibraltar, Major Vivian Seymer, and W. H. and G. G. Buckler, 25 Feb. 1932; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 307.

¹⁵ W. Harvey and J. H. Harvey, 25 Nov. 1937; *Arch.* lxxxvii. 71.

¹⁶ Arthur Lane, *Arch.* lxxxvii. 19. (See also Woolley in *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1937.)

¹⁷ E. Kitzinger, 20 Jan. 1938; *Arch.* lxxxviii. 181.

¹⁸ J. B. Ward Perkins, 29 Oct. 1936; *Arch.* lxxxvii. 79.

published his *Celtic Ornament in the British Isles down to A.D. 700* in 1933; and his *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* in 1936; R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* in the same year, and T. D. Kendrick his *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* in 1938. The architecture was studied in Alfred Clapham's *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, published in 1930. These important publications were paralleled by many papers read to the Society. Leeds spoke on bronze cauldrons¹ and on the early penetration of the Upper Thames area;² Clapham on three carved stones in the Society's collection, which he thought might be Danish tombstones;³ Margaret Longhurst on the Easby Cross;⁴ J. B. L. Tolhurst on two manuscripts of the Winchester School;⁵ Eric Millar on the Egerton Genesis and the M. R. James Memorial Manuscript;⁶ and T. D. Kendrick and Elizabeth Senior on St. Manchan's Shrine.⁷ Philip Corder and C. F. C. Hawkes contributed an important paper on a panel of Celtic ornament from Elmswell in Yorkshire.⁸

Not much excavation was now being done on medieval monastic sites and there were fewer papers on them. Dr. Rose Graham and A. W. Clapham contributed an interesting paper on the monastery of Cluny from its foundation to 1155,⁹ with an attempt to reconstruct the plan of the second church from documents. H. Brakspear read a paper on the Abbot's House at Battle;¹⁰ L. E. Tanner and A. W. Clapham one on discoveries at Westminster Abbey,¹¹ and F. H. Fairweather one on Colne Priory.¹²

Much work in the medieval field was concentrated on sculpture. C. J. P. Cave gave admirably illustrated papers on the roof bosses at Norwich,¹³ Canterbury,¹⁴ Lincoln,¹⁵ Peterborough, and Ripon,¹⁶ and (with L. E. Tanner) on the thirteenth-century choir of angels in the north transept of Westminster Abbey.¹⁷ Other papers dealt with sculptures at Winchester¹⁸ and Westminster;¹⁹ the use of foreign woodcuts as models by the Ripon school of woodcarvers in

¹ 23 Jan. 1930; *Arch.* lxxx. 1.

² 8 Dec. 1932; *Ants. Journ.*, July 1933. The paper is in some ways a continuation of that on the distribution of Anglo-Saxon brooches read in 1912.

³ *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1930.

⁴ 22 Jan. 1931; *Arch.* lxxxi. 45.

⁵ *Arch.* lxxxiii. 27.

⁶ 18 Mar. 1937; *Arch.* lxxxvii. 1. A paper by M. R. James, 'Pictor in Carmine', written in 1932, was printed in *Arch.* xciv. 141.

⁷ 28 Nov. 1935; *Arch.* lxxxvi. 105.

⁸ *Ants. Journ.*, July 1940.

⁹ 9 Mar. 1933; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 139.

¹⁰ 21 Mar. 1935; *Arch.* lxxxvii. 275.

¹¹ 16 Nov. 1933; *Arch.* lxxxiv. 41.

¹² 27 Oct. 1938; *Arch.* lxxxviii. 271.

¹³ 16 Nov. 1933; *Arch.* lxxxiv. 63.

¹⁴ By T. D. Atkinson, 24 Oct. 1935; *Arch.* lxxxv. 159.

¹⁵ By L. E. Tanner and J. L. Nevinson, 18 Oct. 1934; *Arch.* lxxxv. 169.

⁹ 13 Mar. 1930; *Arch.* lxxx. 143.

¹¹ 3 Dec. 1931; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 227.

¹³ 17 Mar. 1932; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 45.

¹⁵ 12 Dec. 1935; *Arch.* lxxxv. 23.

the early sixteenth century;¹ the fourteenth-century glass at Wells² and the painted ceiling in the nave at Peterborough.³ Dr. W. L. Hildburgh continued his investigations into English alabasters.⁴

Secular architecture was studied in papers on the Society's excavations at Kidwelly Castle under Sir Cyril Fox and C. A. Raleigh Radford, which produced important stratified finds of medieval potsherds;⁵ on the round castles of Cornwall;⁶ on Dartmouth Castle and the defences of Dartmouth Harbour⁷ and on the town and castle of Conway.⁸

J. G. Mann read several important papers on armour⁹ and in his paper on 'The Sanctuary of the Madonna delle Grazie',¹⁰ read on 27 February 1930, revealed the existence of a hoard of hitherto unknown armour of fine quality of the fifteenth century.

Other papers concerned jewels and regalia,¹¹ scientific instruments,¹² manuscripts,¹³ seals and seal-bags.¹⁴ Papers were read on the Eucharistic Reed or Calamus,¹⁵ and on the iconography of St. Thomas of Canterbury¹⁶ and of the Palm Tree Cross.¹⁷

When war came in 1939 it was not unheralded. At the end of September 1938, when war with Germany over the annexation of Czechoslovakia had seemed inevitable, the Society's pictures had been packed ready for removal to the country.¹⁸ The rehearsal made it easier to get them away quickly in August 1939. In October 1940,¹⁹

¹ By the Rev. J. S. Purvis, 9 May 1935; *Arch.* lxxxv. 107.

² By the Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson; *Arch.* lxxxi. 85.

³ By C. J. P. Cave and T. Borenus, 29 Apr. 1937; *Arch.* lxxxvii. 297.

⁴ 23 Mar. 1939; *Arch.* xciii. 51.

⁵ 14 Apr. 1932; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 93.

⁶ By S. Toy, 18 Feb. 1932; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 203.

⁷ By B. H. St. J. O'Neil, 4 Apr. 1935; *Arch.* lxxxv. 129.

⁸ By S. Toy, 26 Nov. 1936; *Arch.* lxxxvi. 163.

⁹ 'Notes on the Armour worn in Spain from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century', 7 April 1932, *Arch.* lxxxiii. 285; 'Notes on the Evolution of Plate Armour in Germany in the 14th and 15th Centuries', 24 Nov. 1932, *Arch.* lxxxiv. 69; 'A Further Account of the Armour preserved in the Sanctuary of the Madonna delle Grazie, near Mantua', 10 Mar. 1938, *Arch.* lxxxvii. 311.

¹⁰ *Arch.* lxxx. 117.

¹¹ Sir Eric Maclagan and C. C. Oman, 'An English Gold Rosary of about 1500', *Arch.* lxxxv. 1; M. R. Holmes, 'The Crowns of England', 13 Feb. 1936, *Arch.* lxxxvi. 73.

¹² R. T. Günther, 'The Astrolabe of Queen Elizabeth', 12 Nov. 1936; *Arch.* lxxxvii. 65; G. H. Gabb, 'The Astrological Astrolabe of Queen Elizabeth', 12 Nov. 1936, *Arch.* lxxxvi. 101.

¹³ R. Graham, 'Picture Book of the Life of St. Anthony the Abbot, executed for the Monastery of Saint Antoine de Viennois in 1426', 16 Feb. 1933; *Arch.* lxxxiii. 1.

¹⁴ Gertrude Robinson and H. Urquhart, 'Seal Bags in the Treasury of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury', 19 Apr. 1934, *Arch.* lxxxiv. 163; Hilary Jenkinson, 'The Great Seal of England', 16 May 1935, *Arch.* lxxxv. 293 and *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1936.

¹⁵ By T. Borenus, 18 Nov. 1929; *Arch.* lxxx. 99.

¹⁶ By T. Borenus, 26 Feb. 1931, *Arch.* lxxxi. 19; 9 Feb. 1933, *Arch.* lxxxiii. 171.

¹⁷ By W. L. Hildburgh, 23 Oct. 1930, *Arch.* lxxxi. 49.

¹⁸ Executive, 13 Oct. 1938.

¹⁹ Executive, 17 Oct.; Council, 28 Nov. 1940. At the Council of 17 Oct. 1940 it was decided to accept an offer from Mr. Wagner to house the Papworth material outside London.

when the danger from air raids was more fully realized, the manuscripts and pictures were sent to the West Country. In the ensuing months great numbers of the more valuable books were packed and dispatched under the supervision of the Secretary, T. D. Kendrick, and the Acting Librarian, Philip Corder, and his assistant Dr. Edith Strassna, and sent for safety to the houses of Fellows and friends in the country. The subject- and author-catalogues were removed to a closed Tube Station for storage with the collections of the London Museum. The further evacuation of the Library was proceeded with¹ until eventually the Library was closed. A further precaution was taken in January 1941² by appointing Philip Corder as resident officer responsible for the protection of the building.

In 1940 the Society's meetings, which had been suspended from the outbreak of war until the end of the year,³ were resumed⁴ at fortnightly intervals, at the hour of five in the afternoon, with tea served first. Cards of meetings were given up in favour of sessional monthly postcards. In the difficult autumn of 1940 the meetings were reduced to two before Christmas, held at 2.30.⁵ After Christmas⁶ the days and hours of meetings were left to Council to arrange as circumstances permitted. At the Council of 30 October 1941 leave was reported from the Privy Council to postpone or cancel Council Meetings, to reduce quorums, vary committees, and generally adapt regulations to the needs of war. The subscription of Fellows serving abroad was reduced to £2. 2s. if they asked for it.⁷

The first years of war brought other changes. On the retirement of Sir Charles Peers in 1939 Alfred Clapham was elected to succeed him. When Reginald Smith died on 18 January 1940, R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, who had succeeded Clapham as Secretary, became Director, and T. D. Kendrick, the Keeper of the British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum, Secretary.⁸ Lord Crawford died in 1940, and Sir Arthur Evans in 1941. In 1940 the Society also lost its doyen in Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, who had been born in 1848 and elected Fellow in 1879.

It was in many ways a happy chance that made Alfred Clapham President at this juncture. He was a man who took a wide view of archaeology; it began, he used to declare, where living memory ended. He realized the danger which lay in the fragmentation of its material: the scission between archaeology and art history, the specialization of the universities in classical archaeology, and the

¹ Executive, 29 Jan.; Council, 30 Jan. 1941.

² Council, 30 Jan. 1941; 27 Feb. 1941.

³ Council, 14 Sept. 1939.

⁴ Executive, 9 Nov. and 7 Dec. 1939; 2 May 1940.

⁵ Council, 17 Oct. 1940.

⁶ Meeting, 11 Jan.

⁷ On 30 Apr. 1941 the Council offered the use of the meeting-room to those members of the Société Jersiaise who were trying to keep the Society alive in England while Jersey was under German occupation.

⁸ Meeting, 8 Feb. 1940.

narrow view that archaeology was concerned with prehistory alone. He refused to accept the shepherd and the cowherd as the norm of civilization. Archaeology was for him the study of human civilization, however complex it might be; he would not admit that beauty, symbolism, elaboration of technique, or magnificence of material should exclude any surviving memorial of the past from its field. He thus was able to maintain the traditional faith and practice of the Society through times of unusual difficulty.

At the Anniversary of 1940 Clapham¹ surveyed the dangers of the time, stressing the risk to prehistoric sites involved in the multiplication of aerodromes.¹

'It is too early [he said] even to begin to envisage what will be the future of excavation in this country after the war; that it will go on in some form or another is certain, but whether it can ever again be pursued on the same scale as heretofore it is impossible to forecast. Fortunately the calamity has come upon us when much of the more expensive field-work is behind us. The age of extensive medieval excavation has long passed save as a pendant to preservation; the age of extensive Roman excavation is passing or has already passed; Iron Age excavation is with us to-day, but there are signs that in the south at any rate the ebb has set in, and though sites of the utmost importance, such as Stanwick in Yorkshire² and the Herefordshire hill-forts, yet await the spade; future work in the south will be largely devoted to filling in the gaps in our knowledge rather than in pioneer work.'

In his own field he pleaded for the foundation of 'Musées Lapidaires' to house pre-Conquest sculptures, fragments of medieval architectural sculpture, and the like, and regretted the absence of an adequate museum of casts in England. The Gold Medal, which in 1939 had gone to Dr. Haakon Shetelig, was this year awarded to Dr. R. M. Tallgren; since he could not be present it was handed to the Finnish Minister.

The widespread destruction of the autumn of 1940 led to a conference being called at the invitation of the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects,³ in which the President and several Fellows took part. It resulted in the inauguration of the National Buildings Record, with an Advisory Council of which the Chair was at first always held by a Fellow of the Antiquaries, and in the inception of the first systematic photography of English architecture and the gathering together of existing collections of such photographic negatives.

In April 1941 the glass of the roof and of most of the windows of

¹ He was engaged, on behalf of the Society, in a protest against the demolition of the Devil's Quoits at Stanton Harcourt to make an Air Force landing-ground. Council, 25 Apr., 9 May, and 20 June 1940.

² The first interim report on the Excavations at Stanwick under R. E. Mortimer Wheeler was printed in the *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1951.

³ 18 Nov. 1940.

the Library was broken in a raid. Dean Milles's bust was slightly scarred, but little permanent damage was done. After eight months of bombing the President could announce at the Anniversary that five monthly afternoon meetings had been held in the Society's rooms. ' . . . Though at times the speakers' remarks have been punctuated by gunfire, this has not interrupted the flow of their discourse or diverted the attention of their audience.'

He had, however, a melancholy tale of destruction to tell. London had suffered its Second Great Fire on 29 December 1940: a long list of City churches and Company halls, Holland House, and St. Stephen's Cloister had been almost or quite destroyed. The Officers of the Society had already given some consideration to the question of reconstruction. 'How far', Clapham asked, 'should we, as a Society, go in advocating the reinstatement of the destroyed Churches, and how far can such a policy be brought into accord with the numerous other interests besides the purely archaeological and historical, which must necessarily be involved in such a programme?' For his own part he advocated a middle course. He would press for the preservation of certain specified churches of acknowledged architectural merit, and of the towers and spires of other City churches, with space round them.¹ Meanwhile he urged the removal of woodwork and fittings from those that remained to a place of safety.

Up to this time the Society's publications had continued with comparatively little change. At the beginning of 1942 it was reported² that the *Journal* continued regularly, and that a volume of *Archaeologia* and two Research Reports were in the press. At the Anniversary, however, the President declared: 'Excavation, except in cases dictated by military emergency, has practically ceased, research based upon our national collections and archives is almost equally impossible, and the shortage of paper will soon operate imperatively on the extent and material quality of our publications.' None the less papers 'of unusual variety and high interest', covering many periods, had been read. Medieval studies could continue to some extent, and might even come into fashion again. He desiderated distribution maps for architectural motives of the period; a closer study of Anglo-Saxon earthworks, English Romanesque sculpture, and medieval pottery. He wanted an index to Leland, and the publication of Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica*. It was a good fighting speech, not unworthy of hearing by that year's gold medallist, J. L. Myres.³ The next month⁴ saw the first annual dinner of the American Fellows of the Society.

¹ On 27 Mar. 1941 the Council formally approved the policy of the City Churches Committee on rebuilding the bombed churches.

² *Ants. Journ.*, January.

³ War conditions made it necessary for the medal to be of silver gilt, and post-war conditions caused the Society to continue the practice until 1954.

⁴ 16 May 1942.

The expected restrictions in 1943 reduced the *Antiquaries Journal* to two parts a year. *En revanche*, Kendrick, single-handed, organized an exhibition in the Library of early illustrations of British archaeology,¹ which was a great success within the Society.

At the Anniversary of 1943, when Clapham said 'we begin to see, although as in a glass, darkly, the term of our tribulation',² he was able to note and welcome a revival of antiquarian interest. He wished to see a larger visual element in English education, for with it, he thought, would come a better appreciation of the past. 'It cannot, I think, be denied that the English, as a race, are not historically minded; their interests are centred very largely on the present and the future, and the past is, to the common mind, a somewhat arid tract which does not immediately concern or greatly interest them.' The Council had written to the Norwood Committee on the Curriculum of Secondary Schools to stress the importance of including the elements of archaeology.

Signs of renewed interest and of renewed hope were not far to seek. In August 1942 a conference was held at Oxford, under the chairmanship of J. N. L. Myres, of members of the Hellenic and Roman Societies and of the Classical Association. Nearly all the specialists on Romano-British archaeology in the country were present. They felt³ that the post-war period would witness the undertaking of planned schemes of reconstruction and development by national and local authorities, and that 'archaeology should be ready to collaborate with the Ministry in a planned organization of its own, for the recording and rescuing of antiquities wherever threatened, and where possible for securing their preservation'. In consequence they addressed a letter to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, signed by Sir Harold Bell as President of the Roman Society, to ask the Antiquaries to take steps to organize a representative body that should speak for archaeology to the Government.

'Such an organization should clearly cover British archaeology of every period, and its tasks will be so many that it will need to bring together resources of every kind. Among the many duties of such an organization as we envisage would be:

- (1) The representation to the planning authorities of the aims, interests and methods of archaeology.
- (2) The provision of (a) experienced field-workers, who should be competent to supervise excavations and undertake photography, surveying and the

¹ Council, 8 Oct. 1943.

² He regretted the bombing of Lübeck and the 'Baedeker' raids it had provoked, and assessed the damage done.

³ Letters from Miss M. V. Taylor to the President and Secretary, dated 21 Nov. 1942, Ants. Corr.

publication of results; and, (b) a panel of specialists to aid them by advising and reporting on particular discoveries.

- (3) The control and allocation, by agreement with any authority responsible for finance, of whatever funds are made available for excavation and publication.
- (4) The arrangement of proper facilities for the study of material, and the prompt publication of results.

An organization able to co-ordinate and direct these activities should represent, or be in effective and direct touch with, not only archaeological societies and kindred institutions, but every relevant interest, national and local, official and private, scientific and educational. If these interests were brought together in an authoritative central committee, connexion could be established with planning bodies, information could be filed concerning human and material resources and training of personnel arranged for; and, when the occasion arose, direction could be given as to the priorities which should govern action. The policy of the committee would be to relate particular programmes of action with the general programme of the leading archaeological problems awaiting solution, which would be drawn up for it presumably by the Research Committee of the Congress of Archaeological Societies, but the policy should be flexible so that in practice on every suitable site under investigation unusual or novel aspects of culture could be followed up and advance information of them circulated to field-workers.'

The Antiquaries appointed a small committee,¹ under Philip Corder, to report on the matter. Their report included a full consideration of the scope of the new body and a draft constitution for it.

Sir Alfred Clapham, as President, then summoned a meeting of the Congress of Archaeological Societies, at which both he and Peers gave weighty support to the new organization. In consequence the Congress agreed to hand over their responsibilities provisionally to the new body for a trial period.

A joint committee was called, with representatives of the Ministry of Works and the Planning Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, the Board of Education, the Ordnance Survey, the National museums, the Museums Association, the leading archaeological societies, the universities and other educational institutions, the British Association and the preservation societies. It held its first meeting on 7 December 1942; its report was considered at a special Council on 8 March 1943. Another meeting of delegates was held on 4 May, and on 27 May the members of the provisional Council for British Archaeology were elected, including the President of the Society of Antiquaries *ex officio* and nine other Fellows. He was to take the Chair for the first three years; after that there were to be free elections.

¹ Philip Corder, Miss M. V. Taylor, Miss Kathleen Kenyon, B. H. St. J. O'Neil, and W. F. Grimes.

In August 1943 a conference was held under the auspices of the new Council at the Institute of Archaeology.¹ Its chief aim was to express a wish for State support to archaeology; it further advocated the popularization of museums and the publication of fuller guide-books. The first full meeting of the Council of British Archaeology² was held on 8 March 1944. It proposed the formation of a National Archaeological Register—a proposal already partly met by the National Buildings Record—illustrated catalogues of antiquities; the publication of excavation reports; further education in archaeology; and the principle of the total excavation of a site. This programme followed many of the principles already formulated by the Society of Antiquaries.³

After the provisional period had elapsed, the Congress of Archaeological Societies agreed to dissolve, and to hand over its assets and responsibilities permanently to the new Council for British Archaeology. In 1948 the Council was chosen as the channel through which Government grants for excavation, research, and publication were to be allotted. Its constitution was then revised in the light of experience, and it continues as a parallel body to the Antiquaries, with a considerable overlap of interests and of personnel.

The prospect of the bombing of Italy in 1940 aroused strong feelings in other than military circles. J. G. Mann knew that the German High Command had appointed Monuments Officers in the 1914-18 war, and he approached Air Chief Marshal Joubert through Sir Eric Maclagan with the suggestion that an organization should be set up which would advise the R.A.F. on historic monuments that might possibly be avoided. They were told that their plan had no chance of being accepted. In 1942 an officer in the R.A.F. had the courage to tell one or two people whom he thought might be able to help that he had been ordered to prepare a raid on Milan with the Duomo as the aiming point. As a result Lord Crawford led a deputation to Mr. Attlee, then Deputy Prime Minister. He rebuffed them, asking if they did not realize it was a bloody war.

On November 19, 1943, at a meeting of the Museum Directors Conference at the British Museum, James Mann again raised the question, and Sir John Forsdyke undertook to take the matter up with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop was most sympathetic and began to use his influence with good effect.

¹ A full report was published in 1944 as University of London, Institute of Archaeology, Occasional Paper No. 5.

² The work of the Council was arranged in six sections: Palaeolithic and Mesolithic; Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age; Romano-British; Dark Age; Medieval, and Renaissance. A second Congress on the problems and prospects of European archaeology was held in Sept. 1944 (Institute of Archaeology, Occasional Publications, 6, 1945), at which a series of papers was read on the wider aspects of the problems of prehistory, with a strong bias towards the Slav countries.

³ See p. 399.

Steps towards a measure of preservation had already been taken by two Fellows, R. E. Mortimer Wheeler and J. B. Ward Perkins, who were serving with the Eighth Army at the fall of Tripoli. Their action later received official sanction and their work was merged in that of the Monuments Branch.

On 13 January 1944 Brigadier Wheeler read a forceful and constructive paper to the Society on 'Archaeology in the War Zone: facts and needs', backed up by A. H. E. Molson, M.P., and Flight Lieut. E. C. Norris. His appeal for further action was supported, both by Members of Parliament present at the meeting and by a Committee of M.P.s at the House of Commons. He saw the Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the War Office and appealed for further action.

In May 1944, with the help of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Crawford, the Prime Minister set up a committee on the 'Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives, and other Material in Enemy Hands', under Lord Macmillan as Chairman with James Mann as Secretary and Mr. Vincent Massey as an energetic Vice-Chairman. Five of its nine members were Fellows of the Antiquaries. The authorities permitted it to do little until it became a parallel body to that instituted in the United States, with the backing of Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces; and even then its activities were hampered by the failure of the military mind to accept artistic and archaeological values, and the unwillingness of men with careers to consider to risk the disapproval of those in authority. None the less an organization was established under Lt.-Col. Sir Leonard Woolley, and many of the Fellows worked as Monuments Officers in the Army with Geoffrey Webb in command, in an attempt to prevent unnecessary damage and destruction abroad. It was beginning to be realized that too little was being done for similar protection at home. Too many historic houses had been requisitioned and ruined; too much ironwork had been taken in the name of salvage and left to rust; too many bombed but reparable houses had been demolished in the name of safety. Public anger was slowly rising, and it was widely felt that the Ministry of Works was not in a position to do enough¹ for the ultimate preservation of damaged buildings except on threatened sites.²

Excavation had almost ceased during the war, and excavation grants with it,³ but in May 1944⁴ the Council made a grant of £100

¹ B. St. J. O'Neil's 'War and Archaeology in Britain', published in the *Antiquaries Journal* for Jan. 1948, showed how far their repairs had to be of a temporary nature, leaving the final decision on preservation until later.

² On 29 May 1941 the Council made a grant from the Morris Fund towards the protection of the Saxon remains recently found at All Hallows, Barking.

³ Council, 24 May 1944. The Roman London Committee was set up on 26 Apr. 1945.

⁴ A list of these will be found in B. St. J. O'Neil, 'War and Archaeology in Britain', in

to indicate their sympathy with a new project for investigating Roman London, especially on bombed sites. The VI campaigns made immediate work impossible, but it was initiated early in 1946.

At the Anniversary of 1944 the President could report that victory was in sight.

'To those with a lively historic sense it must afford a certain bitter satisfaction to have lived in and outlived the most momentous age in the history of mankind and to have been spectators of, or participants in, the grimmest drama of human history. It should furthermore be a stimulus to further effort that we may before long have an opportunity of assisting in the restoration of all that was best in the old life and in the creation of the new social order which will, we hope, in time, soften or efface the memories of five purgatorial years.

During the past year our Society has itself shown a very marked revival, our meetings are better attended than at any time since 1939, our fellowship has shown a healthy increase and the Society has taken the necessary steps to review the prospects for the future and to provide for the resumption and full carrying on of its normal activities.'

The material reconstruction of England would offer many problems; he hoped that architects would try to reconcile traditionalism with modern needs by zoning the ancient districts and towns. State control, he saw, would be in some measure inevitable. The future of the great country houses was a problem in itself.

'These are but a few of the questions which will confront us in the near future and I submit that unless we, and those who think with us, make our opinions known at large, the case will go by default. The younger generation is still obsessed by a passion for new views and new ideas and an almost frenzied impatience not only with tradition but with all inherited experience; this will render an active and vocal opposition to such views almost a duty with those who do not share them.'

The Gold Medal was awarded *in absentia* to Mortimer Wheeler, who had just been appointed Director-General of Archaeology in India. He had retired from the Directorship, to which James Mann was nominated. The question of its future tenure came under discussion;¹ it was agreed that in future it should be for a term of five years, normally beginning one year after that of the President. At the meeting on 27 January 1944 the death of R. Holland Martin, the Treasurer, was reported; and H. L. Bradfer Lawrence was elected to succeed him a fortnight later. In October 1943 Kingsford, the Assistant Secretary, who had been ill for a long time, retired. Philip Corder, who had for some time been assisting him, was appointed in his place.² The Council had had occasion to dismiss

Ants. Journ. xxviii, Jan. 1948, p. 22. At one time seven or eight official excavations were in progress.

¹ Executive, 26 Jan. 1944; Council, 27 Jan. and 10 Feb. 1944.

² Council, 25 Feb. and 27 May 1943.

the Clerk who acted as Librarian,¹ and in 1944 decided to appoint a full-time graduate Librarian. Dr. C. V. Deane, of the University Library at Cambridge, was appointed,² and took up the work in time to supervise the return of the evacuated books. Alfred Clapham was knighted in June 1944 when his term as President was over.

Sir Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales, was elected President at the Anniversary of 1944. One of his first acts was to nominate a woman for the first time as Vice-President: Miss M. V. Taylor. Because of the distance from London at which he lived, a vice-presidency in his time was no sinecure, and the Society soon got used to seeing a woman preside over ballots and meetings, and, once at least, over the Council of the Society.³ On 8 May 1947 the first woman—Gisela Richter—was elected to the Honorary Fellowship.

In his Presidential Address for 1945 Fox was able to salute an *annus mirabilis* of victory. The Society had survived the war, and emerged in better shape than anyone had dared to hope. In 1940 the numbers were 847 and in 1944, 782; but by 1946 they had risen to 828 and by 1948 to 892. The balances of the war years had varied from a deficit of £1,416 in 1941 to a credit of £183 in 1943. In 1940⁴ the Society lent the Government £500 without interest. In 1943 a small Reconstruction Committee was set up⁵ to consider the Society's general position.

Its deliberations coincided with the election of a new Treasurer, and the principles it laid down⁶ were practical and to the point. Legacies and gifts were to be treated as capital; the Research Fund was no longer to receive a proportion of the entrance fees; the income of the Garraway Rice Fund was to be divided equally between the Research Fund and the General Fund; the Morris and Croft Lyons Funds were to meet their own administrative expenses; the scale of composition fees was to be revised⁷ and covenants were to be instituted. By these a Fellow could by signing a covenant to pay his subscription for seven years, if he lived so long, enable the Society to recover the income-tax on the amount of his subscription. Further discussions began in January 1947,⁸ which resulted in the whole income from the Garraway Rice Fund being allotted to general purposes, and the subscription being raised to six guineas and the entrance fee to twelve.⁹

¹ Council, 20 June 1940.

² 26 Apr. 1945.

³ The roster of Vice-Presidents, which had lapsed early in 1932, was revived in 1949.

⁴ Council, 20 June and 17 Oct. 1940.

⁵ Council, 25 Nov.; Anniversary, 1944.

⁶ Council, 23 Mar. 1944.

⁷ At the Executive held after the Anniversary Meeting in 1945 the composition fee was fixed at the sum at which a man of the age of the compounder could purchase a Government annuity of four guineas.

⁸ Council, 30 Jan. 1947.

⁹ 30 Oct., Executive, 27 Nov. 1947. The composition fee was similarly raised.



Sir Alfred Clapham, President 1939-44

The Society's publications continued to form a considerable source of expenditure. *Archaeologia* was published annually until 1940,¹ when its issue was limited by war restrictions.

In that year permission to melt down all the blocks used more than ten years before was granted in answer to a national appeal forwarded by the Oxford University Press.² The next volume appeared in 1943: a slim tome of 126 pages, containing only three papers. In 1944 the Reconstruction Committee recommended³ that in future *Archaeologia* should appear as and when sufficient suitable matter was in hand. Volumes appeared in that year, in 1945, 1947,⁴ and 1949; the present rhythm is roughly of two volumes in three years.

The publication of the *Antiquaries Journal* continued through the war,⁵ though since 1942 it has appeared only twice a year.⁶ In 1945 a series of *Occasional Papers* was launched to make up for this: one on *Vases: Reflections on the Status of Pottery in Europe*, by Bernard Rackham, and one on the *Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries* by Kendrick, were published in that year.⁷

The expense of Research Reports grew more considerable as the Society undertook more excavation, and the inevitable delays of war increased the cost considerably.⁸ At the Anniversary of 1943 it had been reported that the Finance Committee had passed a resolution to say that they viewed with concern the Society's rising liabilities in connexion with the Research Reports, and to ask that no future reports should be put in hand without reference to the Finance Committee. Dr. G. Caton Thompson's *Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadhramaut)*, a report of work done in 1937 and 1938, was published in 1944;⁹ the first report on the excavations at Colchester between 1930 and 1939 was published in 1947,¹⁰ and that on the excavations at the Jewry Wall site at Leicester¹¹ between 1936 and 1939 in 1948. In 1951 the Society was committed to the publication of several other reports, including those by Sir Leonard Woolley on Atchana Alalakh,¹² by Professor R. E. Mortimer Wheeler

¹ Vol. lxxxii, 1932, is (exceptionally) entirely devoted to a paper by A. J. B. Wace on his discovery of Chamber Tombs at Mycenae.

² Council, 20 June 1940.

³ 28 Nov. 1944.

⁴ In this volume (xcii) a new fount was used.

⁵ At the Executive Committee of October 27, 1943, it was decided to issue a news sheet to Fellows serving overseas.

⁶ Since 1946 it has been issued in a new format that gives more room for plans.

⁷ Rackham's paper had been read to the meeting of 28 Oct. 1943.

⁸ The third Richborough Report appeared as vol. x in 1932, the fourth as vol. xvi in 1949.

⁹ Vol. xiii. On 11 May 1939 the Council passed a resolution to be forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the protection of antiquities in the Aden Protectorate.

¹⁰ Vol. xiv. C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum*.

¹¹ Vol. xv, by K. M. Kenyon and others.

¹² At the Council, 22 Oct. 1936, the Society had promised to publish this report 'provided that it does not exceed the limits of the Society's means'.

on Iron Age hill forts in Normandy and Brittany, by M. R. Hull on Roman Colchester, by R. Rainbird Clarke and J. N. L. Myres on the Anglo-Saxon Cremation Cemetery at Caistor by Norwich, and a fifth and final report on Richborough. The Society was also anxious to complete the publication of Sir Arthur Evans's *Scripta Minoa*, under the editorship of Sir John Myres, to publish catalogues of its antiquities, manuscripts, paintings, prints, and drawings,¹ and to issue a history of the Society in celebration of the Bicentenary of the Charter.

At the meeting of 1 November 1951 a gift of £3,000 from I. D. Margary was announced for immediate expenditure on publications, and another of investments of the same value from an anonymous Fellow to form the nucleus of a Publications Fund. The fund is still open and is still receiving gifts. At the end of 1954 it stood at £15,106. 10s. 6d.

Since the war the work on the revision of Papworth has proceeded steadily; in 1951 it was reported that some 32,000 entries had been prepared in the course of the year.

In 1945² the Society welcomed a suggestion made by Peers to the Dean of Westminster that the effigies and sculptural figures which had been removed from the Abbey for safety during the war should be exhibited by the Society before they were reinstated. At first it was thought that they might be exhibited in the Society's apartments, but these proved too cramped, and the exhibition was eventually held in the Victoria and Albert Museum in November. It was a great success; the sale of the catalogue produced a profit that was divided between the Chapter and the Society.

In his Anniversary Address for 1946 Sir Cyril Fox was able to announce that all the Society's possessions were back under its own roof, even if that roof had not yet been properly repaired. The five o'clock hour for meetings had been retained. On 6 June 1945 the first film had been shown to the Society: 'The Beginnings of History', with a commentary by Jacquetta Hawkes. Eight broadcasts on archaeology had been given on the new Third Programme, all by Fellows; a Professorship of European Archaeology had been instituted at Oxford, and two Chairs in the London Institute of Archaeology.³ He announced the award of the Gold Medal to E. T. Leeds.

In 1948 the President was able to record the institution of two further Chairs in London,⁴ and of Lecturerships at Leeds, Liverpool,

¹ A Committee to organize this was appointed on 26 May 1949.

² Executive, 30 May; Council, 31 May 1945.

³ The Chair of Prehistoric European Archaeology, held by Professor V. Gordon Childe, and the part-time Chair of Environmental Archaeology, held by Professor Zeuner.

⁴ The Chair of Western Asiatic Archaeology, held by Professor Mallowan, and that of Indian Archaeology, held by Professor Codrington.

and Birmingham. In this year the Gold Medal was awarded to the Society's Past President, Sir Alfred Clapham.

In the winter of 1946-7 it was not easy to remember that the war was over. An exceptionally prolonged spell of unusually cold weather coincided with a coal shortage. Central heating and the use of electricity in daylight hours were forbidden in public buildings, and the Society patriotically conformed. Everyone in the Library worked in their overcoats. It was not only cold but also foggy. When it became too dark to read, the porter would bring up the Society's silver candlesticks, and solemnly light them, and set one before each of the senior readers present. It was an alarming sight to see an aged Fellow climbing a library ladder, lighted candle in hand; but fortunately no bones were broken nor fires started, and work went on.

War must have brought frustration to many antiquaries, but it failed to stop the flow of archaeological discovery. The most important Anglo-Saxon discovery of all time, and one of the chief discoveries of Teutonic archaeology in Europe, was made on its eve by the skilful excavation of the ship burial at Sutton Hoo under C. W. Phillips. Skilled and judicious excavation and fine photography resulted not only in finds of an interest almost unparalleled in the period, but also in unusually full evidence for their interpretation.¹ In 1940 the cave-paintings at Lascaux in France were discovered, to form an equal landmark in our knowledge of palaeolithic art.

In that year several important books appeared. The work for them dated from before the war, yet their publication served as a stimulus in the war years and after. Professor Gordon Childe's *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles* revised the epochal chronology by substituting a sequence of cultures deduced from stratigraphy, and C. F. C. Hawkes's *Prehistoric Foundations of Europe* provided a synthesis of recent discovery.

The thin volumes of the Society's publications in the years of war, and those that immediately followed, continued to cover a wide field. A. D. Lacaille contributed papers on the Palaeolithic industry of Chatelperron² and on a Mesolithic stone industry at Morar, Inverness-shire.³ There were papers on the excavation of Barrows on Crichel and Launceston Downs,⁴ and at Llandow, Glamorgan.⁵

¹ The treasure was given to the nation by Mrs. E. M. Pretty, C.B.E., and is in the British Museum. Its complete publication awaits full cleaning and reconstitution. The excavation report and first account of the finds was given by C. W. Phillips in the *Antiquaries Journal* for April 1940. At a crowded meeting on 26 Feb. 1948, R. L. S. Bruce Mitford described the harp found in the grave, and melodies were played upon a reconstructed instrument made in the workshops of Arnold Dolmetsch at Haslemere.

² 29 Jan. 1942; *Arch.* xcii. 95.

³ 20 Jan. 1949; *Arch.* xciv. 103.

⁴ By S. and C. M. Piggott, *Arch.* xc. 48.

⁵ By Sir Cyril Fox, 31 Oct. 1940; *Arch.* lxxxix. 89.

Derek Allen wrote on the Belgic dynasties of Britain and their coins,¹ and Sir Cyril Fox on an Iron Age find in Anglesey² at Llyn Cerrig Bach.

The only substantive paper in the Roman field was one by J. B. Ward Perkins and Jocelyn Toynbee on the hunting-baths at Lepcis Magna.³ E. T. Leeds contributed papers on the distribution of the Angles and Saxons⁴ and on the Visigoths and Vandals,⁵ in which he carried his analysis of types and his distribution maps abroad. Sir Charles Peers and C. A. Ralegh Radford published an important paper on the Saxon monastery at Whitby.⁶ Professor Wormald read a paper on decorated initials in English manuscripts from 900 to 1100.⁷ B. H. St. J. O'Neil wrote on Stefan von Haschenperg, one of Henry VIII's engineers,⁸ and on Castle Rushen;⁹ and the Rev. E. P. Baker on the cult of St. Oswald.¹⁰ One of the most fantastic chance discoveries of the war was a cache of medieval wax votive images uncovered when a bomb damaged Exeter Cathedral; it was described to the Society by Ursula Radford.¹¹ Heraldic papers were contributed by C. H. Hunter-Blair¹² and H. Stanford London.¹³ Dr. W. L. Hildburgh read a paper on Aeolopiles as fire-blowers.¹⁴ Arab architecture was considered in papers on the Ka'aba¹⁵ and on the defences of the Citadel at Damascus.¹⁶ A. Van de Put contributed a paper on the Alhambra vases.¹⁷

The chief contribution of the war itself to the progress of archaeological knowledge was the further development of air-photography by the R.A.F., especially in the stereoscopic examination of large areas. It was in such work that men such as J. K. S. St. Joseph, now Curator of Air Photography at Cambridge, gained their experience.

The years following the Second World War saw two further technical innovations. The amount of fluorine absorbed by buried bone from the moisture of the sand or gravel in which it lies varies with the length of time the bone has been buried, and it was found that its determination enables ancient bones to be distinguished from modern, on a given site. The relative modernity of the Galley

¹ 4 Apr. 1940; *Arch.* xc. 1.

² *A Find of the Early Iron Age at Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey* (Nat. Mus. of Wales, 1946).

³ *Arch.* xciii. 165.

⁴ *Arch.* xci. 1.

⁵ *Arch.* xciv. 195.

⁶ *Arch.* lxxxix. 27.

⁷ 30 Jan. 1941; *Arch.* xci. 105.

⁸ *Arch.* xci. 137.

⁹ 13 Nov. 1947; *Arch.* xciv. 1.

¹⁰ 21 Nov. 1946; *Arch.* xciii. 103; 7 Apr. 1949; *Arch.* xciv. 167.

¹¹ *Ants. Journ.*, July 1949.

¹² 'Armorial upon English Seals from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century', *Arch.* lxxxix. 1.

¹³ 'The Ghost or Shadow as a Charge in Heraldry', 30 Jan. 1947; *Arch.* xciii. 125.

¹⁴ 9 Dec. 1948; *Arch.* xciv. 27.

¹⁵ By Professor K. A. C. Cresswell, *Arch.* xciv. 97.

¹⁶ By D. J. Cathcart King, 12 May 1949; *Arch.* xciv. 57.

¹⁷ *Arch.* xcii. 43.

Hill skull, and the falsity of the Piltdown jawbone, have both been demonstrated by this method.

The radio-carbon method of dating, first announced by Dr. W. F. Libby in Chicago in 1949, is a by-product of atomic research. 'Carbon 14', absorbed directly or indirectly by all living things, decreases in organic matter at a known rate after death. The computation of the surviving quantity of radioactive carbon atoms of atomic weight 14 in organic material can therefore in favourable conditions give a more or less precise chronology for some 40,000 years. The necessary apparatus for such tests has recently been set up at the British Museum.

In 1949 the Society appointed an Apulia Committee to assist J. S. P. Bradford in his work in that province on sites he had discovered from the air. In the medieval field John Harvey, in his *Henry Yevele*, in 1944¹ made the first attempt to give a biography of a medieval English architect. A general interest in English art was reflected in 1949 in the initiation of the *Oxford History of English Art* and the planning of the Pelican *History of Art*.

Sir Cyril Fox's Presidency ended in 1949. In his address he mentioned a petition that the Council had received on the subject of elections:

'There has long been in our Fellowship an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with the ballot, and good service was done to the Society by the twenty-five Fellows who last September signed a petition requesting that the method of electing Fellows be reviewed by the Council. Good service; because the enquiry thereafter set on foot produced an historical survey of the greatest interest. Frank and objective, the report (which was prepared by the Secretary and Mr. John Allan) pointed out the advantages and disadvantages attaching to the present, and alternative, methods of securing the election of suitable persons. It was shown that the percentage of rejected candidates, under the balloting system which assumed its present form in 1891, had greatly fallen, and that in the last twenty years it averaged 6 per cent.; and that, contrary to the assumptions of many of us, country candidates had a better chance of election than persons in the London region or from Oxford or Cambridge. The Council, having studied the survey, ruled that it should be circulated to all Fellows, being of the opinion that it provided an "opportunity for reflection and the gradual collection of opinion", and that, meanwhile, "no alteration of the manner of election should be proposed".'

He could report that the membership was now nearly 900. He stigmatized tractor ploughing as a new scourge to surface monuments, demanding yet further vigilance.

The Society had in this year the rare experience of a contested election for the Presidency. The Council nominated the Director,

¹ A paper by him on some details of mouldings by Yevele appeared in *Ants. Journ.*, Jan. 1947.

Sir James Mann, but some Fellows wished for another field archaeologist, and nominated R. E. Mortimer Wheeler who was absent in the East. Sir James was elected at a crowded meeting and Wheeler became Director in his stead. In March 1950 T. D. Kendrick resigned the Secretaryship on his appointment as Director of the British Museum, and R. L. S. Bruce Mitford of its British and Medieval Department was elected in his place. The Gold Medal was presented to the Dutch prehistorian, Dr. van Giffen.

In his address for 1950 Sir James pointed out the problem of empty country houses and redundant churches. 'It is not generally realized', he said, 'even in this room, that more fine buildings have been demolished by the house-breaker since the war than were destroyed by enemy action, or for that matter wrecked by the military.' He pointed out, too, that the Society should keep a watchful eye on the repainting of sepulchral monuments: 'slapping on oil paint is an outrage'. He ended on a note of warning:

'The large number of new academic posts in archaeology, art, and history which have been created during the last few years have assisted and will increasingly spread the knowledge and appreciation of man's past. The one drawback is that the demand for teachers and executives at present exceeds the supply of fully qualified candidates. Twenty years ago it was hard for an antiquary to find a livelihood as such. Now it is only too easy to obtain a post, though possibly the salaries paid might not be construed as a living. Industry, accuracy and a good memory are not enough, unless they are illumined by distinction of mind. Imagination, fastidiousness, and keenness of intellect are rare qualities which must be fostered wherever found. . . .'

Sir Stafford Cripps, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had set up a Committee under Sir Ernest Gowers in December 1948 to consider what help might be given by the Government towards the preservation, maintenance, and use of houses of outstanding historic or architectural interest. The problem was a direct consequence of high taxation. The Committee issued a sympathetic report in April 1950, but it was realized that its recommendations might never be implemented. In May Sir James Mann, as President of the Antiquaries, and the Presidents of other interested bodies such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the Georgian Group, and the National Trust, sent a letter to Sir Stafford Cripps on the urgency of the question and the present rate of demolition of country houses. As a consequence the Historic Buildings Council of the Ministry of Works was instituted, in accordance with the recommendation of the Gowers Committee.

In April 1951 the President took the Chair at a special Committee on Churches in the Society's Council room. A letter was drafted to the Archbishop, to say that something must be done within the

Church to aid the repair of ancient Churches. The Archbishop also received a letter from the Pilgrim Trust saying that they could not continue to give grants to individual churches unless the Church tackled the problem as a whole. As a result the Archbishop set up a Commission of Enquiry, on which the Society was represented by Sir James Mann, Sir Eric Maclagan, and W. H. Godfrey. Its report was followed by the institution by the Archbishop of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust.

As a result of a clause in an Act of Parliament dealing with foreign trade during the war, the export of works of art had been controlled by a small committee. After the war the trade objected to its continuance, and as a result the Anderson Committee was set up. The Society was requested to submit a verbal memorandum, and the President also appeared before the Committee to give verbal evidence. As a result of the Committee's report the Treasury set up a Reviewing Committee on which the Society is officially represented.

In October 1950 the Society mourned the loss of Sir Alfred Clapham, who as Secretary and President had served the Society in a notable degree, and as an Elder Statesman had given wise counsel to many of its officers, and as a man of learning help to all those of its Fellows who had asked for it.

Before the war, in 1938,¹ a letter had been received from the Royal Society to say that they had been approached by the Chemical Society on the subject of the urgent need of further accommodation for the learned societies at Burlington House. Several meetings of the officers of the Societies were held at the Royal Society. The Antiquaries' Council agreed to join in representations to the Government, asking for further accommodation, but without committing the Society to move.

In 1950 the matter was raised once more. At the Anniversary the President remarked: 'We have long outgrown the building which was assigned to us eighty years ago and carry on in cramped surroundings with increasing difficulty.' The Society was not only itself carrying out more varied work than ever before, but was also granting the hospitality of its meeting- and council-rooms to many cognate societies: the Royal Archaeological Institute, the Council of British Archaeology, the Prehistoric Society, the Societies for the Promotion of Roman and of Hellenic Studies, the Royal Numismatic Society, the Heraldry Society, the Georgian Group, the British Schools at Athens and at Rome, the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, and the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Council of 26 October 1950 considered the question of removing with other learned societies from Burlington House to a site on the

¹ Council, 29 Apr. 1938.

South Bank of the Thames where the Government were projecting a scientific centre. They decided that they had no wish to make such a move. Their wish was shared by the Royal Academy and the British Academy, and it was hoped—and is hoped—that Burlington House may continue to be a centre of humanistic studies. The Royal Society accepted the fact that the gap between the experimental sciences and archaeology was widening, but its President in his Anniversary Address for 1950¹ expressed the hope that the old brotherly feeling between the societies might continue.

On 17 July 1951 a deputation of the Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Academy, and the British Academy waited upon Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, to ask for an assurance that when the other societies moved to the projected Science Centre something should be done to meet their needs. They wished to be allowed to stay in Burlington House, with increased accommodation, and hoped that they might be joined there by other learned societies concerned with the humanities. The Prime Minister expressed his sympathy with the societies and their difficulties, and promised that the question of the future of Burlington House would be examined very carefully when the time came for the scientific societies to move, and that there would be an adequate opportunity for consultation with those concerned. He said that he could not bind his successor, but 'he would make a note of the remarks which the Deputation had made and would see that this, together with the memorandum which the three Presidents had sent him, was placed on record. He would be very glad to consider what could be done to help the Societies.' There the matter rests; and, for the present, the societies 'round the Square' continue as they have done for more than eighty years.

On 30 November 1950 a committee was appointed to consider the celebration of the Bicentenary of the Charter in 1951. Yet the events of the year caused the President to strike no festive note in his Anniversary Address for the Bicentenary year. 'The shadow which lay over us last year is still with us. Never before has this country lived for so long in peace-time under the threat of war. . . .'

Plans had been made for the evacuation of the Library and the Society's treasures in case of need, and a refuge found for them, though nowhere was safe. 'In the meantime we continue to pursue our proper activities. In fact, our zeal is intensified by the feeling that every moment wrested from a dubious future must be well spent, that any work of research or excavation carried to a successful conclusion now is a positive achievement which the future cannot undo. . . .'

The Society had still cause for anxiety over the publication and

¹ *The Times*, 1 Dec. 1950.

implementation of the Gowers Report, over that of the Anderson Committee on the export of antiquities, and over the maintenance of the fabric of churches.

The Council, on the initiative of the President, had decided to celebrate the Bicentenary by a dinner, an exhibition, a booklet on the Society's history, regalia, and possessions, and the publication of an official history. The dinner was held at Grocers' Hall on 26 November. It was attended by some two hundred Fellows, by the Swedish Ambassador as representative of our Royal Fellow the King of Sweden, by the Presidents of the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the Cambrian Archaeological Association; and by Honorary Fellows from France, Holland, and Germany. On the following day an exhibition was opened by the President in the Society's Rooms. A selection from the Society's great collection of broadsides, the best of its incunabula, a remarkable series of heraldic manuscripts, and such treasures as the Lindsey Psalter were exhibited in the Council Room. The Meeting Room housed the Kerrich Collection of pictures. The staircase was hung with a selection from the Society's drawings, among which some by Stothard were particularly admired. The inner library housed the most remarkable objects in the Society's Museum, and a selection of topographical engravings; the Library a series of portraits of all the Presidents, together with a selection of the Society's publications and records of its excavations. Stukeley's lamp was lit beneath Humphrey Wanley's portrait; Peter le Neve's mace lay upon its cushion; Martin Folkes presided over the Charter.

In portrait and record we saw the long procession of our predecessors; Wanley with his heavy body and delicate hands; Stukeley with his bright and curious gaze; friendly Gough with his capacity for disinterested fury; elegant Englefield; benevolent Stanhope; wise Ouvry; shy and dreamy Franks; and then, among the crowd of Victorians, faces appeared that we had known since childhood. Then came the generation of our teachers, and then suddenly we found that we too were part of the long procession of the Antiquaries.

APPENDIX A

THE CHARTER OF 1751

Meetings Minute Book

Nov. 14, 1751

At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London the 14th day of November 1751—

J: Theobald in the Chair.

His Majesties Most Gracious Letters Patents under the Great Seal of Great Britain bearing date at Westminster the 2nd day of this Instant Month of November for Incorporating this Society were read.

(All the Members of the Society standing while the same was reading.)

In the words following:

George, &c.

Then the following Deputation and Appointment under the Hand and Seal of Martin Folkes Esquire President of this Society was read.

His Majesty &c.

After which the President, Deputy Presidents, First and Modern Council of the said Society, Proceeded to Nominate and appoint, the following Persons to be the First and Modern Fellows of the Society in the manner following:

We the President, Deputy Presidents, and Modern Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Do Hereby in Pursuance of the Powers given and granted unto us by His Majesties most Gracious Letters Patents under the Great Seal of Great Britain bearing Date the 2nd Day of November Instant, Nominate, Choose, Receive and Admit N.N.* to be the First and Modern Fellows of the Said Society of Antiquaries of London.

And We together with the Modern President and Council of the said Society nominated and appointed by the said Letters Patents, hereby reserve to ourselves or any Eleven or more of us, whereof the President or his Deputy to be one, Power at any time within two Months next ensueing the Date of the said Letters Patents, To nominate any other Persons to be Fellows of this Society.

Witness our hands this fourteenth day of November in the year of our Lord 1751.

*See the list (i.e. just inside the book on first pages).

By deed of Incorporation 2nd November 1751.

Martin Folkes Esq^r. President
Richard, Viscount FitzWilliam
Hugh, Lord Willoughby of
Parham
Sir John Evelyn Baronet V.P.
Sir Joseph Ayloffe Baronet

Sir Clement Cotterel Dormer V.P.
James West Esq. V.P.
James Theobald Esq. V.P.
Charles Compton Esq. Treasurer
Hon. Philip York
Samuel Gale, Esq.

By Deed of Incorporation 2nd November 1751 (*cont.*).

Edward Umfreville, Esq.
Philip Carteret Webb, Esq.
Daniel Wray, Esq.
John Ward, Doctor of Laws
Jeremiah Milles, Doctor of
Divinity

Cromwel Mortimer, Doctor of
Phisick
Richard Rawlinson, Dr. of Laws
Browne Willis, Doctor of Laws
George Vertue, Gentleman
Joseph Ames, Gentleman

Members re-elected the 14th November 1751.

Thomas Martin Esq.
Maurice Johnson Esq.
Henry Johnson Esq.
Allen Cooper M.A.
Sir Charles Mordaunt Bart.
William Lethieulier Esq.
Sir John Clarke Bart.
Mr. Isaac Whood
George Lynn Esq.
William Bogdani Esq.
James Mundy Esq.
Robert New Esq.
Nicholas Harding Esq.
Charles Frederick Esq.
William Hall Esq.
William Draper Esq.
Walter Bowman Esq.
Samuel Tuffnel Esq.
William Richardson D.D.
Edward Vernon D.D.
David Papillon Esq.
John Sawbridge Esq.
Andrew Mitchel Esq.
Zachary Chambers Esq.
George Lewis Scott Esq.
William Bowyer Gentn.
John Cay Esq.
Thomas Barret Esq.
John Locker Esq.
Peter Collinson Gent.
Sir Arthur Forbes Bart.
Andrew Colte Ducarel L.L.D.
Thomas Morrel D.D.
Theodore Jacobsen Esq.
John Carter Esq.
John Greene Esq.
William Hanbury Esq.
Charles Lyttelton. Dean of Exeter
John, Lord Viscount Tyrconnel
David Hartly M.A.

Joshua Blew. Gent
Henry Baker. Gent
James Burrough Esq.
George North M.A.
Andrew Lawrence. Gent
Richard Pocock L.L.D.
Robert Bootle Esq.
Sir Peter Thompson Kt.
Thomas Leonard Barrat Esq.
Augustine Earle Esq.
Allan Ramsey. Gent
William Sotheby Esq.
Philip Henry Warburton Esq.
George Shelvocke Esq.
William Cowper Esq.
John Eardley Wilmot Esq.
Edward Umfreville Esq.
Thomas Edwards Esq.
William Strahan Esq.
John Lawry, M.A.
Peter Daval Esq.
John Booth. Gent
Marsh Dickenson Esq.
William Cole M.A.
Charles Chauncey M.D.
Benjamin Prideaux Esq.
Erasmus Earle Esq.
Henry Rooke Gent.
Samuel Reynardson Esq.
Samuel Squire D.D.
Charles Joy. Esq.
John Hill Esq.
Josiah Colebrooke Gent.
William Townsend Gent
John Lock Esq.
Francis Blomefield M.A.
Honourable Heneage Legge, Esq.
Gustavus Brander Gent.
Edmund Sawyer Esq.
John Taylor L.L.D.

Members re-elected 14 November 1751 (*cont.*).

Sir Thomas Robinson Bart.

Andrew Gifford Gent

James Parsons M.D.

William Hocker Gent.

Francis Wise B.D.

Philip Smith. Gent.

Samuel Mead Esq.

Walter Johnson Gent.

Francis Woolaston Esq.

Henry Read Esq.

Edward Lye M.A.

Henry Cheere Esq.

Samuel Berkeley Esq.

William Mitford Esq.

Samuel Pegge M.A.

Thomas Wilson Gent

Godolphin Edwards Esq.

Thomas Birch M.A.

James Burrow Esq.

12 Dec. 1751

His Grace Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

The Right Hon^{ble} Philip Lord Hardwicke Chancellor of Great Britain.

(and subsequent ordinary elections entered.)

APPENDIX B

ANTIQUARIES MS. 261

1774. *Institution of the Antiquary [sic] Dining Club. Rules and Regulations.*

A PLAN agreed on for conducting the stated meetings of sundry Members of the Antiquary Society, who have associated themselves for the purpose of dining together Weekly, vizt. on Monday¹ the 28th of Febr^y 1774 to the Monday preceding St. George's Day next, both days inclusive; and, in every succeeding year, from the first Monday² after Twelfth Day to the Monday preceding St. George's Day, both Days inclusive; which Monday preceding St. George's Day³ in every year shall, for the special purposes hereinafter mentioned, be deemed the Anniversary of their Meetings.

The Members who compose these Meetings shall not at any time exceed 24⁴ in number.

All Vacancies which shall happen therein by Death, Resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled up at the Anniversary Meetings,⁵ Out of such Persons as shall appear on the List of Candidates for filling up eventual Vacancies of Members; and the Election of such persons shall be by Ballot; and the first person to be ballotted for, shall be the Person who stands foremost on the List; and so the next in Order, and successively, without undue preference of one before another, till the several Vacancies be filled up. But no Ballot for filling up Vacancies shall be had, unless 11⁶ Members be present; and if 11 members be not present at any Anniversary Meeting, the Ballot, in such case, shall be adjourned to, and taken on, the first meeting ensuing at which 11 members shall be present.

If, in taking any such Ballot, *two* negatives shall appear⁷ against any Person ballotted for, such Person shall be deemed to be rejected and shall not be admitted a Candidate upon any future Vacancy.⁸

A Book shall be provided and kept, in which shall be duly entered the Names and Additions; the Persons proposed as Candidates for filling up eventual Vacancies of Members, with the Dates of the respective Recommendations; and such Entry shall be the Rule for determining the Order of Succession, in which the Candidates shall be put to the Ballot.

¹ Altered to Tuesday.

² This and subsequent 'Mondays' are altered in the margin to 'Tuesday'.

³ 'Jan. 23rd. 1776.' Altered to the first meeting in February.

⁴ 13 Feb. 1781. Altered to 20. But restored to the original number of 24, 15 Feb. 178[4].

⁵ 1807. June 2nd. Ordered, That the Election of all Persons, proposed to be members of this Club shall be by Ballot, as heretofore, which Ballot shall take place on the second Tuesday after that on which a vacancy has been declared.

1811. Mar. 11th. Ordered, That in case there shall be more Candidates than one on the List for filling up vacancies, the Ballot shall not proceed for the Election of more than one Candidate at the same Meeting.

⁶ Corrected in a later hand to '9' and also in the subsequent lines.

⁷ Altered to three 19 Feb. 1782. Restored to the original number, 16 Apr. 1822.

⁸ Repealed 19 Feb. 1782.

Every Member shall be at liberty to propose one such Candidate at a time; but he shall not nominate a second, until his first Nominee has been chosen or rejected.

Every Member shall at his Admission, pay into the Treasurer's Hands all his Ordinaries for the year; and shall be answerable for the same every succeeding year, while he shall continue a Member.

A Dinner shall be provided every Monday¹ within the Terms aforesaid for 16² Persons at 3s. 6d. per Head; Bread and Small Beer included; And the Dinner shall be served up on the Table at 4 of the Clock each Day precisely.

Any Member may occasionally introduce a Visitor at Dinner; his name being first given in to the Chair, and Leave obtained for his Admission; and such visitor shall contribute his Quota, equally with the Members present, towards the Bill and his Ordinary.

The Bill shall be called for, and punctually given in to the Chair by 7 of the Clock each Evening, towards which all Persons present shall pay alike; and there shall be collected over and above the Amount of the Bill [*blank*] per Head, and not more, for the use of the waiters.

Any Member totally absenting himself from the several Meetings between one Anniversary and another, shall be deemed to have vacated his Seat; and the same shall be filled up forthwith, unless such his Absence be satisfactorily accounted for to the Chair and Members present.

A Treasurer shall be elected annually at the Anniversary Meeting; who shall receive and be accountable for, the several Ordinaries paid by the Members, and shall at each meeting³ lay before the Members a State of their Fund.

¹ Corrected to 'Tuesday'.

² Corrected to 14.

³ Corrected to 'at the last meeting in each year'.

APPENDIX C

A STRAND ECLOGUE

THE INTELLIGENCE, 31 OCTOBER 1830

SCENE, an upstairs room in Somerset House. The Antiquaries Society assembled in full fig. At the upper end of a long table a President's Chair, vacant, in front of which Mr. Martin, the Librarian, is occupied in placing a large cocked hat on a velvet cushion. The clock stricketh eight. A short pause, which is at length broken by sundry Fidgettings, hemmings, and other signs of impatience.

Mr. Amyett, the Treasurer, riseth, and Preludizeth.

Treas. The clock has struck; 'tis waking late!
See, full three minutes after eight!
I move then, since my Lord's not here,
That Mr. Gurney take the chair!

Cries of 'Hear, Hear!', 'Chair!', 'Mr. Gurney in the Chair,' etc. Hudson Gurney, Esqr., ascendeth the vacant Throne; sitteth down, getteth up again, bloweth his nose; tum loquitur:

Pres. Now, Gentlemen, since time is precious;
While they get ready, to refresh us,
The Tea, the Buttered Toast and Muffin,
With other requisites for stuffin',
That cheer our hearts, and fill our bellies,
Let us to Business! Mr. Ellis!

The junior Secretary riseth, Bland and Rubicund, taketh out his spectacles, wipeth carefully, and placeth them on their proper supporter. Cleareth his Throat. Boweth to the Chair and proceedeth.

Jun. Sec. Sir—Gentlemen—ere we proceed
Farther, permit me now to read
My worthy colleague's minutes, treating
Of what was said and done last Meeting.

(Mr. Senior Secretary Carlile handeth the Minute Book across; the Junior Sec. receiveth it with a gracious smile, openeth it, and readeth.)

Jun. Sec. Presented—first, a Bow and Arrow,
Supposed the same with which the Sparrow
Cock Robin's bosom did transfix:
(See Mother Goose, Vol. 1 page 6).
Discovered underneath a Hay-rick
In Herefordshire—by Dr. Mayrick.
(Hear! Hear!)
Much like another in the Dwelling
of Dr. Meyrick's Son, Llewellyn.

Read—the accompanying essay,
 Some Forty folios as I guess, a
 Brief Statement, Luminous and Clear,
 Of how 'twas found, and when, and where,
 With arguments of greatest nicety
 In favour of its Authenticity.

Mr. Caley riseth and looketh distressed, walketh up and down, with his hands behind his back, to keep himself awake. Mr. Hallam offereth him snuff, which he Declineth, and Reseateth himself. The Junior Sec. goeth on.

Jun. Sec. Read—by the Secretary (Me, Sir)
 A paper touching Julius Caesar,
 Tracing his progress all through Cantium
 To London then called Trino vantium,
 Proving the Tower he founded in't
 Was not that building near the Mint,
 Stained so by foul and midnight slaughter,
 But one on 'tother side the water,
 Converted now, its source forgot,
 T'a manufactory of Shot.

(Mr. Caley falleth asleep)
 Presented, by the Junior Sec.,
 (Myself again) a Royal wreck,
 An antique Thimble, that with which
 In Seventeen hundred forty six,
 Flora Macdonald drove her Stiches,
 While mending Prince Charles Edward's Breeches
 When, from Colloden forced to fly,
 He tore them in the Isle of Sky.

(A portly Member at the lower end of the table, riseth abruptly)—

'The young Pretender wore a Kilt
 He had *no* breeches'—

(Jun. Sec. aside and frowning)—

D—n that — Gwilt —

(Aloud and smiling)—

Sir, pardon me, my paper shews
 That Prince Charles Edward wore the Trews
 Even before he passed the border,
 And tore the Seat—

(Mr. J. B. Nicholls) Chair!

(Sir Ev. Home) —Order! Order!

Jun. Sec. Sir—really—may I never stir,
 If I—

(Mr. Crofton Croker) I rise to Order, Sir,
 The learned Secretary knows
 All precedent against him goes,

He can't forget when Mr. Caley
 (Perhaps for him a thought too gaily)
 Expounded much deep Erudition
 Upon a certain 'deposition'
 Of witnesses i' the fifteenth century,
 Touching how Queen Anne Boleyn went astray,
 The reading, in that very case—he
 Opposed, himself, from Delicacy.

(Junr. Sec.) Sir,—I assure you, not one particle—

(Pres.) Proceed, Sir, to the following article.
 We'll not discuss that matter now!

(Junr. Sec.) To your decision, Sir, I bow.
 These interruptions—

(Mr. Caley snoreth)

Mr. Bayley,
 Pray give a Jog, to Mr. Caley.

(Mr. B. shaketh the keeper of the Augmentation Office by the shoulder; Mr. Crofton Croker singeth the end of a Pin in the Candle, and applieth it to his nose; at the same time, Mr. Caley sneezeth, and openeth his Eyes)

Jun. Sec. Elected—on certificate written
 By our prime Counsellor, John Britton,
 John Day, Esquire, of Great St. Mary
 Axe, a most learned Antiquary,
 Whose well known name requires no gilder,
 Foreman to Mister Rennie, Builder,
 And sole constructor of the Palings
 I' the Park, with sundry other ralings
 In Essex, Sussex and in Kent,
 And of a Foot-bridge 'cross the Brent!
 That's all, Sir, and the Minutes ended.
 A name, which has been now suspended
 The usual time, for Ballot calls:
 Produce the—

(Senr. Sec.) Here's the Box and Balls!

(Chairman readeth aloud the name of the Candidate.)

'Charles Hyson, Bookseller and Squire,
 Of High Street, Bristol, Somersetshire.'
 His testimonials signed and written
 By our prime Counsellor, John Britton.

(The ballot box is passed round by Mr. Martin. Mr. Crofton Croker waggishly secreteth seventeen black balls, and depositeth them slyly within the cavity. The Box is handed up to the President, who stretcheth forth his Right hand towards the Cocked Hat, while he openeth the Drawer with his Left. A Start—President withdraweth his Right hand as if it had touched a Red-Hot Poker; great Consternation in his countenance on viewing Sable intermixture in the Drawer—much temporary confusion in the Assembly. On counting Balls the

The Gentleman you've just elected
 Is, down at Bristol, much respected,
 And from his Stall—I mean his Shop—he
 Hath lately sold full many a Copy
 Of my Ingenious works, beside
 Some dozens of my new Bath Guide.
 But, Sir, the name I now shall offer
 At once will silence every scoffer,
 That c—d Westminster Review,
 Which quizzes me, and quizzes you,
 That paper, too, which loves to Tickle us,
 Nay, 'twill e'en dumbfound — —
 The Gentleman I'm going to mention
 Is famous for a grand Invention,
 Revival, I should rather say,
 The greatest far of this our day,
 Which some may think a mere absurdity,
 Or rank among the hearty purdity.¹
 You've heard of Nimrod, Prince of Greece,
 The same that stole the Golden Fleece,
 And founded, after many a year,
 The Milton Hunt in Leicestershire;
 A Mighty Hunter he, you know,
 God knows how many years ago;
 Though his receipt has long been lacking
 'Tis known he had most famous Blacking,
 Which became lost unto the trade
 Somewhere about the third Crusade,
 And this my friend has found again
 (Hear-Hear)

I needn't say no more, 'tis plain
 You all anticipate me, and
 When I name Warren of the Strand
 I cannot entertain a doubt
 You'll hail him with a General Shout;
 So Move, as now my Speech I've ended,
 That he 'as usual, be suspended.'

('Hear Hear', 'Bravo', etc. from the Brittonites; 'No! No!', 'Stuff', 'Puff' and other expletives, from the refractory. The President, with his cocked hat *en echelon*, at length announceth that Robert Warren, Esq. is Elected Fellow by acclamation.)

(Mr. John Britton) Now our Society may boast—

(Sir. Ev. Home) Pooh; gammon! here's the Tea and Toast.

(The tray is brought in—a simultaneous rush at the Muffins. Mr. Martin is scalded by a Cup of Coffee upset on his Inexpressibles, and, in the confusion, our Reporter quitted the Room.)

¹ Qu. *Artis perditis*? This distinguished Antiquary's orthography—like Lord Duberly's, 'is a little Loose'.

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